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CONTENTS.

PAGE.

I.—Guernsey: Its People and Dialect. By EDWIN SEELYE LEWIS, - - - - - - - - - - - - 1

II.—The Social Aspect of Early German Romanticism. By KUNO FRANCKE, - - - - - - - - - - - - 83

III.—Shakespeare's First Principles of Art. By L. A. SHERMAN, 97

IV.—Anglo-Saxon Dæg-Mæl. By FREDERICK TUPPER, JR., - 111

V.—A Parallel between the Middle English Poem *Patience* and an Early Latin Poem attributed to Tertullian. By OLIVER FARRAR EMERSON, - - - - - - - - - - 242

VI.—Elizabethan Translations from the Italian: the Titles of such works now first Collected and Arranged, with Annotations. By MARY AUGUSTA SCOTT, - - - - - - - - 249

VII.—Two Modern German Etymologies. By HERMANN COLLITZ, 295

VIII.—"Free" and "Checked" Vowels in Gallic Popular Latin. By L. EMIL MENGER, - - - - - - - - - - 306

IX.—Indirect Discourse in Anglo-Saxon. By J. HENDREN GORRELL, - - - - - - - - - - - - 342

X.—A Rime-Index to the "Parent Cycle" of the *York Mystery Plays* and of a portion of the Woodkirk *Conspiracio et Capito*. By H. E. COBLENTZ, - - - - - - - - - - 487

APPENDIX.

PAGE.

Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual Meeting of the Modern Language Association of America, held at Philadelphia, Pa., December 27, 28, 29, 1894.

Programme of the joint sessions of the Congress of American Philologists, - - - - - - - - - - - - iii

Report of the Secretary, - - - - - - - - - - vi

Report of the Treasurer, - - - - - - - - - - vi

Appointment of Committees, - - - - - - - - vii

1. Matthias de Vries and his contributions to Netherland Philology. By W. T. HEWETT, - - - - - - - vii
   Discussion: by B. J. VOS, - - - - - - - xvii
   by F. DE HAAN, - - - - - xviii

2. The relation of early German Romanticism to the classic ideal. By KUNO FRANCKE, - - - - - - - - xix
   Discussion: by HENRY WOOD, - - - - xix
   by KUNO FRANCKE, - - - - xxii

3. The Friar's Lantern. By GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE, - - xxii

4. The new method in Modern Language Study. By EDWARD H. MAGILL, - - - - - - - - - - - xxiii

5. On the reform of methods in teaching the Modern Languages, together with an experiment in the teaching of German. By FREDERIC SPENCER, - - - - - - - xxviii

6. Note on Syllabic Consonants. By ALEXANDER MELVILLE BELL, - - - - - - - - - - - - xxviii

7. The metres employed by the earliest Portuguese lyric school. By HENRY R. LANG, - - - - - - - - xxviii

8. Indirect Discourse in Anglo-Saxon. By J. HENDREN GORRELL, - - - - - - - - - - - - xxviii

9. A parallel between the Middle English poem *Patience* and one of the pseudo-Tertullian poems. By O. F. EMERSON, - xxviii

10. Elizabeth Elstob: an Anglo-Saxon scholar nearly two centuries ago, with her *Plea for Learning in Women*. By W. HENRY SCHOFIELD, - - - - - - - - - xxix

11. The Spanish dialect of Mexico City. By C. C. MARDEN, - xxix

12. Henry Timrod and his poetry. By CHARLES H. ROSS. - - xxix

PAGE.

Report of Committee on place of meeting, - - - - - xxxi

13. The poetry of Wilhelm Mueller. By JAMES T. HATFIELD, - xxxi

14. Early Romanticists in Italy. By L. E. MENGER, - - - xxxi

Election of Honorary Members, - - - - - - - - xxxi

Election of Officers, - - - - - - - - - - xxxii

Report of the Secretary of the Phonetic Section, - - - - xxxiii

15. On the development of inter-vocalic labials in the Romanic languages. By EDWIN S. LEWIS, - - - - - xxxiv

16. Notes on Goethe's *Iphigenie*. By L. A. RHOADES, - - xxxiv

17. On the Slavonic languages. By ALEX. W. HERDLER, - - xxxiv

18. Old French equivalents of Latin substantives in *-cus*, *-gus*, *-vus*. By THOMAS A. JENKINS, - - - - - - - xxxiv

19. Contributions to a bibliography of Racine. By A. R. HOHLFELD, - - - - - - - - - - - xxxv

List of Officers, - - - - - - - - - - - xxxvi

List of Members, - - - - - - - - - - - xxxvii

List of Subscribing Libraries, - - - - - - - - xlvii

Honorary Members, - - - - - - - - - - xlix

Roll of Members Deceased, - - - - - - - - - l

The Constitution of the Association, - - - - - - li

1173

PUBLICATIONS

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1895.

VOL. X, 1. NEW SERIES, VOL. III, 1.

I.—GUERNSEY: ITS PEOPLE AND DIALECT.

INTRODUCTION.

Guernsey, in shape a triangle and sloping toward the North, is divided into twenty parishes. The Lower or Northern Parishes are those most frequently visited by strangers; here the scenery is quiet, the bays are large, with beautiful white sand-beaches, varied, here and there, by some bold projection. The Southern coast, on the contrary, is beautiful in its very ruggedness; here, cliffs a hundred feet in height, wild and fierce, sea gulls and crows with their piercing shrieks, waves dashing against the rocks and into the caverns, all contribute to produce a peculiar fascination on the visitor.

The climate of the Channel Islands resembles that of the neighboring shores of England and France. The prevailing winds are warm and moist, the easterly being the most violent, and large stones have sometimes been thrown over the wall built at the edge of the water, and across a wide road. The usual state of the atmosphere is one of uncomfortable moisture, especially to those accustomed only to the enervating climate of the United States. The natives are strong and healthy, and men, well along in years, are seen with rosy cheeks; but the Guernseyman is not robust, like the English-

man, nor is he as energetic; he works well and intelligently, but everything is done slowly, and it is, doubtless, this freedom from hurry, as well as the pleasant climate, that preserves the health and prolongs the life of the islanders. The poor enjoy superior comforts, in their small huts, near a sea into which they do not fear to dip themselves from time to time, with healthy surroundings and no wild desire to acquire wealth in a day. The winters are said to be very mild, and the summers are delightfully cool.

The surface of this island is of about twenty-four square miles, from which a third must be deducted for rocks, cliffs and places not susceptive of cultivation. We must not, therefore, expect to meet a great variety in the products, nor an extensive system of agriculture. The extreme subdivision of land may perhaps diminish the usefulness of what little ground can be cultivated, but the corresponding advantage of enabling the poorest man to own a little property, in which he can become interested, must be, in the minds of most persons, of sufficient weight to induce the preservation of the present system of the tenure of property. The soil being fertile, and the manure, afforded by sand and sea-weed, increasing this fertility, small farms are seen everywhere, even to the very edge of the sea, and on every inch of the ground something useful is being cultivated. On these farms is raised the famous Guernsey cow, large and of a bright yellow, and the islanders are so proud of their cattle, that every foreign breed is rigorously excluded, and only the meat required at the slaughter-house is allowed to enter the island.

Fruits and flowers, especially grapes and tomatoes, are the main product of the hundreds of greenhouses that cover the island in all directions, giving it a peculiar appearance, when the sun is reflected from all this glass. This fruit is sold at high prices in London and other large cities in England, and is the chief source of whatever little wealth the inhabitants may possess.

It is not unlikely that, when the early inhabitants of England, driven before the victorious Saxons, fled to Wales, and thence, across the sea, to Brittany, some should have been attracted to these islands and have been among the first regular colonists. There is a tradition, that the Saracens possessed a stronghold in Guernsey, called the castle of Geoffrey; this site is now peacefully occupied by a church, but the view from there, overlooking the whole island, easily explains why those fierce warriors had chosen this position in preference to any other.

Although no proof exists of the fact, we may, however, reasonably infer that Rollo, in the 10th century, possessed the Channel Islands, as well as Normandy and Brittany. Richard the First, third duke of Normandy, banished the monks of Mount Saint Michael to Guernsey, where they settled and built a church, dedicated to Saint Michael, and around these monks, so many other persons congregated, that their possession of the land was confirmed by Robert, sixth duke of Normandy.

In 1061 Guernsey was attacked by a strong band of pirates, who were soon disbanded by the inhabitants and monks, supported by some troops under D'Anneville, an officer sent by William the Conqueror, who seemed to take considerable interest in these islands. After the conquest of England, the constitution of the islands was in no respect changed, for the inhabitants were on the victorious side, and, to this day, they are anxious to impress on strangers that they have never been conquered by England, but, in reality, have themselves been the conquerors, and, as such, have retained their independence throughout these eight centuries. After the death of William, England and Normandy were separated, and remained so until reunited by Henry the First, in 1106; Henry the Second did not succeed his grandfather to the English crown, but was recognized by the barons as duke of Normandy. During these changes, the Channel Islands remained in the possession of the Norman dukes, and the English king, Stephen, had no

jurisdiction over this bailiwick; the inhabitants proved thus their fidelity to their dukes, though these were at war with England. Cornet Castle, an imposing structure at the entrance of St. Peter Port, was built at this time by Henry, who feared lest the English king might make an attempt to capture Guernsey, and thus gain a decided advantage over the Norman army.

When Henry succeeded Stephen on the throne of England, his youngest son John was appointed Lord and Governor of the Channel Islands. After John had become king, he was summoned by Philip Augustus before the Court of the Peers of France; on his refusal to appear, his right to Normandy was forfeited, but no data exist as to whether the islands were included in this forfeiture; we do know that the inhabitants remained true to John, who, with their financial aid, kept a standing army in Guernsey and Jersey. Owing to the loss of Normandy, it became necessary to provide a peculiar administration for these islands, and John accordingly established in each a jurisdiction of its own, thinking thus to strengthen the devotion of the islanders to his cause; John may therefore be looked upon by the inhabitants as the real founder of their present independence.

The islands were henceforth subject to repeated attacks by the French, and Castle Cornet was captured at this time, but was recovered during the reign of Henry the Third. In this king's treaty with Louis of France, especial care was taken by him to reserve these islands, with the province of Gascony, and he constantly showed, as did also his successors, his attachment to these sturdy subjects. Owing to local disturbances, an important fiscal code was drawn up during the reign of Edward the Second, called the *Précepte d'Assize*, in conformity with the ancient customs, as established by John. The French again successfully attacked Guernsey; the resistance of the islanders was gallant, but superiority in numbers prevailed; this was in 1339. In 1340 Guernsey was delivered from French rule, and was granted its old liberties by Edward.

In 1360 the English monarch ceded to France, by treaty, the province of Normandy, but specially reserved to himself the possession of the Channel Islands. This treaty was not respected, for, within twelve years, took place what is popularly known in Guernsey as the *Descente des Saragousais;* the Guernseymen, numbering only eight hundred, retreated to Castle Cornet, whence they repulsed every attack of the enemy; this plucky resistance of the natives saved Guernsey, and the French commander, despairing of success, evacuated the island.

In the reign of Richard the Second, a treaty was made between the kings of France and Castile to utterly destroy the Channel Islands, with the Isle of Wight; but fortunately this confederacy had no results, and King Richard confirmed, before his death, the charters of Guernsey, which were again confirmed by Henry the Sixth, during whose reign, part of Jersey was captured by the French, and held until relieved by the English forces, with help from the Guernseymen, who, as a reward, were granted still greater favors by Edward the Fourth. The privilege of neutrality was also conceded to Guernsey, and quiet reigned in that island until the French, shortly after the accession of Edward the Sixth, made a weak and unsuccessful attempt to invade the Channel Islands; the only result was the capture of Sark, which was held by the enemy until recovered during the reign of Mary.

During this reign of Queen Mary, Guernsey was granted several new privileges, but, toward its end, experienced the horrors of popery, from which it was relieved only by the accession of Elizabeth. In 1563 more serious work was begun on the harbor of St. Peter Port, and the queen, in many ways, showed what importance she attached to the completion of this undertaking. Elizabeth also endowed a grammar school in Guernsey, from which has grown a magnificent college, the pride of every true Guernseyman and an influential seat of learning.

This peace was troubled, in the reign of Charles the First, when Jersey adhered to the king, while Guernsey took the part of the parliament, although the lieutenant-governor, fortified in Castle Cornet, remained loyal to Charles and did not scruple, time and again, to fire into the city, to the terror of the inhabitants and the damage of commerce. The Guernseymen remained stanch in their devotion to parliament, but a succession of petty disputes among their leaders, added to the loyalty of Castle Cornet to the king, were the source of great anxiety to them. Fortunately, Castle Cornet at last capitulated, in 1651, but on terms highly favorable to the besieged, who fully deserved the consideration of their enemies.

Upon the restoration of Charles the Second to the throne of his ancestors, the inhabitants seemed to forget their allegiance to the commonwealth, and acknowledged the hereditary title of the Stuarts; the king, by his favors to the islanders, showed no resentment against them for having sided with the parliament.

For the next hundred years very little of importance occurred in Guernsey, the only fact worth mentioning being the loyalty of the people to the Protestant religion, which made them welcome with eagerness the landing of the Prince of Orange in England; the Catholic soldiers were disarmed, and the island was secured to the cause of Protestantism.

When the seven years' war broke out between England and France, a strong effort was made by the French to secure the Channel Islands, but the timely arrival of reinforcements from England prevented any great damage being done.

From this date to the present time, the histories of Guernsey are filled with new regulations as to taxes, laws for debt, etc., but no attack of importance was made by the enemy, nor did any decided change take place in the government of the island; the people are still stanch in their loyalty to the British throne, and, in their sympathies, are more English than the inhabitants of Jersey; every honor was shown Queen Victoria on her visit to the island, and, should she ever need

their help, the Guernseymen will no doubt prove as faithful and as brave as did their forefathers, when it became their duty to defend their own rights or those of their rightful monarchs.

It has frequently been noticed that on a small island, like the one we are now considering, the dialect has been broken up into fairly distinct subdialects, even more than would occur on an open continent; we are not surprised, therefore, to find that the Guernsey patois of the Upper Parishes, to the South, differs from that spoken in the Lower Parishes; in the latter the pronunciation is broader and slower; this deliberate articulation, though clearly separating the parishes, is difficult to illustrate accurately. There are also a few specific differences, as, for example, the pronunciation of *labu·ər* (French *labour*) of the Lower Parishes, but *labu·ar* elsewhere. So *pɔ̃* and *burdɔ̃* would be heard along the Northern coast, whereas the Upper Parishes would have *paⁿɔ̃* and *burdaⁿɔ̃; kürjœ* and the infinitive *tuſe* to the North, but *kürjaœ·* and *tuſje* almost everywhere else. These last examples can be easily explained when one remembers that it is in the Lower Parishes that visitors dwell mostly and that there the Guernsey people of wealth have their summer homes; this intercourse with the outside world, and with persons speaking pure French, has caused the folk to imitate French proper more closely, while the people to the South have retained their old pronunciation.[1]

Thus are illustrated the inroads that Modern French is constantly making on the patois, with the inevitable result of finally destroying its last living vestiges. But it must be confessed that the French spoken in the courts, and in the city generally, although supposed to be correct, is, to say the least, very peculiar.

When a good French word is taken into the patois, it is usually introduced bodily, and, with the help of the schools, this is being done more and more; not so, however, with

[1] Further differences in the linguistic results of the Upper and the Lower Parishes are noted in the course of this dissertation.

the English terms, which are generally changed to meet the requirements of the speaker. The dialect has thus to contend against two strong foes, and the fight is so unequal that it cannot last much longer.

A few words, in conclusion, on how the material for this dissertation was collected may be of some interest. In the middle of May, 1889, I arrived in Guernsey, and, with a letter of introduction to Mr. Corbet, went at once to his home, where I remained until October. Mr. Corbet is one of the principal living poets of Guernsey, and was a good friend of the late Mr. Métivier, who wrote so much in his beloved patois. With Mr. Corbet's assistance, I learned to speak the Guernsey dialect, while carefully noting his pronunciation; when opportunity offered, I wandered about the neighborhood, talking with every countryman I chanced to meet, and jotting down especially the phonetic results of these conversations. All this part of my material was drawn from the Upper Parishes. I soon began, however, to make excursions into the Lower Parishes. Mr. Corbet and I also worked together on the different prose and poetical pieces in the dialect, he carefully giving me the pronunciation and meaning of any word or sentence I did not know.

On my return to America, in the autumn of 1889, I put together the material I had gathered and, in 1890, presented it as my fellowship-dissertation. In the June of 1891, I landed for the second time in Guernsey, where I remained until September. I first went to Mr. Corbet's home, which I considered as my headquarters and whence I made excursions all over the island; I thus met and conversed with all sorts of people. Eventually, I went to live with Mr. Guilbert, in the Lower Parishes, where I could hear, every day, the patois as spoken in that part of the island. Mr. Guilbert is another of Guernsey's poets, and, though very modest, one of the most, if not the most, natural and sympathetic. With him I did the same kind of work as with Mr. Corbet, even going over most of my old material. At St. Peter Port, I

consulted the official records carefully enough to see that no valuable aid on the patois could be obtained from them.

I next went to Paris, where I remained several weeks, working, in the National Library, on the Guernsey dialect. It was there that I had the pleasure of meeting Professor Charles Joret, and my researches in the library were made much pleasanter by the interest and sympathy he so kindly manifested in my work.

In this dissertation I have carefully avoided the discussion of certain very complicated questions, such as the varied development of *o*, or the origin of *nou* (for the French *on*) and of *le cien;* I intend to take up these points separately, in the endeavor to find some satisfactory solution. Another interesting question that cannot be considered here, is the relation of the old Norman texts to the Norman patois actually spoken at that time. The object of this thesis is to indicate the differences between the Guernsey dialect and French proper; all results that are similar have been either omitted entirely or simply mentioned. The whole of the Guernsey literature has been examined, so that it may safely be said that if any development is not found in this work, it either is exactly similar to the development in French proper, or is not illustrated by examples from the Guernsey literature or even from the spoken language. The morphology will be treated later, in a separate publication.

In the examples, throughout this dissertation, the phonetic spelling comes first, in italics, then the usual spelling of the Guernsey writers, and, lastly, the Latin word that serves as basis to the patois form. Many examples are given that are not found in the Guernsey literature, but I have generally asked Mr. Corbet how he would spell such words. The Latin etyma have nearly all been taken from Körting's *Lateinisch-romanisches Wörterbuch*.[1]

[1] I wish to state here that through unavoidable circumstances the publication of this dissertation has been delayed more than a year, during which time no alterations have been made in the subject-matter.

Professor Elliott suggested this subject to me; through him I have been constantly encouraged and helped, and it is a pleasure to thank him here for his valuable aid throughout this work. I must also express my thanks to Professor Matzke for having carefully read this dissertation and for having helped me with his suggestions. It gives me pleasure to add an expression of my appreciation of the assistance of Mr. Corbet and Mr. Guilbert, without whom I could not have gathered all this material, and of the help of Mr. John Linwood Pitts, and also of Mr. Guille and Mr. Allès, who so kindly put at my disposal the valuable contents of the public library at St. Peter Port, founded by their munificence.

PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTION.

a	is pronounced	as	in	p*â*te,
ɒ	"	"	"	p*a*tte,
e	"	"	"	bébé,
ə	"	"	"	p*è*re,
ë	"	"	"	l*e*,
i	"	"	"	fin*i*,
o	"	"	"	tr*ô*ne,
ɔ	"	"	"	f*o*rt,
u	"	"	"	s*ou*,
ü	"	"	"	m*u*r,
œ	"	"	"	h*eu*re,
k	"	"	"	*c*rin,
g	"	"	"	*g*rain,
ʃ	"	"	"	*ch*ant,
ʒ	"	"	"	*g*ent,
ʎ	"	"	"	Italian fi*gl*io,
ñ	"	"	"	campa*gn*e,
j	"	"	"	b*i*en,
w	"	"	"	*ou*i,
ẅ	"	"	"	b*ui*s.

SIGNS AND ABBREVIATIONS.

Signs.

$>$ means gives, becomes,
$<$ " from, comes from,
$a\cdot$ " short a,
$a:$ " long a,
a' " tonic a,
a'' " subtonic a,
a^n " nasal a.

Common Abbreviations.

L. L. stands for Low Latin,
Rom. " " Romance,
Germ. " " Germanic,
O. H. G. " " Old High German,
Gr. " " Greek,
It. " " Italian,
masc. " " masculine,
fem. " " feminine,
sing. " " singular,
plur. " " plural,
nom. " " nominative, or subject case,
acc. " " accusative, or direct object case,
dat. " " dative, or indirect object case,
obj. " " objective case.

Abbreviations of Works.

Bessin, cf. No. 14 of Bibliography,
Bl., " " 49 " "
C. D. R., " " 40 " "
Dict., " " 37 " "
Extension, " " 11 " "

F. F.,	cf.	No.	39	of	Bibliography,
F. G.,	"	"	34	"	"
Hague,	"	"	20	"	"
Mélanges,	"	"	13	"	"
Norm. Mund.,	"	"	8	"	"
P. P.,	"	"	43	"	"
P. G.,	"	"	38	"	"
R. G.,	"	"	33	"	"
Saire,	"	"	21	"	"
S. M.,	"	"	35	"	"
St. Mat.,	"	"	36	"	"

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2.—*Glossaire du patois normand* par Louis du Bois (Caen, 1856); XL–440 pp., 8°.

3.—*Histoire et glossaire du normand* par Le Hérichier (Avranches, 1862); 3 vols., 8°.

4.—*A dictionary of the Norman or Old French language, to which are added the Laws of William the Conqueror*, by Robert Kellam (London, 1779); VIII–259–XII–88 pp., 8°.

5.—*Dictionnaire du patois normand en usage dans le département de l'Eure* par Robin, Le Prévost, A. Passy, De Blosseville (Evreux, 1879); XXIV–458 pp., 8°.

6.—*Dictionnaire du patois du pays de Bray* par l'Abbé J. E. Decorde (Rouen, 1852); 140 pp., 8°.

[1] Only those works are mentioned which have had a positive influence in the preparation of this dissertation. It has not been thought best to include, in this list, works that deal with the Old Norman dialect, as they are all well known.

7.—*Noms de famille normands étudiés dans leurs rapports avec la vieille langue et spécialement avec le dialecte normand ancien et moderne* par Henri Moisy (Paris, 1875), XXIV–448 pp., 8°.

Modern Norman Dialect.[1]

8.—*Entwicklung der normannischen Mundart im Département de la Marche und auf den Inseln Guernsey und Jersey* von Bruno Eggert (*Zts. f. Rom. Phil.*, XIII, 1889, pp. 353–403). The first half of this study was published as a dissertation (Halle, 1889), 31 pp., 8°.

9.—*Remarques sur quelques expressions usitées en Normandie, leur emploi par certains auteurs, leur origine, leur étymologie*, etc., par Gustave Le Vavasseur, extrait de *L'Annuaire normand*—année 1878 (Caen, 1878); 106 pp., 8°.

10.—*De quelques modes de prononciation usités en patois normand* par Henri Moisy (*Revue hist. de l'anc. lang. française et Revue des patois de la France*, I, pp. 301–307, 344–350; II, pp. 52–56, 75–78).

11.—*Des caractères et de l'extension du patois normand*, étude, suivie d'une carte, par Charles Joret (Paris, 1883); XXXII–211 pp., 8°.

12.—*Charles Joret. Des caractères et de l'extension du patois normand*, revue par J. Gilliéron, extrait de la *Romania*, vol. XII (Nogent-le-Rotrou); 10 pp., 8°.

13.—*Mélanges de phonétique normande* par Charles Joret (Paris, 1884); LVI–64 pp., 8°.

14.—*Essai sur le patois normand du Bessin* par Charles Joret (*Mémoires de la Soc. de Ling. de Paris*, III, 1878, pp. 210–247).

15.—*Essai historique sur la ville de Bayeux et son arrondissement* par Frédéric Pluquet (Caen, 1829); II–427–V pp., 8°.

[1] The works mentioned in this section relate mainly to the dialects of Western Normandy, near Guernsey.

16.—*Contes populaires, traditions, proverbes et dictons de l'arrondissement de Bayeux, suivis d'un vocabulaire des mots rustiques et des noms de lieu les plus remarquables de ce pays,* par Frédéric Pluquet (Caen, 1825); 79 pp., 8°.

17.—*Chansons normands du XVe siècle, publiées pour la 1ère fois sur les Manuscrits de Bayeux et de Vire, avec introduction et notes,* par A. Gasté (Caen, 1866); XLIII–146–28 pp., 8°.

18.—*Littérature orale de la Basse Normandie* par Jean Fleury (Paris, 1883); XII–396 pp., 16°.

19.—*Flore populaire de la Normandie* par Charles Joret (Caen et Paris, 1887).

20.—*Essai sur le patois normand de la Hague* par Jean Fleury (Paris, 1886); 368 pp., 8°.

21.—*Glossaire du patois du Val de Saire, suivi de remarques grammaticales,* par Axel Romdahl (Linköping, 1881); 81 pp., 8°.

22.—*Ueber die Volkssprache des 13. Jahrhunderts in Calvados und Orne mit Hinzuziehung des heute dort gebräuchlichen Patois,* Dissertation von Albert Küppers (Halle, 1889); 54 pp., 8°.

23.—*Esquisses du Bocage normand* par Jules Lecœur (Condé-sur-Noireau, 1883); 408 pp., 8°.

24.—*La Campénade, poème héroï-comi-burlesque, suivi de La Foire d'Etouvy, précédé d'une notice sur sa vie,* par Lalleman, 3e édition (Vire, 1865); 134 pp., 8°. In this work is found the *Rendez-vous du départ,* in which some of the personages speak in the patois of Vire.

25.—*Etude sur la poésie populaire en Normandie, et spécialement dans l'Avranchin,* par Eugène de Beaurepaire (Avranches et Paris, 1856); 87 pp., 8°.

26.—*La Normandie romanesque et merveilleuse. Traditions, légendes et superstitions populaires de cette province,* par Amélie Bosquet (Paris et Rouen, 1845); XVI–520 pp., 8°.

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27.—*History of Guernsey, and biographical sketches,* by Jonathan Duncan (London, 1841); xvi–656 pp., 8°.

28.—*History of Jersey,* by Philip Fable, has some references to Guernsey.

29.—*History of Guernsey and other Channel Islands,* by Tupper.

30.—*Les îles de la Manche, Jersey et Guernesey en 1840 et 1849,* par X**** (*Revue des deux mondes,* nouvelle période, vol. IV, 1849, pp. 937–967).

31.—*Guernsey, its present state and future prospects,* by ——— (*Dublin University Magazine,* XXVIII, 1846, pp. 624–634, 704–716).

32.—*Guernsey and Sark,* by George E. Waring, Jr. (*Scribner's Magazine,* X, 1875, pp. 574–591).

Guernsey Patois.

33.—*Rimes guernesiaises par un câtelain*—Georges Métivier (Guernsey, 1831); iv–116 pp., 12°. Another edition, with small illustrations, has been published (1883).

34.—*Fantaisies guernesiaises* par Georges Métivier (Guernsey, 1866); 12°.

35.—*The Sermon on the Mount and the parable of the Sower, translated in the Franco-Norman dialect of Guernsey,* by Georges Métivier, edited by John Linwood Pitts (Guernsey); xi–41 pp., 16°.

36.—*Le saint évangile selon St. Matthieu, traduit en Normand de Guernesey* (London, 1863).

37.—*Dictionnaire Franco-Normand, ou recueil des mots particuliers au dialecte de Guernesey, faisant voir leurs relations romanes, celtiques et tudesques,* par Georges Métivier (London and Edinburgh, 1870); viii–499 pp., 8°.

[1] In this section no mention is made of the works that deal with the archæology or with the laws of Guernsey.

38.—*Poësies guernesiaises et françaises,* avec glossaire, par Georges Métivier (Guernesey, 1883); xiii–324–xlvii, pp., 8°.

39.—*Les Feuilles de la Forêt, ou recueil de poësie originale, en anglais, français et guernesiais,* par Denys Corbet (Guernesey, 1871); 224 pp., 12°.

40.—*Les Chânts du drain Rimeux, ou pièces de poésie originale en guernesiais et en français,* par Denys Corbet (Guernesey, 1884); 256 pp., 12°.

41.—*Le jour de l'an, pièces de poësie originale, en français et en guernesiais,* par Denys Corbet (Guernesey); appeared for the years 1874, 1875, 1876 and 1877; about 32 pp., 12°, each.

42.—*Le Chant des Fontaines,* par Thomas Lenfestey (Guernesey, 1875); xv–64 pp., 12°.

43.—*The patois poems of the Channel Islands, the Norman-French text, edited with parallel English translation, historical introduction, and notes,* by John Linwood Pitts (Guernesey, 1883); 2 vols., viii–62 and xvi–79 pp., 8°.

44.—*La nouvelle année,* with pieces in the patois of Guernsey and Jersey; a yearly calendar (Jersey, 1867–1875).

45.—*A Christmas box of Channel Gems, being a Christmas Annual for the Channel Islands,* edited by "Honey Bee" (Guernsey, 1882); 51 pp., 8°.

46.—*Channel Gems,* edited by A. N. Le Cheminant (Guernsey, 1883); only one number appeared (March 1st); 40 pp., 8°. The last two publications contain a few pieces in the Guernsey dialect.

47.—*Folk-lore of Guernsey and Sark,* by Louisa Lane-Clarke, 2nd edition (Guernsey, 1890); vii–152 pp., 12°. This work contains a few Guernsey poems.

48.—*La Gazette Officielle de Guernesey,* a weekly newspaper, has published some dialect poems, all of which, however, can be found in the works already mentioned.

49.—*Le Baillage,* a weekly newspaper, for which Mr. Corbet has frequently written articles, in the Guernsey patois, since 1887.

Chapter I.

TONIC VOWELS.

a

I.— *a′ in open syllable.*

§ 1.— *a′* + oral cons. + voc.,
a′ + mute + liquid.

(1) In such a position, *a′* > *a′i·*, with a distinct final *i*-sound, very short and with a tendency toward wideness. Examples: *ai·l* (aïle): ALAM, *amai·r* (amaïre): AMARAM, *asai·* (assaïz): AD + SATIS, *bλai·* (bllaï): *BLATUM, *fai·v* (faïve): FABAM, *fümai·* (fumâïe): FUMATA, *kai·* (quaï): QUALEM, *kjai·r* (cllaïr): CLARUM, *kλai·* (cllaï): CLAVEM, *kotai·* (cotaï): COSTATUM, *mai·r* (maïr): MARE, *nai·* (naïz): NASUM, *pe*ⁿ*sa:i·* (pensâïe): PENSATAM, *prai·* (praï): PRATUM, *ruza:i·* (rousâïe): *ARROSARE, *sai·l* (saïl): SAL, *tai·* (taï): TALEM, *lai·vr* (laïvre): LABRUM, *mai·r* (maïre): MATREM, *pai·r* (païre): PATREM.

(2) In the modern Norman patois the results vary, being *e*, *a′i·* or *o*,[1] the diphthong *a′i·* (written *ai* by Fleury) being the development for the dialect of the Hague. Joret's first opinion,[2] agreeing with Lücking's,[3] was that *a′i·* represented the first stage between Latin *a* and French *e*; but as *ei* (*ey*) is found in the old Norman MSS.,[4] it is most likely that *a′i·* is a later Norman development of the previous *ei* (*ey*).[5] Attention might be called to the fact that it was an Old Norman characteristic to write *ai* (from Latin Ē).[6] We thus see that the Guernsey *a′i·* represents a phenomenon already found in Old Norman, and still heard in the Hague and in the North of the Cotentin.[7]

[1] Joret, *Mélanges*, p. 12; Fleury, *Hague*, pp. 31, 32; Joret, *Bessin*, p. 220.
[2] *Mélanges*, p. 12. [3] *Aelt. frz. Mund.*, p. 101.
[4] Eggert, *Norm. Mund.*, p. 374.
[5] Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, I, p. 214, § 226, and Joret, *Mélanges*, p. 16.
[6] Suchier, *Reimpredigt*, p. xviii, 17. [7] Joret, *Mélanges*, p. 12.

(3) A few exceptions are to be noted. *pa:r* (pâre): PAREM, without any following *i*-sound. *kjər* (quer, caêr): QUARE, which, in Guernsey, is pronounced with an open *e*, and not closed, as Eggert[1] would have it. PATREM and MATREM, when applied to human beings, have the same results in Guernsey as in French proper, but when referring to animals, they give *pai·r* and *mai·r*, as noted above. Owing to the following labial consonant, *GRAVAT > *grœv* (greuve).

§ 2.— *a′* + nasal + voc.

(1) The result is the same as when *a′* is followed by an oral consonant: *a′* > *a′i·*. Examples: *ai·m* (aïme): AMAT, *fɔ̃tai·n* (fontaïne): FONTANAM, *grai·n* (graïne): GRANUM, *kaptai·n* (cap'taïne): *CAPITANUM, *kastai·n* (castaïne): CASTANEAM, *rai·n* (raïne): RANAM, *smai·n* (s'maïne): SEPTIMANAM, *ʃɑ̃tai·n* (chentaïne): CENTUM, and the adjectives having, in the feminine, the same termination as *sai·n* (saïne): SANAM, *suvrai·n* (souvraïne): SUPERANAM, etc.

(2) In French, *ai* in this position began to be pronounced *ə* already in 1550.[2] The only part of Normandy that has a diphthong corresponding to this one, is the Hague, where, however, the *a* is nasalized (*ãy*);[3] in the Val de Saire,[4] *a* remains, in this position, but becomes *e* in the Bessin.[5]

§ 3.— *a′* + final nasal.

(1) In the treatment of *a′* in this position, the Parishes differ slightly: the Upper Parishes show the result *a′ə̃*, or (with the *a* changed to *ɒ* under the influence of *ə̃*) *ɒ′ə̃*; in the Lower Parishes, the development of *a′* + final nasal has been pushed further, since the product is *ə̃*, without any trace

[1] Eggert, *Norm. Mund.*, pp. 373–4; this development is similar to that of (*k* +) *a* into *je*, § 4.

[2] Suchier, *Français et Provençal*, p. 54.

[3] Fleury, *Hague*, p. 33.

[4] Romdahl, *Saire*, p. 11.

[5] Joret, *Bessin*, p. 220, 1°, β.

of diphthongization. Sometimes also both vowels of the diphthong are nasalized, so that $a^{n\prime ə^n}$ (or $ɒ^{n\prime ə^n}$) is heard. Examples: *dmaə*^{n} (d'maïn): DE + MANE, *faə*^{n} (faïm): FAMEM, *maə*^{n} (maïn): MANUM, *paə*^{n} (païn): PANEM, *viljaə*^{n} (villaïn): *VILLANUM.

(2) In French proper, the pronunciation *ə*^{n} became general only by the end of the 16th century,[1] showing that the development in the Lower Parishes is more recent than that in the Upper Parishes.[2] *i*^{n} is heard in the Bessin,[3] but the result that corresponds the most closely to ours is the *āyn* of the Hague.[4]

§ 4.— *k* (*g* or mouillé cons.) + *a′*.

(1) The change is twofold: the first is into *je* or, when an *r* follows, into *jə* (sometimes *ə*); the second is into *i*.

(2) As illustrations of the first result, we shall take the infinitives in -ARE, when preceded by a *k* (*g*). Here we meet with the ending *je*, the usual pronunciation of uneducated Guernseymen. Examples: *bai·zje* (baïsier), *epüʃje* (épuchier), *ərbərʒje* (herbergier), *fikje* (fiquier), *fərʒje* (forgier), *katu·ailje* (catouailler), *ku·aʃje* (couachier), *lai·sje* (laïssier), *ma*^{n}*ʒje* (mangier), *mniʃje* (m'nichier), *skje* (s'quier), *ʃëvoʃje* (chevauchier), *tarʒje* (targier), *tuʃje* (touchier), *ʒüʒje* (jugier).[5] Some few persons, probably influenced by the written language, pronounce *-jər*, instead of *-je*, and indeed the pronunciation *-e*, without any *j*-sound, is beginning to be heard in the Lower Parishes. Beside these infinitives, we find *dərʃje* (derchié): CAPUT and *ʃjər* (chier): CARUM.[6]

(3) These infinitives have been treated according to the Bartsch-Mussafia law, with a pronunciation *-jə* at the start,

[1] Suchier, *Franç.*, pp. 43 and 54.

[2] For a series $a^ni > ɒ^ni$, etc., cf. Schwan, *Gram.* (2nd ed.), § 304, Schwan's *œ* corresponding to *ɒ* as used in this dissertation.

[3] Joret, *Bessin*, p. 220, 1°, β. [4] Fleury, *Hague*, p. 33.

[5] The same result *je* is noted in *ku·eʃje* (couêffier): O. H. G. KUPPHJA and in *pʌjeʃ* (pllèche): PLATEAM.

[6] *e* is found in *eger* (éguère): Frankish *WARON and in *əɪʃel* (étchelle): SCALAM.

but *-je* later;[1] in French, *ie* of the infinitive was reduced to *e* at the end of the 14th century, becoming *e* in other forms only in the 15th century.[2] In Anglo-Norman, *ie* was reduced to *e* between 1174 and 1183.[3] Neither in Guernsey, nor in the Hague,[4] where even the step *iei* is heard, is this *je* reduced to *e; ie* is also found in the Bessin.[5]

(4) We must now consider the second result, which is *i*. This *i* comes through the stage *iei·* (or *jei*), illustrated by such words as *aidîei, chiei* that are found in the patois of the Hague.[6] An *i·* is added to *je* through the tendency, noticed among the common people, to drawl out or prolong the vowels, and it is in the prolongation of *je* that a slight *i*-sound is developed immediately after it, and *jei·* would then be reduced to *i*.[7] The examples found are, *ai·zi* (aîsi): *AD + ATIARE, *braʃi:* (brasshie): BRACCHIUM, *iraⁿñi:* (iragnie): *ARANEATAM, *kɔ̃ⁿpəⁿñi:* (compengnie): *COMPANIATAM, *koʃi:* (cauchie): CALCIATAM, *marʃi* (marshi): MERCATUM, *pəⁿʃi:* (pinchie): √PIC, *pu·añi:* (pouagnie): PUGNUM,[8] and all the past participles of verbs with the termination *-je* in the infinitive—*bai·zi* (baïsi), *epüʃi* (épuchi), etc.[9] The *i*, following a mouillé consonant, need not necessarily be developed through the stage *jei·*, as explained above, but *-je* could become directly *i* under the influence of the preceding mouillé consonant, which, being palatal, always has a strong *i*-, or raising, influence: $je > i·e' > i'e· > i$. This same explanation can also be applied to the development of (*k* or *g* +) *a* into *i*. Since the gutturals, and especially their developed sounds *ʃ* and *ʒ*, require a position of the tongue

[1] Suchier, *Franç.*, p. 30. [2] *Id.*, p. 51.

[3] Suchier, *Reimp.*, p. XVI, 1; Görlich, *Mak.*, p. XLIII; Suchier, *St. Auban*, p. 2, and Busch, *Ang.-Norm.*, p. 66. *sole* and *pane* (§ 9) may represent the Anglo-Norman reduction of *ie* to *e*, while the French retains the diphthong (*soulier, panier*).

[4] Fleury, *Hague*, pp. 32, 33. [5] Joret, *Bessin*, p. 220, 1°, γ.

[6] Fleury, *Hague*, pp. 32, 33.

[7] A result similar to the one mentioned by Schwan in his *Gram.*, § 86.

[8] A like reduction is seen in *ameti* (amêti): *AMICITATEM and *piti* (piti) PIETATEM. [9] V. § 4, 2.

somewhat related to that of *i*, they would strengthen the action of this vowel on the following *e* in the combination *i·e′* (or *je*), and the final result would inevitably be the fall or, rather, absorption of *e*.

(5) This reduced stage *i* cannot interchange, in Guernsey, with *je*, as Eggert seems to imply:[1] the forms that have *je*, never have *i*, and those with *i*, never have *je*. The product *i*, and also *ie*, from Latin -ATEM, -ATAM, is found in the Anglo-Norman of the 14th century, and even when no palatal precedes.[2] In the modern dialects, this result is heard in the Bessin,[3] whereas the Hague has *íei* only.[4]

§ 5.— *a′* + secondary *j*.

(1) When *a′* is followed by a secondary *j* the two sounds combine to form the diphthong *a′i·*.[5] Examples: *ai·g* (aïgue): *ADJUTARE, *gai·n* (gaïne): VAGINAM, *hai·n* (haïne): Frankish HATJAN, *kai·* (quaït): CADET,[6] *mai·* (maïs): MAGIS, *pai·* (pâïs): PAGENSEM, *sai·* (saït): SAPIT, *vai·* (vaïs): VADEO.

(2) In French proper, *ai* had given *əi* before the 12th century, becoming, later, *ə*.[7]

§ 6.— *k* (*g* or *j*) + *a′* + final nasal.

In this position, *a′* is simply nasalized, with no other change of quality. Examples: *doi·aⁿ* (doyen): DECANUM, *moi·aⁿ* (moyen): MEDIANUM, *pai·aⁿ* (paien): PAGANUM, *tʃaⁿ* (tchen): CANEM. When compared with the change of *a′* +

[1] *Norm. Mund.*, pp. 375–6.
[2] Busch, *Ang.-Norm.*, p. 65.
[3] Joret, *Bessin*, p. 220, 1°, γ.
[4] Fleury, *Hague*, pp. 32, 33.
[5] This same diphthong is the result of *a′* + mouillé cons., as in *bataiʎ* (bataille): BATALIAM, etc. The form *faiʃ* (faïsshe): FACIAM should be noted, and also *pljaiñ* (pllaïgnent): PLANGUNT, with *kraiñ* (craïgnent): TREMUNT.
[6] CADET gives also the form *kie* or *kje* (quïet).
[7] Suchier, *Franç.*, p. 43.

final nasal into *aə*^{n} (*və*^{n} or *ə*^{n}),[1] this development into *a*^{n} may be considered exceptional; *ʃ* and *j* (or *i·*), requiring a forward position of the tongue, as does also *ə*^{n}, may thus prevent the change into *aə*^{n}, i. e., *ə*^{n} would be dropped in order to avoid the effect of two forward sounds so near each other. A different explanation of this result is given further on.[2]

II.— *a′ in closed syllable.*

§ 7.— *a′* + oral cons. + cons.

In this position, *a′* remains without change. Examples: *gra* (grâs): CRASSUM, *ku·ara·ʒ* (couarage): CORAGIUM, *pa* (pâs): PASSUM, *vak* (vaque): VACCAM, *val* (val): VALLUM, etc.

§ 8.— *k* + *a′* + oral cons. + cons.

This combination forms no exception to the rule just given; *a′* remains. Examples: *ka* (ca'): CATTUM, *kart* (carte): CHARTAN, *ʃarm* (charme): CARMEN, etc.

§ 9.— *-arium, -ariam.*

As a résumé of the discussion on these endings is given by Suchier,[3] there is no need of dwelling upon it here. The result, in our patois, is *-i·e′(r)* and *-e.* The examples are *dv*^{n}*ʒi·e* (dângier): *DOMINIARIUM, *məni·er* (mennière): MANUARIAM, *prümi·e* (prumier): PRIMARIUM, *rivi·er* (rivière): *RIPARIAM, and, for the product *e*, *pane* (panné): PANARIUM, *sole* (solé): SOLARIUM. For the reduction of *i·e′* to *e*, in the last examples, there seems to be no perfectly satisfactory explanation.[4]

[1] V. § 3. [2] V. § 37, 2. [3] V. *Franç.*, p. 27.

[4] Cf. this phenomenon with the change of intervocalic λ into *l*, § 153, 1, and of intervocalic *ñ* into *n*, § 166. The reduction of the diphthong *ie* is an Anglo-Norman characteristic, cf. § 4, p. 20, NOTE 3.

§ 10.— a' + cons. + j.

Three peculiar products must be mentioned here: *fra:z* (frâse): *FRASEAM, *pljeʃ* (pllèche): PLATEAM and *mniʃ* (m'niche): *MINACIAM. *fra:z* (frase) may have developed from an etymon having a' + cons. + cons., the second consonant not being an j, or the diphthong $a'i$· may have existed in this word formerly, the i· being absorbed later by the forward consonant z.[1]

§ 11.— a' + k + cons.

This combination is noted in two words: *lə* (lait): LACTEM and *lərm* (lerme): LACRIMAM; the former is the same as in French proper, the latter comes from an older form *lairme*.[2]

§ 12.— a' + nasal + cons.

The result is $ɒ^n$. Examples: $ɒ^npjë$ (àmplle): AMPLUM, $avɒ^nʃ$ (avànche): AB + *ANTIAM, $brɒ^nk$ (brànque): BRANCAM, $efɒ^n$ (éfànt): INFANTEM, $grɒ^n$ (grànd): GRANDEM, $hɒ^nk$ (hànque): ANCAM, $kɒ^n$ (quànt): QUANTUM, $tɒ^n$ (tànt): TANTUM.

§ 13.— k + a' + nasal + cons.

A new division need scarcely be made for this combination, since the result is the same as when a k does not precede the a'. Examples: $kɒ^n$ (càmp): CAMPUM, $ʃɒ^n$ (chànt): CANTUM, $ʃɒ^nbr$ (chàmbre): CAMERAM, $ʃɒ^nt$ (chànte): CANTAT.

[1] Cf. *fráise, bráise* in Fleury, *Hague*, p. 16.

[2] V. Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, I, p. 235, § 257; cf. also Suchier, *Franç.*, p. 43, and Paris, *Alexis*, pp. 38 and 73. The k may have had some influence on the preceding a' in *mərk* (merque): Germ. MARK; it is well, however, in this connection, to remember the frequent interchange of a and $ə$ before r.

e

I.— *e′ in open syllable.*

§ 14.— *e′* + oral cons. + voc.,
e′ + mute + liquid.

(1) One of the results of *e′*, in this position, is *e*, or, under the influence of a following *l* or *r*, *ə*;[1] there is absolutely no trace of an *i*-sound after this *e*. Examples: *ber* (beire): BIBERE, *burʒe* (bourgeais): BURGENSEM, *dsəsper* (d'sesper):[2] SPERARE, *əfre* (effré): *EFFRIDARE, *etel* (éteile): STELAM, *fe* (fé): FIDEM, *krer* (craire): CREDERE, *me* (mé, mei): ME, *me* (meis): MENSEM, *pare* (paret): *PARETEM, *parfe* (parfeis): VICEM, *pe* (peis): *PISUM, *pevr* (peivre): PIPER, *se* (seit): SEAT, *se* (set): SITIM, *se:* (seie): SETAM, *tel* (teile): TELAM, *tre* (treis): TRES, *ve:* (veie): VIAM, *vel* (veile): VELAM. For the influence of *l* and *r*, we have *avər* (aver): HABERE, *dvər* (d'ver): DEBERE, *fjə′bljë* (fièblle): FLEBILEM, *lətr* (lettre): LITTERAM, *mətr* (mettre): MITTERE, *nər* (ner): NIGRUM, *pəl* (pel): PILUM, *pər* (père): PIRUM, *savər* (saver): *SAPERE, *sər* (ser): SERUM, *vər* (ver): VIDERE, *vər* (vère): VERUM.

(2) Whenever the final *r* is dropped in the pronunciation of *sər* (ser), the *e* becomes closed, as in the expression *asese* (à cé sé), equivalent to the French "*ce soir*." Attention should be called to the accented stems[3] in the present indicative of the four verbs from CREDERE, BIBERE, DEBERE, VIDERE. The first and last verbs are perfectly regular, and have *e* in all of these four persons: *kre* (creis), *kre* (creis), *kre* (creit), *kre:* (creient); *ve* (veis), *ve* (veis), *ve* (veit), *ve:* (veient); not so, however, with the other two, which have *ə* in the first

[1] *e* + *l* (or *r*) + voc. does not always become *ə*: it may remain *e*; *e*, however, gives *ə* only when followed by *l* or *r*.

[2] *desəsper* (désesper) and *msəsper* (m'sesper) are also heard. Although of no consequence, it might be observed that some Guernsey writers spell all the examples given above with *ai*, instead of *ei*.

[3] These include the three persons of the singular, and the third person plural.

and second persons singular and lengthen it, but make no change in the quantity of the third person plural: *bə:* (beis), *bə:* (beis), *be* (beit), *bev* (beivent); *də:* (deis), *də:* (deis), *de* (deit), *dev* (deivent). May not the length of the first two persons be owing to the influence of the following *s* (originally in the second person only), which has since dropped?

(3) At the beginning of this paragraph, it was stated that no *i*-sound was heard after the *e* in an open syllable, and it is to be noticed that this statement holds true even when *e'* is followed by a *k* in Latin, as in *a"plje* (empllé): IMPLICARE, *fe* (feis): VICEM. Eggert,[1] misled by the orthography, says that Latin Ē(Ĭ) gives *ei* in Guernsey, in such words as *seie* (:SETAM), *feis* (:FIDEM), *mei* (:ME), *veie* (:VIAM); the fact is that no *i*-sound is heard after *e* in these words. The spelling with *i* is no doubt due, at least with the Guernsey writers,[2] to the fact that these words, in French proper, are spelt with an *i*: *étoile, mois,* etc.

(4) This *e* is also met with as coming from Latin Ē + oral cons. in closed syllable,[3] and from Ē + *k* in closed syllable.[4] In French proper, Latin Ē first gave *ei*,[5] which became *oi* in the 13th century, and *oa* in Palsgrave's time (1530).[6] The Norman retained the diphthong *ei*,[7] which was reduced to *e* already in Old Anglo-Norman texts,[8] a reduction found in the Franco-Norman patois since the 16th century,[9] usually with a closed *e*; in the Hague, the diphthong *a'e·* is also heard.[10]

[1] Cf. Eggert, *Norm. Mund.*, p. 378: "In den Patois des Westens hat sich *ei* zum Theil noch erhalten;" he then cites the examples given above, and indicates them as coming from Guernsey.

[2] These writers especially are mentioned, since they have no orthographical traditions to follow, a statement that probably would not be true of authors on the continent.

[3] V. § 20. [4] V. § 21. [5] Suchier, *Franç.*, pp. 29 and 50.

[6] *Idem*, p. 53. [7] *Idem.*, pp. 50 and 82, 83.

[8] Suchier, *Reimp.*, p. xvii, 4; also Suchier, *St. Auban*, p. 3.

[9] Eggert, *Norm. Mund.*, p. 378; Joret, *Ext.*, pp. 109, 110; Joret, *Bessin*, p. 222, 1°; Fleury, *Hague*, p. 34.

[10] Cf. this diphthong *a'e·* with *a'i·* in Guernsey from *e'* + nasal (§ 17 1) and *e''* + *k* (§ 81).

In Guernsey, only the closed pronunciation is heard, which would separate this island from the Hague, but would bring it nearer to the Bessin.

(5) Another development of *e′* in open syllable is *u·e′*, as observed in the following examples: *bɔ̃ⁿsu·er* (bonsouair): SERUM, *dvu·er* (d'vouair): DEBERE, *əspu·er* (espouair): SPERARE, *fu·e* (foué): FIDEM, *kuvu·et* (couvouaite): *CUPIDITA, *lu·e* (louai): LEGEM, *manu·er* (manouair): MANERE, *patu·e* (patouais): √PAT, *përu·e:* (perouée): PRAEDEM, *puvu·er* (pouvouair): *POTERE, *ru·e* (rouai): REGEM, *rvu·er* (r'vouair): VIDERE, *savu·er* (savouair): *SAPERE, *su·e* (souet): SEAT, *su·e:* (souaie): SETAM, *sürkëru·e* (surkerouet): CRESCERE, *vu·e* (vouai): VIDES. We also have the two products *i·e′* and *œ* exemplified in a few words: *asi·e* (assié'): SEDERE, *muvi·e* (mouvier): MOVERE, *puvi·e* (pouvier): *POTERE, *vuli·e* (voulier): *VOLERE; and also *pœz* (peuse): PENSAT, *savœr* (saveur): *SAPERE.[1] This variety of result (*e*, *ə*, *u·e′*, *i·e′* and *œ*) is heard all over the island, and no single development is characteristic of any one Parish. As may be observed from the examples, *e* and *ə* are the most, and *œ* is the least, common of these products. A few words represent more than one development and, for the sake of ready reference, are tabulated as follows:

e, ə	u·e′	i·e′	œ
fe	*fu·e*	——	——
se	*su·e*	——	——
se:	*su·e:*	——	——
ve	*vu·e*	——	——
dvər	*dvu.er*	——	——
savər	*savu·er*	——	*savœr*
vər	*rvu·er*	——	——
——	*puvu·er*	*puvi·e*	——

The forms in the first column (under *e*, *ə*) are, by far, the most used, excepting the last four, which differ in development

[1] PERCIPUNT > *apœrf* (apeurchent), showing a like product.

according to the meaning: *dvər, savər, vər* being used as regular infinitives, and *dvu·er, savu·er, rvu·er, puvu·er* as substantives; for example, *tu vas l' ver, i' faut saver chunna,* but *ch'est ten d'vouair, au r'vouair.*

(6) *w·e'* represents the stage just before the Modern French *u·a.*[1] *œ* is common in the Eastern dialects of France[2] and is observed in *seu* (< SITIM), a word Meyer-Lübke considers curious,[3] because found in a Norman dialect.

§ 15.— *e'* + final vowel.

As differing from the general rule given in the last paragraph, attention should be called to four verbs which have *i:* in the third person singular of the present indicative: *a"vi:* (envie): VIARE, *əfri:* (effrie): *EFFRIDARE, *nəti:* (nettie): NITIDUM, *ra"vi:* (renvie): VIARE.[4]

§ 16.— *k* + *e'* + oral cons. + voc.

e' here becomes *i.* Examples: *mərsi* (merci): MERCEDEM, *pjezi* (pllaîsi): PLACERE, *fir* (chire): CERAM. The result *i* presupposes an earlier stage *iei*(*jei*), as it does in French proper.[5]

§ 17.— *e'* + nasal + voc.

(1) *e'* > *a'i·*, a result similar to that of *a'* in this position.[6] Examples: *alai·n* (halaïne): ANHELARE, *avai·n* (avaïne): AVENAM, *dmai·n* (d'maïne): DOMINIUM, *krai·m* (craïme): *CREMA, *pai·n* (païne): POENAM, *vai·n* (vaïne): VENAM, *vərvai·n* (vervaïne): VERBENAM. This development may be influenced by that of *a'* (+ nasal + voc.) into *a'i·*, but it may also represent the Norman characteristic of changing *ei* into *ai*,[7] by which pro-

[1] Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, I, p. 96, § 72.
[2] *Idem*, p. 100 ff.
[3] *Idem*, p. 99, § 74.
[4] Notice *purki* (pourqui): QUID.
[5] Cf. Schwan, *Gram.*, § 85.
[6] V. § 2, 1.
[7] V. § 1, 2.

cess could also be explained the forms *lai·zir* (laïsir): LICERE,[1] *pai·sɔ̃* (païsson): PISCEM[2] and *mai·nti* (maïnti): MEDIETATEM.[3]

(2) *mœn* (meune): MINAT and its compounds *amœn* (ameune), *dmœn* (d'meune), *purmœn* (pourmeune) form exceptions to the rule, the labial *m* having rounded the following *e*.

§ 18.— *e'* + final nasal.

(1) *e'* > *a'ə̃*, for which the pronunciation in the different Parishes of Guernsey varies in the same way as for *a'ə̃* < *a'* + final nasal.[4] Examples: *fraə̃* (frain): FRENUM, *pljaə̃* (pllain): PLENUM, etc.

(2) MINUS gives three results: *maə̃* (maens), *mu·a̰* (mouens), *mu·aə̃* (mouaens); according to Schwan,[5] this development comes from the Eastern dialects.

§ 19.— *k* + *e'* + final nasal.

The product is *ə̃*. Examples: *pu·aʃə̃* (pouasshin): PULLICENUM, *·rezə̃* (raisin): RACENUM.

II.— *e' in closed syllable.*

§ 20.— *e'* + oral cons. + cons.

We have here two results, one where *e* remains, the other where it becomes *ə*. Eggert[6] states that in the Norman dialects Latin Ĕ(Ī) in closed syllable usually gives *e*, sometimes *ei*, but he does not mention whether this *e* is closed or open, or both. Examples: for *e*, *əvek* (évêque): EPISCOPUM, *mem* (mîme): METIPSIMUM, *mereλ* (méreille): MIRABILIA, *ne:* (née): NIVICARE. For *ə*, *a̰səñ* (ensigne): INSIGNAT, *kɔ̃səl* (consel): CONSILIUM, *vərg* (vergues): VIRGAS. *ə*, as heard in the second list of examples just given, is doubtless a later development of *e*.[7]

[1] V. § 81.
[2] V. § 85.
[3] V. § 89.
[4] V. § 3, 1.
[5] *Gram.*, § 86, Anm.
[6] *Norm. Mund.*, p. 380.
[7] Cf. Suchier, *Franç.*, p. 50, § 19.

§ 21.— $e' + k +$ cons.

We have here the single result *e*. Examples: *aⁿdre* (endrait): IN + DIRECTUM, *de* (daigt): DIGITUM, *detr* (deître): DEXTRAM, *dre* (dret): DIRECTUM, *əsplje* (espllait): EXPLICITUM, *ərte* (ortet): ARTICULUM. *rai·n* (raïne): REGINAM is an exception, and may have been formed by analogy to such words as *alai·n* (halaïne): ANHELARE, *pai·n* (païne): POENAM, etc., where *e* is in open syllable.[1]

§ 22.— $e' + lj$.

Two examples of verbs in the third person singular have been found, showing the result *i*: *eviλ* (éville): *EXVIGILIAT, *kɔⁿsiλ* (consille): *CONSILIAT. The pronunciation of λ has no doubt drawn the tongue further forward and higher in the mouth, with the effect of changing the mid-vowel *e* into the high-vowel *i*.

§ 23.— $e' +$ nasal + cons.

$e' > a^n$, a result that separates it from $a' +$ nasal in closed syllable, which becomes $ɒ^n$.[2] Examples: a^n (en): INDE, *aⁿtr* (entre): INTRAT, *faⁿdr* (fendre): FINDERE, *praⁿdr* (prendre): PREHENDERE, *suvaⁿ* (souvent): SUBINDE, and, finally, all adverbs ending in *-maⁿ* (-ment): MENTE, which are generally treated, in Romance languages, as if from Latin Ē.

ə.

I.— *ə′ in open syllable.*

§ 24.— $ə' +$ oral cons. + voc.,
$ə' +$ mute + liquid.

(1) The result is generally *iə′*, a form that is older than the Modern French *ie*. Examples: *fiər* (fier): FERUM, *iər* (hier): HERE, *miəl* (miel): MEL;[3] *fiəvr* (fièvre): FEBREM, *liəvr*

[1] V. § 17, 1. [2] V. § 12. [3] Cf. also *bir*(bire): M. H. G. BIER.

(lièvre): LEPOREM, *piər* (pierre): PETRAM. A closed *e* is heard in *fiel* (fieil): FEL, *siel* (cieil): CAELUM.

(2) These same products (*iə′* and *ie′*) are also found under other headings.[1] In Modern French the pronunciation varies according to position.[2] In the Hague patois this *e* is open,[3] but it is closed in that of the Bessin.[4] Guernsey shows the same rule as French proper, excepting in *fiel* (fieil), *siel* (cieil), in *sieʒ* (siège)[5] and in the result from the -ARIAM termination (> *-ie′r*),[6] where, according to the French rule, the *e* should be open, preceding as it does a pronounced consonant. We find no traces, in Guernsey, of the Anglo-Norman reduction of *ie* to *e*, and sometimes to *i*,[7] excepting perhaps in the word *pi* (pid): PEDEM, and in *amiljorasjɔ̃* (amiliorâtion), etc.,[8] where *ə* is subtonic. In *pi* (pid), however, the diphthong *iə′* may have been reduced to *i* because of the frequent atonic position of this word.

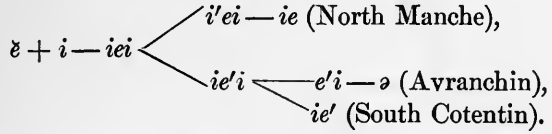
(3) In a few forms, *ə* > *œ* under the influence of a labial, either following or preceding: *kw·œr* (queure): QUAERERE, *lœv* (leuve): LEVAT and its compounds *elœv* (eleuve), *rlœv* (r'leuve).

§ 25.— *ə′* + *k* (or *g*) + voc.

(1) The development of *ə′* into *i*, in this position, is similar to that of *ə′* (+ *k* + voc.) in French proper. Examples: *dis* (dix): DECEM, *pri:* (prie): PRECAT, etc. There are however exceptions, in which *ə′* (+ *g*) > *iə′*, as if no *g* followed: *ɑ̃piər* (empière): IMPEJORAT, *liər* (lière): LEGERE, *piər* (pière): *PEJOREM, and for which a reasonable explanation would be that they were influenced by such words as *siər* (sière): SEQUERE.[9]

[1] V. § 30, 1, and also the terminations -ARIUM, -ARIAM, § 9.
[2] Suchier, *Franç.*, p. 55. [3] Fleury, *Hague*, p. 35.
[4] Joret, *Bessin*, p. 222, 2°. [5] V. § 30, 1, γ. [6] V. § 9.
[7] Suchier, *Reimp.*, p. xvi, 1; Görlich, *Mak.*, p. xliii, and Busch, *Ang.-Norm.*, pp. 33, 34. V., however, § 4, p. 20, NOTE 3.
[8] V. § 89; compare these forms with words such as *primer*, *Alisandre* found in Anglo-Norman texts (Görlich, *Mak.*, p. xlv).
[9] V. § 32.

(2) We have just seen that $ə' + k > i$ or $iə'$; we shall also find the product ie'.[1] In Old and Modern French, $ə'$ in these cases develops into *ie*, which, with a following *i*, is reduced to *i*.[2] In the modern Norman patois, the result varies. Eggert[3] gives the following table for the Manche, which can be compared with the results in Guernsey:



Joret[4] shows that the modern Norman dialects can be divided into two sections: those of the East, which agree with Modern French in having *i*, and those of the West, where *ié* (or *iè*) is usually the result. We can thus see that our development is similar to that in the whole of the Manche, but especially to that in the Hague; our patois is, however, separated from the latter in the development of *viər* (vier): VECULUM and *liər* (lière).[5] Our result *mü* (mûx): MELIUS is, however, very similar to *mûčs* of the Hague.[6]

§ 26.— $ə'$ + final nasal.

$ə'$ changes into ja^n. Examples: bja^n[7] (bien): BENE, mja^n (mien): MEUM,[8] rja^n (rien): REM, tja^n (tien): *TEUM,[8] tja^n (tient): TENET, vja^n (vient): VENIT. $ə'$ is drawn back to *a* because of the nasalization, but it is not certain whether this is what Romdahl[9] means by the "gutturalization" of the

[1] Cf. §§ 30 and 31.
[2] Suchier, *Franç.*, p. 30.
[3] *Norm. Mund.*, pp. 371, 372.
[4] *Mélanges*, pp. xxiv, xxv and 55–57; cf. also Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, I, p. 161, § 159.
[5] *vúčs* and *lúčre* in the Hague; v. Fleury, *Hague*, p. 35.
[6] Fleury, *Hague*. p. 35.
[7] I have occasionally heard the pronunciation $bjə^n$ or $bi'ə^n$.
[8] The feminine of mja^n and tja^n is $mja:n$ (mienne) and $tja:n$ (tienne)
[9] V. *Saire*, pp. 10 ff.

vowels. He writes that gutturalization and nasalization [1] are characteristics of the vowels of the Val de Saire; the question is whether he would say that *ə′* (+ nasal) in Guernsey was "gutturalized," a phenomenon that would point to some linguistic relation between these two places.

II.— *ə′ in closed syllable.*

§ 27.— *ə′* + oral cons. + cons.

(1) Just as we noted two results for *e′* in this position,[2] so we find that *ə′* becomes sometimes *e*, sometimes *ə*.[3] Examples: for *e*, *pel* (pcl): PELLEM, *tet* (tête): TESTAM, *sitern* (citerne): CISTERNAM; for *ə*, *bəl* (bel):[4] BELLUM, *nuvəl* (nouvelle): NOVELLAM, *pərdr* (perdre): PERDERE.

(2) *dviər* (d'viers): VERSUS forms an exception, its *ə′* having developed as if it were in open syllable. The preceding labial consonant may have influenced the *ə* in *apœl* (appeule): APPELLAT and *rapœl* (rappeule), causing it to become *œ*.[5]

§ 28.— *-ellum.*

(1) This termination becomes *e*. Examples: *añe* (anié): ANELLUM, *furne* (fourné): FURNUM, *kute* (couté): CULTELLUM, *ma^{n}te* (manté): MANTELLUM, *marte* (marté): MARTELLUM, *morse* (morsé): *MORSELLUM, *purfe* (pourché): PORCELLUM, *rnuve* (r'nouvé): RENOVELLUM, *rüse* (rusé): $\sqrt{\text{RU-}}$, *sərve* (cervé): CEREBELLUM, *ʃape* (chapé): CAPELLUM, *tu·are* (touaré): TAURUM, *tune* (tounné): O. H. G. TUNNA. In the plural, these words change *e* to *jo*, and we thus have *furnjo*, *kutjo*, *ma^{n}tjo*, etc.[6] The probable explanation of these results

[1] Cf. Joret, *Mélanges*, p. xvi. [2] V. § 20.

[3] Would it be better to state that *ə′* remains *ə*? Or does *ə′* first become *e*, which afterwards returns to the open pronunciation *ə*?

[4] Heard in the expression *ifəbəl* (i' fait bel), for the French "*il fait beau.*"

[5] Cf. § 119 and NOTE.

[6] The plural *año* is only an apparent exception, since it represents *añjo*, in which the *j* has been absorbed by the preceding *ñ*.

is that, in the singular -ELLUM, the *ə′* followed the law for *ə′* in closed syllable,[1] and therefore become *e*, the final *l* disappearing in the pronunciation, whereas, in the plural -ELLOS, *ə′l* (+ cons.) > *əal* > *əau* > *ia′u* > *i·o′* > *jo*.

(2) Two words form exceptions to this development, and have *jo* in the singular,[2] *jo:* in the plural: *bjo* (biau): BELLUM,[3] *vjo* (viau): VITELLUM, and, for the plural, *bjo:* (biaux), *vjo:* (viaux).

(3) Let us compare these developments, in the singular and the plural, with those in France and in Normandy. In Old French, the combination *əl* early became *eal* and *eau*[4] (*l* becoming vowelized before the 12th century);[5] *e*, before *au*, was mute by the 14th century,[6] and *au* was pronounced *o* in the 17th century.[7] Joret[8] has already so carefully examined the various results of -ELLUM in the modern Norman dialects, that nothing can be added. On comparison, we note that the Guernsey developments *-e*, *-jo* correspond to those of the Basse Normandie in the singular, and of Eastern Normandy in the plural, excepting for the two words *bjo* and *vjo* which represent, both for the singular and the plural, the same change as in the Eastern half of Normandy. This difference between Guernsey and that part of Normandy nearest to it, is very curious, but our patois probably represents, for this termination at least, the Old Norman dialect more correctly than do the other modern Norman patois, since, in the *Makkabäer*, *-el* is the direct product of -ELLUM, becoming *-eaus* however before the flectional *s*;[9] a further resemblance is observed in the development, in the *Makka-*

[1] V. § 27, 1.

[2] Cf. *pjo* (piau): PELLEM.

[3] Cf. *bi·otaï·* (biautaï).

[4] Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, I, pp. 163–164.

[5] Suchier, *Franç.*, p. 43; Schwan, *Gram.*, §§ 231 and 329.

[6] Suchier, *Franç.*, p. 51.

[7] Suchier, *Franç.*, p. 53, where, however, the *e* is said to be retained, in the pronunciation of such words as *beau*, until the 17th century.

[8] *Ext.*, pp. 110–112; cf. Joret, *Bessin*, p. 222, 3°; Fleury, *Hague*, p. 35, and Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, I, p. 164, § 163.

[9] Görlich, *Mak.*, pp. xv, xvi.

bäer, of BELLUM into *beau* (not *bel*), an exceptional form thus still preserved in the Guernsey *bjo* for the singular;[1] the singular *vjo* still remains unexplained, but it might be formed simply by analogy with *bjo*, since both words are monosyllabic.

§ 29.— *ə′* + nasal + cons.

(1) The change into a^n is the same as in French proper. Examples: *va*^{n} (vent): VENTUM, *va*^{n}*dr* (vendre): VENDERE, etc.

(2) *əksv*^{n}*pjë* (exàmplle): EXEMPLUM is an exception to this rule, but was also treated in Old Norman as if it had an *a′* (+ nasal + cons.).[2]

§ 30.— *ə′* + cons. + *j*.[3]

(1) The result is here fourfold, being *jə*, *je*, *ie′*, *i*, which represent four successive stages in the development of *ə′* (+ cons. + *j*). The following examples, in the order respectively of the products just noted, were found:

(*α*) *kjəd* (quiède): TEPIDUM, *njəʃ*[4] (nièche): *NEPTIAM, *rmjəd*[5] (r'mième): REMEDIUM.

(*β*) *mekje* (méquier): MINISTERIUM.

(*γ*) *mie* (mié): MEDIUM, *sieʒ* (siège): SEDICUM.

(*δ*) *epis* (épice): *SPECIAM, *pri* (prix): PRETIUM, *ʃliz* (ch'lise): *CERESIAM.

(2) The differences in the first three sets are owing simply to the law of least action, or of naturalness: when *ə′* is final, it is likely to become closed, as in *mekje* and *mie*, and under the influence of a preceding *k*, *i* would tend to be consonant-

[1] Cf. Uhlemann, *La Conception und St. Nicholas*, p. 76, § 37, 1.

[2] Cf. Suchier, *Reimp.*, p. 71: "Zu diesen Worten" (words with *en*) "kommt EXEMPLUM, welches im Normannischen stets *a* hat;" also Görlich, *Mak.*, p. xvi, 26, and Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, I, p. 110, § 90.

[3] For convenience sake, some examples are given under this heading, which do not strictly belong here.

[4] Or *niəʃ*.

[5] Or *rmiəd*, or even *rmied*.

ized, as is seen in *kjəd* and *mekje*. *epis* probably comes directly from French proper; *pri* and *fliz* have the same development as in Modern French.[1]

§ 31.— *ə′* + *k* + cons.

The result is *ie′*. Examples: *depie* (dépiet): DESPECTUM and *lie*[2] (liet): LECTUM.[3]

§ 32.— *ə′* + *qu*.

The only word with this combination is *siər* (sière): SEQUERE, and its derivative *siet* (siète).

i

I.— *i′ in open syllable.*

§ 33.— *i′* + cons. + voc.

(1) The result here agrees with that in French proper, and need not be dwelt upon. Examples: *fi* (fi): FILUM, *livr* (livre): LIBRUM, *riv* (rive): RIPAM, *vnir* (v'nir): VENIRE, etc. This same result is observed in all the Norman dialects.[4]

(2) The Guernsey patois agrees with French proper also in the development of *i′* + final nasal, as in *fə̃* (fin): FINEM, *və̃* (vin): VINUM, etc.

§ 34.— *i′* + nasal + voc.

(1) The *i′* here becomes *e′i·*, but with a very weak *i*-sound.[5] Examples: *epei·n* (épîne): SPINAM, *frei·n* (f'rîne): FARINAM,

[1] V. Schwan, *Gram.*, §§ 91, 2 and 92.

[2] The pronunciation *ljət* is frequently heard all over the island; the plural is *li:* (lits). TECTUM cannot help us here, as it has not given anything in Guernsey.

[3] Cf. the feminine *viel* (vielle): *VECULAM; under the influence of the *r*, from final *kl* (v. § 154, 2), we have the pronunciation *viər* (vier) in the masculine.

[4] Eggert, *Norm. Mund.*, p. 380; also Joret, *Bessin*, p. 223.

[5] Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, I, p. 62.

krei·m (crîme): CRIMEN, *mədʃei·n* (medchîne): MEDICINAM, *raʃei·n* (rachîne): RADICINAM, *rei·m* (rîme): RIMAM, *ru·ei·n* (ruîne): RUINAM, *ʃei·m* (chîme): CYMAM.[1] In such words as these, the position of the tongue for the production of *i* has been lowered to that required by *e*, under the influence of the following nasal, whether dental or labial.

(2) The same development is seen with *i*, in closed syllable, in *abei·m* (abîme): ABISMUM.[2]

(3) In French, *i'* (+ nasal + voc.) remained a pure oral vowel because the nasalization of *i* into *ə*ⁿ took place after the intervocalic *n* had any power to nasalize the preceding vowel.[3] In the Bessin, *i* before a nasal + voc. becomes *e*, but apparently without any following *i*-sound;[4] in the Val de Saire, it becomes *e* before *n* and *ei* before *m*.[5] In Guernsey, we have the result *e'i·* before both *n* and *m*.

§ 35.— final *i'*.

(1) Meyer-Lübke[6] notes that final *i'* is often pronounced open in the Hague; in Guernsey, on the contrary, it is always closed, as in *bërbi* (berbi): *BERBICEM, etc.

(2) The final *i'* is frequently nasalized in Norman patois, and in many other dialects, the result being such forms as *amiⁿ*, *veniⁿ*, etc.[7] In Guernsey, this nasalization is heard only in the following cases, as far as could be ascertained: *iʃəⁿ* (ichîn): ECCE + HIC, *kməⁿz*[8] (k'mînse) and *kməⁿzol*[8] (k'mînsole): CAMISIAM, *osəⁿ* (aussîn): $\sqrt{\text{AL}}$ + SIC, *ʃœⁿʃəⁿ* (chunchîn):

[1] Métivier and Corbet both agree in representing this *e'i·* by *î*.

[2] Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, I, p. 68, where mention is made of a Norman form *abieme*.

[3] Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, I, pp. 62, 63.

[4] Joret, *Bessin*, p. 223.

[5] Romdahl, *Saire*, glossary; Eggert, *Norm. Mund.*, p. 382.

[6] *Gram. Rom.*, I, p. 67.

[7] Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, I, p. 66, § 40.

[8] In *kməⁿz* and *kməⁿzol*, *i* is not strictly final, nor even tonic in the latter example, but it is, however, at the end of a syllable.

ECCE + HOC.[1] The nasalized infinitives, like *veniⁿ*, and such words as *amiⁿ*, are never heard in Guernsey.

(3) This nasalization is sometimes heard in the Bessin[2] and in the Hague,[3] but it is not at all peculiar to these Norman dialects, since it occurs, as has just been mentioned, in other parts of the Romance field.

II.— *i′ in closed syllable.*

§ 36.— *i′* + oral cons. + cons.

Since *i′* is here treated as in Modern French, no especial attention need be called to these results. Examples: *i:l* (île): INSULAM, *tiʒ* (tige): TIBIAM, *vil* (ville): VILLAM, etc.

§ 37.— *i′* + nasal + cons.

(1) The development here into *əⁿ* is the same as in French proper: *ləⁿʒ* (linge): LINEUM, etc.

(2) We have already noted the five results *aⁿ*, *jaⁿ*, *vⁿ*, *a′əⁿ*, *əⁿ*, as coming from different combinations. The various products of the vowels *a*, *e*, and *i* + final nasal will be discussed first; these are *aⁿ* (< *k* + *a′* + final nasal) and the products *jaⁿ*, *a′əⁿ* and *əⁿ*. In French proper Latin A (+ final *m*, *n*) develops into *aⁿ*, except when preceded by a *k* or *j*,[4] and later into *eⁿ*, *əⁿ*;[5] the last two developments (*eⁿ* and *əⁿ*) are the same as from *ə′* (+ final nasal).[6] In Guernsey, the result *a′əⁿ* (*v′əⁿ* or *əⁿ*), from *a* + final nasal, is the same as the French *aⁿ* > *eⁿ* > *əⁿ*, whereas *aⁿ* (< *k* + *a* + final nasal) and *jaⁿ* (< *ə* + final

[1] Mention should be made here of *mai·nti′* (mainti): MEDIETATEM, noticed in § 89.

[2] Joret, *Bessin*, p. 223. [3] Fleury, *Hague*, p. 36.

[4] Schwan, *Gram.*, §§ 77, 78; Suchier, *Franç.*, p. 29; Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, I, pp. 227, 228.

[5] Suchier, *Franç.*, p. 54; Schwan, *Gram.*, §§ 302 and 304.

[6] Schwan, *Gram.*, § 303.

nasal) correspond to the French $i\partial^n$; we shall see later that e (+ nasal + cons.) > a^n,[1] and thus ∂, when no i-sound followed, developed, in our patois, into a^n, without exception, so that in Guernsey the forms *moi·a*^{n} (moyen), *bja*^{n} (bien), etc., are regular, while the French pronunciation *mwaj*∂^n, *bj*∂^n, etc., is exceptional.

(3) As to the product of a + final nasal, ∂^n of the Lower Parishes is similar to the ∂^n of French proper, whereas the $a'\partial^n$ (or $\upsilon'\partial^n$) represents the older French pronunciation $a^n i$; it is difficult to tell exactly which of the two vowels of the diphthong is nasalized, or whether both are not perhaps thus affected; the transcription $a^{n\prime}\partial^n$ (or $\upsilon^{n\prime}\partial^n$) may perhaps be better, as it is certainly older. But few data can be found for the Norman patois of the continent; in the Bessin, ∂ + final nasal > *iin*[2] (whatever may be the exact value of this transcription). Just one word now on the changes of i (+ final nasal), the same in Guernsey as in French proper;[3] y^n of the Hague[4] and *in* (= ∂^n) of the Bessin[5] are related or, rather, similar results. The common pronunciation of the results from e (+ nasal + cons.) and from ∂' and (k +) a (+ final nasal), is not noted in Old Norman MSS.,[6] but nothing accurate can be ascertained until more data are obtained both from the Old Norman MSS. and from the modern Norman patois.

(4) The preceding discussion leaves us free to consider now the a^n from e', e'', ∂', ∂'', and the υ^n from a', (k +) a', a'', when these vowels are in a closed syllable (= voc. + nasal + cons.).

[1] V. § 37, 4.

[2] Joret, *Bessin*, p. 222, 2°; cf. the examples *vie*^{n}*yne* and *tie*^{n}*yne* found in Fleury, *Hague*, p. 35.

[3] Suchier, *Franç.*, p. 54; also Schwan, *Gram.*, §§ 96 and 299.

[4] Fleury, *Hague*, p. 36. [5] Joret, *Bessin*, p. 223, 1°.

[6] V., in the *Alexis*, *Eufemien: -ier*, 64, and *Eufemien: cristiens: -ier*, 68, where the *en* must have a distinct *e*-sound. Cf. also Suchier, *Reimp.*, p. xviii, 16; Görlich, *Mak.*, p. xvii, 33, and p. xliii.

(5) In French, *en* and *an* were confounded in pronunciation,[1] but in Norman, and especially in Anglo-Norman, these two sounds were kept separate.[2]

(6) As for the modern Norman patois, Suchier states that this distinction is still retained in the Val de Saire and the Perche;[3] the result, in the former locality, is transcribed *an* by Romdahl.[4] In Guernsey we also find a distinction, v^n probably corresponding to the *an* just mentioned, but being a very difficult sound to transcribe accurately. Since *en* is pronounced a^n, as in French proper, a natural explanation of the present distinction, in Guernsey and the Val de Saire, would be, not that *an* and *en* were kept distinct in these two places, but that they were confounded, only later than in French, the v^n of to-day being then a further development of the $a + n$, to distinguish it, perhaps, from the pronunciation of $e + n$ as a^n.[5]

(7) The only example of $e +$ nasal becoming v^n is EXEMPLUM > *əksv^{n}pjë* (exâmplle), which has already been explained.[6]

§ 38.— *gu* + *i'* + cons.

In *v^{n}gül* (ângûle): ANGUILLAM,[7] *i'* has been rounded under the influence of the preceding *u* (or *w*), which itself disappears, but, as we see, not without having given its rounded quality to the previously unrounded *i'*.

[1] Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, I, pp. 110, 111; Suchier, *Franç.*, p. 81.

[2] Suchier, *Reimp.*, pp. 69–71; Görlich, *Mak.*, pp. xvi, 26, and xliv; Paris, *Alexis*, pp. 36, 37 and 82, 83; Koschwitz, *Karls Reise*, pp. xxvi–xxviii; Gautier, *Roland*, p. 416; Busch, *Ang.-Norm.*, pp. 12–14. Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, I, p. 227, § 245, for the Anglo-Norman *aun*, a result not found in Guernsey.

[3] Suchier, *Franç.*, p. 81.

[4] Romdahl, *Saire*, pp. 11, 12.
Cf. Eggert, *Norm. Mund.*, p. 381.

[5] V. § 29, 2.

[6] Cf. a similar change in the word *süfjaï* (suffllaïr): SIBILARE, § 92, 2.

o′

I.— *o′ in open syllable.*

§ 39.— *o′* + oral cons. + voc.

(1) Of all the vowels in the Guernsey dialect, *o′* presents the greatest variety of developments, there being six results from this one vowel in open syllable: *œ*, *u*, *u·ɔ′*, *u·a′*, *a′u·* and *a′œ·*. The examples, which are not numerous, will be given first, arranged in the above order of results:

(*a*) *kulœr* (couleur): COLOREM, *mɒ̃ⁿʒœ* (mângeux): MANDUCATOREM, *priœ* (prieux): PRECARE.[1]

(*β*) *amur* (amour): AMOREM, *fljur* (fllour): FLOREM, *gul* (goule): GULAM, *ku:* (coue): CODAM, *kum* (coume): QUO + MODO.

(*γ*) *aku·ɔr*[2] (accouore): HORAM, *labu·ɔr*[2] (labouor): LABOREM.

(*δ*) *aku·ar*[2] (accouare): HORAM, *labu·ar*[2] (labouar): LABOREM.

(*ε*) *fau·* (chaou): COLEM.[3]

(*ζ*) *aœ·r* (haeure): HORAM, *daœ·* (daeux): DUOS, *miljaœ·* (millaeux): MELIOREM, *naœ·* (naeud): NODUM, *nvaœ·* (n'vaeu): NEPOTEM, *saœ·* (saeu): SOLUM, also adjectives ending in *-aœ·* (-aeux): -OSUM: *aⁿviaœ·* (enviaeux), *famaœ·* (famaeux), *küriaœ·* (curiaeux), *melodiaœ·* (mélodiaeux), *pœraœ·* (peuraeux), *œraœ·* (heuraeux), etc.[4]

(2) A scheme for the successive developments from Latin ŏ will now be given,[5] the results found in Guernsey being all printed in Italics:

[1] In two words, where the French has *œ*, the Guernsey patois has *ü: bljü* (bllû): Germ. BLAW and the plural *mesjü* (mêssiûx): SENIORES.

[2] *u·ɔ′* is heard in the Lower Parishes, whereas *u·a′* is the pronunciation of the Upper Parishes.

[3] Cf. also *kau·* (caoup): COLAPHUM.

[4] Cf. also *kvaœ·* (k'vaeu): CAPILLUM. The *a* of *a′œ·*, in all the above examples, is not very broad, and is sometimes pronounced almost *ɒ* (= *ɒ′œ·*).

[5] For a discussion of *o*, v. Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, I, pp. 132–137.

$$o > o'u\cdot{}^{1} \begin{cases} > e'u\cdot > œ > a'œ\cdot \\ > u > u'ɔ > u\cdot ɔ' > u'a\cdot \\ > ɔ'u\cdot{}^{2} > \mathring{a}'u^{3} > a'u\cdot \end{cases}$$

(3) *o′* first diphthongizes into *o′u·* from which the separate developments spring:

(*a*) *o* of the diphthong *o′u·* is unrounded and pushed forward to *e*, and then this *e′u·* is reduced to *œ*, which is afterwards diphthongized into *a′œ*.

(*β*) Here, *o′u·* becomes the single sound *u*, which is then diphthongized into *u′ɔ*; the accent is shifted forward, and, through differentiation, the *u·ɔ′* becomes *u·a′*, in which the *ɔ* has been unrounded.

(*γ*) Or *o′u·* gives *ɔ′u·*, in which the *ɔ* becomes slightly unrounded to *å* and afterwards still more so, the diphthong changing to *a′u·*. These last two diphthongs (*å′u·* and *a′u·*), and especially the latter, which is heard in Guernsey, may come directly from *u* of the second series, as *a′œ* from *œ*.

(4) We have just noted, in Guernsey, six results from Latin ō; there are, in all, eight (from *o′* and *o″* not followed by a *k* or *j*): *o′u·*, *œ*, *a′œ·*, *u*, *u·ɔ′*, *u·a′*, *ɔ′u·* and *a′u·*.

(5) In French proper, *ou* > *eu* in the 12th century, and the termination *-eur* was extended Westward, as far as Guernsey,[4] where *œ* is heard even in *nœf* (neuches) and *ʒœr* (jeur), and in the ending *-a′œ·* (:-OSUM). In the Anglo-Norman, this termination already existed by the 14th century.[5] For the other examples, where *o* is before an *r* or *l*[6] (excepting the above ending), our patois either has *u* or diphthongizes *o* into *u·ɔ′*, *u·a′* or *a′u·*. For the Bessin[7] and the Hague,[8] the results are the same as in Guernsey.

[1] A stage observed in *sou·m* (soumme): SUMMUM, § 48.

[2] This result is seen with *o′* in closed syllable in *drɔu·l* (droule): Germ. DROLL-, § 43, δ.

[3] This pronunciation is sometimes heard in *sau·m* or *såo·m* (saomme) instead of *sou·m* of NOTE 1.

[4] Suchier, *Franç.*, p. 85.

[5] Busch, *Ang.-Norm.*, p. 23, II.

[6] Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, I, p. 133, § 121.

[7] Joret, *Bessin*, p. 224.

[8] Fleury, *Hague*, p. 37.

§ 40.— *o′* + *k* + voc.

(1) In this position, *k* becomes *i*, and the result is *o′i·*, or *u′i·*, in which the *i*, being itself an unrounded vowel, causes the lips to separate a little before the *o* or *u* is completed, an *a* being thus introduced: *u′ai·*; the accent is then naturally pushed forward with the result *ua′i·*,[1] as heard in *nuai·* (nouaïx): NUCEM. Or *i*, instead of introducing the vowel *a*, as just suggested, may itself be influenced by the preceding *u* and be drawn downward and slightly backward, giving *e*,[2] as in *kru·e* (crouaix): CRUCEM, *vu·e* (vouaix): VOCEM.

(2) In French proper, *o* forms a diphthong with the following *i*, and eventually is pronounced *wa*, just as the *oi* from Latin ē.[3] The Guernsey results[4] correspond to the French pronunciation *oe* or *ɔɔ′* of the 13th century.[5]

§ 41.— *o′* + nasal + voc.

(1) The results of this combination vary, sometimes being *ə*, as in French proper, but usually *u*: *dən* (donne): DONAT, but *gënun* (guenoune): O. H. G. WINJÂ, *kurun* (courounne): CORONAM, *miñjun* (mignioune): Celtic √MIN-, *pərsun* (persounne): PERSONAM, *piʒun* (pigeoune): PIPIONEM, *pum* (poume): POMAM.

(2) Before a nasal, *o* did not develop into *ou* and *eu* in French proper.[6] Palsgrave,[7] however, states that *om* was pronounced with an *u*-sound between *o* and the following nasal, and it is thus that *sou·m* (soumme) is now heard in Guernsey.[8] In the Old Norman dialect, on the other hand,

[1] For a similar development, cf. *o′* + *k* + cons., § 44, and *o″* + *k* + voc., § 94.

[2] A like result is gotten from the termination -ĔRIAM, § 46.

[3] Schwan, *Gram.*, § 284.

[4] Beside § 40, 1, and NOTE 2 and § 45, v., for *au*, §§ 71 and 72; also the result *üe″* from *a″u*, §§ 114 and 116.

[5] Suchier, *Franç.*, p. 50; Schwan, *Gram.*, § 285, 3.

[6] Suchier, *Franç.*, p. 82.

[7] *Eclaircissement de la langue française*, p. 7, V.

[8] V. § 48; cf. also *drɔu·l* (droule), § 43, δ.

$o > u$ before nasals,[1] and it is this result which is still retained in Guernsey, as well as in the Hague,[2] but apparently not in the Bessin.[3]

§ 42.— o' + final nasal.

(1) The result is $ɔ^n$. Examples: *burdɔ*^{n} [4] (bourdon): BURDONEM, *dɔ*^{n} (don): DONUM, *mezɔ*^{n} (maison): MANSIONEM, *nɔ*^{n} (nom): NOMEN, etc.

(2) This Guernsey product is exactly similar to the one in French proper,[5] and also in the Bessin.[6] In the Old Norman, *o* in this position gave *u*,[7] which, however, began to develop into *ou* and *o* by the 14th century.[8]

II.— *o' in closed syllable.*

§ 43.— o' + oral cons. + cons.

The results here are the same as for o' + oral cons. in open syllable,[9] and the physiological explanations must, therefore, be the same. Examples:[10]

(*α*) for *o*, *krot* (craûte): CRUSTAM.

(*β*) for *u·a'*,[11] *fu·ar* (fouar): FURNUM, *ru·aʒ* (rouage): RUBEUM.

(*γ*) for *œ*, *kœr* (cueurt): CURRIT, *ʒœr* (jeur): DIURNUM.[12]

(*δ*) for *ɔ'u·*, *drɔu·l* (droule): Germ. DROLL-.

[1] Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, I, pp. 140, 141.

[2] Fleury, *Hague*, p. 37.

[3] Joret, *Bessin*, p. 224, 1°, *α*.

[4] I have heard Mr. Guilbert (v. Introduction) pronounce this word *burdaⁿɔⁿ* (or perhaps simply *burdaɔⁿ*).

[5] Schwan, *Gram.*, §§ 100, 1, and 133.

[6] Joret, *Bessin*, p. 224, 1°, *α*. [7] Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, I, p. 140.

[8] Busch, *Ang.-Norm.*, pp. 24, 25. [9] V. § 39.

[10] Notice the peculiar form *fu·idr* (fouîdre): FULGUR.

[11] Cf. *ivëru·añ* (iverouagne): *EBRONIUM, *karu·añ* (carouagne): *CARONIAM, and also *tu·ar* (touar) and *detu·ar* (détouar): TORNUM.

[12] To this list belong the words with the -ORIUM termination (>*œ*), § 47, 1. Cf. also *nœf* (neuches): *NOVTIAS and *rpræf* (r'preuche): *REPROBICARE.

§ 44.— $o' + k +$ cons.

The only example found, *ɣnuai·* (genouaï): *GENUCLUM, presents a change similar to that of $o' + k +$ voc. in the word *nuai·* (nouaïx): NUCEM.[1]

§ 45.— $o' +$ cons. $+ j$.[2]

The product is *u·e'*, the same as for $o' + k$ in open syllable.[3] Examples: *ku·ef* (couaiffe): O. H. G. KUPPHJA, *piu·en* (pivouaine): PAEONIAM.[4]

§ 46.— *-ŏ̆riam*.[5]

The result *u·e'* has already been examined.[6] Examples: *glu·er* (glouère): GLORIAM,[7] *istu·er* (histouaire): HISTORIAM, *memu·er* (mémouaire): MEMORIAM, *viktu·er* (victouaire): VICTORIAM.

§ 47.— *-orium*.

(1) In the following three words, this termination is treated as if no *j* followed the *r*, and it thus becomes *œ*,[8] since final *r* falls regularly in such cases:[9] *mirœ* (mireux): *MIRATORIUM, *muſœ* (moucheux): *MUCCARE, *prə̃nsœ* (prînseux): PRESSORIUM. These words may perhaps come directly from etyma with an -OREM ending, as MIRATOREM[10] and MUCOREM,[11] an

[1] V. § 40, 1, where the development into *ua'i·* is explained. The plural is *ɣnu·a:* (genouâ). Cf. the word *bëruai·s* (berouaïsse): Celtic √BRUXON-.

[2] Cf. -ORIAM, § 46, and -ORIUM, § 47, 2.

[3] V. § 40, 1.

[4] Notice *ɔrge* (orgué'): Germ. URGOLI.

[5] The two endings -ŌRIAM and -ORIAM are treated together because their results are identical; in French proper, these examples are learned (v. Schwan, *Gram.*, § 260, 2, Anm. 2); cf. the -ORIUM termination, § 47.

[6] V. § 40, 1.

[7] Cf. also *sə̃nmaʎjer* (St. Maglière), the name of one of the oldest churches in Guernsey.

[8] V. § 39, 1, *a*.

[9] V. § 159.

[10] Körting, *Wört.*, No. 5329.

[11] Körting, *Wört.*, No. 5445.

unlikely supposition, however, on account of the change in meaning which would then have taken place.

(2) The second result of the same ending is *u·e′*, the regular development, as we have just seen,[1] but it is probable that all such examples have been taken, by the persons using them, directly from French proper, the *wa* having been changed to *u·e′* in order to give the word an appearance of belonging to the patois, the French *vwa* (voix), for instance, being, in Guernsey, *vu·e* (vouaix). Examples: *dɔrmitu·er* (dormitouaire), *ekritu·er* (écritouaire), *kɔ̃sistu·er* (consistouaire), *maʃu·er* (mâchouaire), etc.

§ 48.— *o′* + nasal + nasal + voc.

sou·m (soumme):[2] SUMMUM represents the first stage in the development of *o*, according to the scheme already mentioned.[3] The usual Guernsey development is seen in *otum* (autumne): AUTUMNUM.

§ 49.— *o′* + nasal + cons.

The change is the same as in French proper: *ɔ̃br* (ombre): UMBRAM, *ɔ̃gljë* (onglle): UNGULAM, etc.

§ 50.— *o′* + nasal + *j*.

(1) Two results are noted: *ua′ə̃* and *u·i′*, the former being the regular development and virtually a nasalized *ua′i·*, which was seen to be the product of *o′* when under the influence of a following *k* or *j*;[4] *ua′ə̃* corresponds to the French *wə̃*. Examples:[5] *kuaə̃* (couain): CUNEUM, *puaə̃* (pouaing): PUG-

[1] V. §§ 45 and 46.

[2] This word is sometimes pronounced *sao·m* (saomme), and also *sum* (soumme); cf. also § 39, p. 41, NOTE 3.

[3] V. § 39, 2, also Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, I, p. 135.

[4] V. § 40, 1.

[5] This list of examples includes all words in which the *n* has been affected by either a preceding or a following *j*.

NUM, *puaə*^{n} (pouaint): *PUNCTUM, *temuaə*^{n} (témouain): TESTIMONIUM.[1]

(2) *u·i′*, the second result mentioned above, is observed only in *pu·i* (pouit), which, with *puaə*^{n} (pouaint), has *PUNCTUM as etymon. This form may be owing to its frequent proclitic position.

§ 51.— *juvenem.*[2]

A peculiar development is seen in *ʒan*[3] (janne): JUVENEM. It would naturally be expected that the dento-labial *v* should keep the *o* intact, not allowing it to lose its rounded quality; but, no doubt, *o′* became *a* after the assimilation of *v* to *n*.[4]

ɔ

I.— *ɔ′ in open syllable.*

§ 52.— *ɔ′* + oral cons. + voc.

(1) This development need only be mentioned, as it is similar to that in French proper. Examples: *kjœr* (cueur): COR, *mœ* (meut): MOVET, *nœ* (neû): NOVUM, etc.[5] With some Guernseymen, there is a tendency toward the diphthong *a′œ·*, instead of *œ*.

(2) A different result from that in French, but still regular, is seen in *rœ:* (reue): ROTAM.[6]

§ 53.— *ɔ′* + *k* + voc.

(1) The result is twofold: *ü·i′* and *i·e′*; only two examples could be found, but this inconvenience is lessened by there

[1] Cf. *bëzuaə*^{n} (besouain): *SONIUM; this word, and also *temuaə*^{n} (témouain), are sometimes pronounced *bëzu·a*^{n} (besouen), *temu·a*^{n} (témouen). In all the above examples, some Guernsey people pronounce *-u·ə*^{n}, instead of *-ua′ə*^{n}.

[2] Strictly, this word should come under *ɔ′*; cf. also *ʒanəs* (jannesse).

[3] I have also heard this word pronounced with a very low *a*, somewhat rounded.

[4] Schwan, *Gram.*, §§ 159 and 170.

[5] Cf. *rprœf* (r'preuche): *REPROPIARE.

[6] *ru:* (roue) is also used in Guernsey. Cf. also *tœrdr* (teurdre): *TORQUERE.

being several illustrations of *ɔ′* (+ *k* + cons.),[1] where the products are the same as here. We have *kü·i* (tuit): COQUIT and *ni·e* or *nje* (niet): NOCET.

(2) *ü·i′* is the reduction of the triphthong *uoi*, as in French proper.

§ 54.—*-ocum.*

(1) This termination has three different results in Guernsey: *i*, *jü* and *a′œ·*. In *miλi* (milli): LOCUM and *ʒi* (jî): JOCUM we observe the first product; the second is seen in *ljü* (llu): LOCUM, and the third in *faœ·* or *fvœ·* (faeu): FOCUM.

(2) In the present state of philological knowledge, no correct solution can be given of the difficult problem presented by the widely varying results of the ending -OCUM, and the Guernsey dialect does not furnish sufficiently new or valuable material to enable one to add anything to what has already been written on this subject.

§ 55.— *ɔ′* + nasal + voc.

(1) The usual development, as in *sɔn* (sonne): SONAT, etc., is similar to that in French proper. But *u* is sometimes heard among the Guernsey people: *etun* (étoune): *EXTONAT, *sun* (soune): SONAT, etc.

(2) *bu·an* (bouanne): BONAM is an exception, in which *u·a′* represents the diphthong *u·ɔ′*, with the *ɔ* unrounded under the influence of the following dental consonant.

§ 56.— *ɔ′* + final nasal.

This combination forms an exact parallel to the one treated in the preceding paragraph. The regular result *ɔⁿ* is similar to that in French proper: *sɔⁿ* (son): SONUM, etc., but *bu·aⁿ* (bouan): BONUM forms an exception.

[1] V. § 58.

II.— *ɔ′ in closed syllable.*

§ 57.— *ɔ′* + *ll.*

Two words, with a product *o*, should be noticed here; *fo* (fo): FOLLEM and *ko* (co): COLLUM.

§ 58.— *ɔ′* + *k* + cons.

The results are the same as for *ɔ′* (+ *k* + voc.).[1] Examples:

(*α*) for *i·e′*,[2] *ni·e* or *nje* (niet): NOCTEM, *ni·er* or *njer* (nière): NOCERE, *vi·ed* (vième): *VOCITUM.

(*β*) for *ü·i′*, *kü·ir* (tuire): COQUERE, *kü·is* (tuisse):[3] COXAM.

§ 59.— *-ŏriam.*

This termination has already been discussed.[4]

§ 60.— *ɔ′* + oral cons. + *j*.

(1) When *ɔ′* is followed by an oral consonant + *j* (excepting *lj*, already mentioned),[5] it has two results: *ü·i′* and *i*. The development into *ü·i′* is observed in *kü·ir* (tuir): CORIUM; and we find *i* in *i:tr* (hître): OSTREAM, *pis* (pisse): *POTIAM, *plji:* (pllie): *PLOVIAM.[6]

(2) It would be well to call attention to the frequent reduction, in Guernsey, of *ü·i* to *i*, as just noted in *i:tr* (hître), *pis* (pisse), etc.[7]

[1] V. § 53, 1 and 2.

[2] This product is noted also in *fi·el* (fielle): FOLIAM, *i·el* (ieil): OCULUM.

[3] We also have *tʃi·es* (tschiesse).

[4] V. § 46.

[5] V. § 58, NOTE 2.

[6] Cf. also *aⁿni* (enni): *INODIARE and *kiλ* (cuille): COLLIGERE. Note *apreʃ* (apprèche): APPROPIAT and *pares* (paresse): PAROCHIAM.

[7] V. § 60, 1, NOTE 6. Cf. *bri* (brit): Germ. $\sqrt{\text{BRO}}$, *fir* (fire) and *aⁿfir* (enfire): FUGIRE, *pis* (piss): PUTEUM. We also have *pi* (pis), *daⁿpi* (denpis), *dpi* (d'pis), *pisk* (pisque), all from POST.

(3) Eggert and Joret[1] have so thoroughly treated the subject of *ɔ′* when influenced by a following *j*-sound, that nothing need be added here. The usual Guernsey products, *i·e′* and *i*, are similar to those of the Hague and of the Val de Saire. *ü*, found in our patois,[2] is heard in the Cotentin, and *üi′* is similar to the result in French proper.

§ 61.— *longe.*[3]

LONGE > *λjaⁿ* (lian), in which the mouillation of the *n* has been lost.

§ 62.— *ɔ′* + nasal + cons.

The development is similar to that in French. Examples: *kɔ̃ⁿt* (compte): COMPUTUM, *lɔⁿ* (long): LONGUM, etc.

§ 63.— *ɔ′* + nasal + nasal + voc.

(1) This combination is found in *nun* (noune): NONNAM, *sum* (soume): SOMMUM, *um* (houmme): HOMINEM.[4] Probably under the influence of Modern French, *ɔ* is sometimes heard instead of *u*: *nɔn* (nonne), *sɔm* (somme), etc.

(2) The result *u* is similar to that of the Old Franco-Norman dialect,[5] and is still heard in the Hague.[6]

u

I.— *u′ in open syllable.*

§ 64.— *u′* + oral cons. + voc.

(1) In this position, *u′* gives three results: the first like the product in French proper—*ü*, the other two being related

[1] Eggert, *Norm. Mund.*, pp. 369–371; Joret, *Mélanges*, pp. 51–54; Joret, *Extraits*, pp. 154–158; Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, I, pp. 185–187.

[2] V. §§ 108 and 111. [3] Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, I, p. 204, § 220.

[4] Cf. this result with that of *o′* (+ nasal), §§ 41, 1, and 48, and with that of *o″* (+ nasal), §§ 95, 1, and 100; also §§ 106, 1, and 123.

[5] Suchier, *Franç.*, p. 50.

[6] Eggert, *Norm. Mund.*, p. 369; also Fleury, *Hague*, p. 37.

to each other—*œ* and *a'œ·*. Examples for *ü* are *kerü* (querrue): CARRUCAM, *kür* (cure): CURAM, *mür* (mur): MURUM, *nü* (nu): NUDUM;[1] for *œ* we find *asœr* (asseure) and *rasœr* (rasseure): *ASSECURARE, *dœ* (deu): DEBERE, *koſœr* (caussheure): CALCEAM, *krœ* (creû): CREDERE, *kunœ* (counneû): COGNOSCERE, *pljœ* (plleû): PLACERE, *pœ* (peû): *POTERE, *rvœ:* (r'veue): REVIDERE, *serœr* (séreure): *SERRARE, *sœ* (seû): SAPERE, *vœ* (veû): VIDERE;[2] for *a'œ·* we have *aœ·* (aeut): HABERE, *daœ·* (daeut): DEBERE, *kraœ·* (craeut): CREDERE, *kunaœ·* (counnaeut): COGNOSCERE, *maœ·r* (maeur): MATURUM, *paœ·* (paeut): POTERE, *saœ·* (saeut): SAPERE, *saœ·r* (saeur): SECURUM, *sɔraœ·r* (serraeure):[3] *SERRARE, *taœ·* (taeut): TACERE.

(2) The irregular verbs whose preterit and past participle both end in *ü* in French proper, have two terminations in the Guernsey dialect: *a'œ·* for the preterit, but *œ* in the past participle (*coumnaeut, counneû; daeut, deû; paeut, peû*, etc.); the imperfect subjunctive is formed from the preterit (*counnaeusse, daeusse, paeusse*, etc.).

(3) In the Hague also, MATURUM > *meu*, SECURUM > *seu*.[4] Meyer-Lübke[5] says that the development of Latin ū, in the Norman dialects, forms an important question in philology; he finds that the Old Anglo-Norman texts of the South allow *u*, corresponding to *ü*, to rhyme only with itself, while in the North no difference is made, either in the writing or in rhyme, between *ü* and *o, ou*. The Guernsey patois accordingly, in most words with Latin ū, represents the development found in texts from the Old Northern Anglo-Norman dialects.

§ 65.— *u'* + *k* + voc.

We notice here two products: *i·e'*, in *li·e* (liet) and *rli·e* (r'liet): LUCEI, and *i*, in *kɔ̃dir* (condire): CONDUCERE, *si:* (sie): *SUDICAM.[6]

[1] Also *bür* (burre): *BUTIRUM.

[2] Cf. *purvekë* (pourvê que). In these examples must also be included *jœ* (ieû): HABERE.

[3] Cf. *serœr* (séreure), given above.

[4] Fleury, *Hague*, pp. 40 ff.

[5] *Gram. Rom.*, I, pp. 73, 74, § 48.

[6] Cf. § 60, 2.

§ 66.— *u′* + nasal + voc.

(1) This *u′* becomes *œ*. Examples: *alœm* (alleume): ALLUMINAT, *aⁿkjœm* (enclleume): INCUDEM, *dœn* (deune): Old Irish DUN, *fɔrtœn* (forteune): FORTUNAM, *kmœn* (c'meune): COMMUNEM, *kɔⁿsœm* (conseume): CONSUMAT, *kutœm* (coûteume): *COSTUMAM, *legœm* (légeume): LEGUMINEM, *lœn* (leune): LUNAM, *pljœm* (plleume): PLUMAM, *prœn* (preune): *PRUNAM.[1] *ü*, on becoming nasalized, has been lowered to *œ*. Nasalization is, however, but slightly heard now in the words noted above, the lowering of *ü* to *œ* being the only evidence left of its previous existence.

(2) Meyer-Lübke[2] says that, in the French dialects, the development into *ün, üne* is exactly parallel to that of *in, ine;* that is also true for the Guernsey patois, since we have *œⁿ, œn* corresponding to *əⁿ, en*.

§ 67.— *u′* + final nasal.

No examples will be given under this heading, for the result (*œⁿ*) is the same as in French proper; but Eggert[3] should be corrected when, misled probably by the orthography, he writes that the nasal *ü*-sound remains in Guernsey, being spelt *ün* by Métivier; the Guernsey *œⁿ* may sometimes be distinguished from the French *œⁿ* by being a narrow nasal vowel, whereas the tendency of the latter is toward wideness; but *üⁿ* is never heard.

II.— *u′ in closed syllable.*

§ 68.— *u′* + oral cons. + cons.

This result is the same as in French proper: *püf* (puche): PULICEM, etc.

[1] Cf. also *frœm* (freume), present indicative of *früma·* (frumaïr): *FIRMARE. Cf. *rɒⁿkœn* (ràncqueune): *RANCORIAM.

[2] *Gram. Rom.*, I, p. 80, § 57. [3] *Norm. Mund.*, p. 365.

§ 69.— $u' + k +$ cons.,
$u' +$ cons. $+ j$.

(1) As the results under these two headings are alike, they will be examined together. Examples: *bri* (brit): *BRUGITUM, *fri* (frit): FRUCTUM, *kɔ̃ndit* (condite): CONDUCERE. u' was drawn forward to *ü*, because of the following *k* or *j*-sound; this *ü* may then have been unrounded to *i* under the same influence ($u' + j > ü'i· > ü·i' > i·i' > i$). This reduction, in its relation to the other Norman dialects, has already been examined.[1]

(2) *pərtü* (pertu) comes from PERTUSUM, and is not peculiar to the Guernsey patois.

au

I.— *a'u in open syllable.*

§ 70.— $a'u +$ oral cons. $+$ voc.,
$a'u +$ mute $+$ liquid.

(1) $a'u$ here develops into *o*. Examples: *bo:* (baue): Cymric BAW, *kljor* (cllore): CLAUDERE, *parol* (parole): PARABOLAM, *por* (paure): PAUPEREM, *ʃoz* (chose): CAUSAM, *ʒo:* (joe): GAUTAM. In *ɔr* (or): AURUM, *o* is pronounced open under the influence of the following *r*.

(2) As in other Romance languages, *ku:* (coue): CAUDAM is an exception to the rule; *u* here comes from *o*.[2]

(3) The Guernsey development of $a'u$ into *o* is the usual one in Norman dialects,[3] and this was also the pronunciation of French proper in the 17th century.[4]

§ 71.— $a'u + k +$ voc.

The change of $a'u$ $(+ k)$ into $u·e'$, in *u·e:* (ouaie): AUCAM, must be compared with that of o' in this position.[5]

[1] V. § 60, 2.

[2] For $o > u$, v. § 39, 1, β. Notice also the two forms *kljaw·* (cllaou): CLAVUM and *ʃum* (choume): CAUMA.

[3] Görlich, *Mak.*, p. xxi, 54. [4] Suchier, *Franç.*, p. 53. [5] V. § 40, 1.

II.— *a'u in closed syllable.*

§ 72.— *a'u* + cons. + *j*.

The result here is the same as in the preceding paragraph; we find *ʃu·e* (chouaix): Germ. KAUSJAN and *ʒu·e:* (jouaie): GAUDIUM. Under the influence of the preceding sibilants, we sometimes hear *ü·* instead of *u·*: *ʃü·e* and *ʒü·e:*.

Chapter II.

SUBTONIC VOWELS.

a

I.— *a''* *in open syllable.*

§ 73.— *a''* + oral cons. + voc.,
a'' + mute + liquid.

A few peculiar developments are to be noted under this heading. *a''* falls in *lsi·e* (l'sier): LAXARE. In *irañi:* (iragnie): *ARANEATAM, the change of *a''* into *i* is owing to differentiation from the second syllable, and, besides, this result is similar to the one found in Old French: *iraignie.*[1] In *tuba* (tuba'): Indian TABAK, the *a''* becomes *u* under the influence of the following labial consonant. *a''* gives *a''i·* in *ai·mai·* (aïmaïr): AMARE, *ai·nai·* (aïnaï): NATUM; in the first example, this *i·* develops after the *a*, when *a* is tonic, and, from this tonic position, the form in *ai·* has been extended to *a* with secondary accent; the *a''i·* of the second example is due to the accented form *ANTIUS.

§ 74.— *k* (*g* or *qu*) + *a''* + *r*.

a'', preceded by *k*, *g* or *qu*, and followed by *r*, either in open or closed syllable, gives *e*. Examples: *egerai·* (éguéraïr):

[1] V. Körting, *Wört.*, No. 688.

Frankish *WARON, *dʒergɔ*^{n} (djergon): GARG, *gerɔ*^{n}*d* (guérànde): Frankish *WARON, *gerə* (guéret): Cymric GÂR, *kerɔ*^{n}*t* (quérânte): *QUADRAGINTA, *kerbɔ*^{n} (querbon): CARBONEM, *keri·o* (kériot): CARRUM, *keri·er* (querrière): *QUADRARIAM, *kerpa*^{n}*ti·e* (querpentier): CARPENTARIUM, *kerü*: (quérue): CARRUCAM, *ferʒi·e* (chergier): *CARRICARE, *feritai·* (chéritaï): CARITATEM, *fermai·* (chermaïr): CARMINARE.[1] The same result is observed when *k*, *g* or *qu* do not precede *a''*, as in *eperñi·e* (épergnier): Germ. *SPARANJAN, *erɔ*^{n}*g* (hérângue): Germ. HRING, *eraſi·e* (errachier): *ARRADICARE, *eret* (érête): ARISTAM, *erpɔ*^{n} (herpon): *ἅρπη*, *eruzi·e* (érousier): *ARROSARE.

§ 75.— *a''* + voc.

a'', before a vowel, becomes *i·* in the following two words: *agri·ai·* (agriaïr) and *agri·a'bjë* (agriablle): GRATUM.

II.— *a'' in closed syllable.*

§ 76.— *a''* + oral cons. + cons.

The result is similar to that observed in French proper: *a''* remains. Examples: *akatai·* (acataïr): *ACCAPTARE, *batai·*λ (bataïlle): *BATTALIAM, *kjartai·* (cllartaï): CLARITATEM.

§ 77.— *a''* + secondary *j* + cons.

(1) The examples found give the result *a''i·*: *ai·gje* (aïguer): ADJUTARE, *grai·*λ*e* (graïller): *CRATICULARE, *pai·za*^{n} (païsan): PAGENSEM, *trai·nai·* (traïnaïr): *TRAGIMEN.[2]

(2) *lakər* (laquer) does not come from LAXARE, but from *LASKARE, where *a''* remains regularly. In the Roland we meet with a form *lasquent.*[3]

[1] Cf. *ekërbɔ* (ékerbot): SCARABAEUM, and the future and conditional of *aver* (aveir): HABERE [*ere* (érai), etc.]; also *pljeſi·e* (plléchier): PLATEAM.

[2] Notice, however, *kastañe* (castagnier): CASTANEAM, and cf. *etrañe* (étragnier): STRINGERE.

[3] Gautier, *Roland*, line 3877. For the change of *x* (= *ks*) into *sk*, v. Schwan, *Gram.*, § 218, 2, Anm. 2.

§ 78.— k + a'' + oral cons. + cons.

a'' remains here, as in French proper. Examples: *kastai·n* (castaïne): CASTANEAM, *ʃape* (chapé): CAPPELLUM, *ʃate* (châté): CASTELLUM, *ʃatjai·* (châtiaïr): CASTIGARE, etc.

§ 79.— a'' + nasal + cons.

The result is $ɒ^n$. Examples: *mɒ̃te* (mànté): MANTELLUM, *mɒ̃ʒje* (màngier): MANDUCARE, *sɒ̃tai·* (sàntaï): SANITATEM, *ʃɒ̃dəl* (chàndelle): CANDELAM, *ʃɒ̃sɔ̃* (chànson): CANTIONEM, *ʃɒ̃tai·* (chàntaïr): CANTARE, *vɒ̃tai·* (vàntaïr): VANITARE, etc. When a'', in closed syllable, becomes nasal, its position is changed to $ɒ$, a result similar to that of o becoming $ɔ^n$, and of $ü$ giving $œ^n$. The pronunciation a^n is also heard from time to time, but is probably owing to Modern French influence.

e

I.— e'' *in open syllable.*

§ 80.— e'' + oral cons. + voc.

e'' sometimes disappears entirely. Examples: *dfa*^{n} (d'fend) and *dfa*^{n}*dü* (d'fendu); DEFENDERE, *dfo* (d'faut): DE + *FALLITUM, *driv* (d'rive): DERIVARE, *dsə*^{n} (d'sein): DESIGNARE, *dzərtai·* (d'sertaïr): DESERTARE, *dzir* (d'sir) and *dzire* (d'sirrai): DESIDERIUM, *vʃə*^{n} (v'chîn) and *vla* (v'là): VIDERE.[1] In the following three cases, the result is *e*: *peri·e* (pêrier): PIRUM, *sera:i·* (sérâïe): SERUM, *trezi·em* (treisième): TRES; in these words, the development of e'' has probably been influenced by that of tonic *e*. We also find *e* in the future and conditional of *krer* (creire): CREDERE [*krere* (creirai), etc.]. *u·e''* is noted

[1] E, also, falls in *rpar* (r'pare) and *rparai·* (r'paraïr): REPARARE, *rzudr* (r'soudre): RESOLVERE, *rüsir* (russir): RE + EXIRE, *spültür* (s'pulture): SEPULTURAM, *ʒənral* (gen'ral) and *ʒənralma*^{n} (gen'ralement): GENERALEM; Ī drops in *dlüʒ* (d'luge): DILUVIUM.

in *tu·elət* (touélette): TELAM, which is perhaps a new formation on the Modern French word. Under the influence of the preceding and following labials, we have *ü* in *fümel* (fumelle): FEMELLAM.[1]

§ 81.— *e''* + *k* + voc.

Only two examples have been found: *lai·zir* (laisir): LICERE[2] and *dmu·ezəl* (d'mouaiselle): *DOMINICELLAM.[3]

§ 82.— *e''* + voc.

In the following three examples, we observe a product *e''i·* or *ej* *ɔ̃ⁿkreja'bjẽ* (incréyablle): CREDERE, *krei:* or *krəji:* (créyie):[4] CREDERE, *vei·e* (véyais): VIDERE. This *e''i·*, under the influence of the following vowel, has been reduced to *i·* (sometimes sounding almost like *j*) in *aⁿvi·ai·* (envy'air): *INVIARE, *əfëri·a'bjẽ* (efferyablle): *EFFRIDARE,[5] *nekjai·* (néquiaïr): NITIDUM, *vi·aʒ* (viage): VIATICUM.

§ 83.— *e''* + nasal + voc.

Here, *e''* disappears. Examples: *dni·e* (d'nier): DENARIUM, *fnai·* (f'naïr): FENUM, *mnai·* (m'naïr): MINARE, etc.

II.— *e'' in closed syllable.*

§ 84.— *e''* + oral cons. + cons.

The treatment of *e''* varies in this case: sometimes it remains, sometimes it disappears. Examples: *e''* remains in *mereλ* (méreille): *MIRABILIA, but falls in *skje* (s'quier): SICCARE.

[1] Cf. *prümi·e* (prumier): PRIMARIUM, also *früməi·* (frumaïr): *FIRMARE and its compounds.

[2] Cf. *pai·sɔ̃ⁿ* (païsson): *PISCIONEM, § 85.

[3] For this result *u·e''*, cf. § 14, 5 and 6.

[4] Corresponding to Modern French *croyez.*

[5] *e''* disappears in *əfra:i·* (effrâïr): *EFFRIDARE.

§ 85.— *e''* + *sc.*

e'' develops into *a''i·* in *pai·sɔ̃* (païsson): *PISCIONEM.[1] The more usual Guernsey result, *e*, is observed in *kresɔ̃* (creissànt): CRESCERE.

§ 86.— *e''* + λ (or *ñ*).

Under the influence of the following palatal sound (λ or *ñ*), *e* has been raised to *i*. Examples: *apariλje* (appariller): *APPARICULARE, *kɔ̃siλi* (consilli): *CONSILIARE, *oriλje* (orillier): AURICULAM, *reviλre* (revill'raient): RE + *EXVIGILARE, *fɔ̃diλje* (chàndiller): CANDELAM, *viλri:* (vill'ries): VIGILARE.[2]

§ 87.— *e''* + nasal + cons.

The result here is the same as in French proper. Examples: *a˜trai·* (entraïr): INTRARE, *sa˜bjai·* (sembllaïr): SIMULARE, etc. In *anmi* (ann'mi): *INAMICUM, the *e''* is in open syllable, and its nasal quality is hardly perceptible.

ə

ə'' in closed syllable.

§ 88.— *ə''* + oral cons. + cons.

There are no peculiar developments in Guernsey to be noted under this heading, except the one word *presi* (pressi): PRESSATUM, where the *ə''* has become closed, probably under the influence of the following sibilant.

§ 89.— *ə''* + cons. + *j*.

In the following words, *ə''* becomes *i*, under the influence of the following *j*-sound: *ə˜ʒinjaœ·* (inginiaeux): *INGENIA-

[1] Cf. *lai·zir* (laïsir), § 81, and *mai·nti* (maïnti), § 89. Notice also *vai·zə˜* (vaïsin): VICINUM.

[2] Cf. also *liʃə˜* (lichon): LECTIONEM.

TOREM, *liʒje* (ligier): *LEVIARIUM, *miljaœ·* (millaeu) and *amiljorasjɔ̃* (amiliorâtion): MELIOREM, *siñjœr* (sîgneur): SENIOREM.[1] Under this heading can come those examples in which *ə''*, followed by a palatal, develops into *i*: *likje* (liquier): O. H. G. LËKKÔN, *piñje* (pignier): PECTINARE.[2] In *rmi·ədi·e* (r'miédier): REMEDIARE, the product *i·ə''* is owing to analogy with the tonic form *rmi·ød* (r'miède).[3] A peculiar form is to be noted here: *mai·nti* (maïnti): MEDIETATEM;[4] this result *a''i·* has already been observed in three words, *lai·zir* (laïsir),[5] *pai·sɔ̃* (païsson)[6] and *vai·zɔ̃* (vaïsin).[6]

§ 90.— *ə''* + *k* + cons.

We notice a product *e* in *sesṽ̩t* (sésânte): SEXAGINTA and *vetür* (vêture): VECTURAM.[7]

§ 91.— *ə''* + nasal + cons.

The change is, in Guernsey, the same as in French proper: *traⁿbjai·* (trembllair): *TREMULARE, etc.

i

i'' in open and closed syllable.

§ 92.— *i''* + cons. + voc.,
i'' + cons. + cons.

(1) The whole treatment of *i''* is the same as in French proper, and might therefore be omitted here. Examples: *ivər*

[1] Cf. also *batili·e* (batilier): Anglo-Saxon BAT, *gëru·ezili·e* (gueruaîsilier): Germ. KRÄUSEL, *fili·e* (chilier): CELLARIUM.

[2] Cf. also *ərbiʒje* (herbigier): Germ. *HERIBËRC and *niai·* (niaïr): NECARE.

[3] V. § 30, 1, *a*, and cf. *aⁿpi·e''ri·e'* (empièrier): *PEJOREM.

[4] A related development is seen in *preⁿsœ* (prînseux): PRESSARE, where *e* has been nasalized as the *i* in *iʃɛ̃* (ichîn), § 35, 2.

[5] V. § 81.

[6] V. § 85 and NOTE 1.

[7] Cf. the development of tonic *e*, § 14, 3 and 4.

(hiver): HIBERNUM, *viljəⁿ* (villain): *VILLANUM, etc., and also *səⁿpʌisitai·* (simpllicitaï): *SIMPLICITATEM, etc.

(2) In *süfjai·* (sufflaïr): SIBILARE,[1] the *i″* is rounded and becomes *ü* under the influence of the following labial. The rounding of *i″* in this word is not, however, peculiar to Guernsey, since Folk-Latin has the form *SUBILARE.[2]

(3) In a few words, *i″* disappears entirely: *nurtür* (nourr'-ture): *NUTRITURAM, *fimna:i·* (chim'nâie): *CAMINATAM;[3] in the last example, *i″*, before falling, affected the preceding vowel, causing it to become *i*.

O

I.— *o″ in open syllable.*

§ 93.— *o″* + oral cons. + voc.

(1) The results under this heading (*u* and *œ*) are the same as in French proper: *nuai·* (nouaïr): NODARE, *nurir* (nourrir): *NUTRIRE, etc., and *pljœrai·* (plleuraïr): PLORARE, etc.

(2) Only a few exceptions, or different forms from French proper, have been found: *pjuvir* (pllouvir): *PLUERE, *purtrə* (pourtrait): PRO + TRAHERE, *ruza:i·* (rousâïe): ROS.[4]

(3) The diphthong *u·a″* is more frequently heard than the simple *u*, in a few words such as *labu·arə* (labouarait): LABORARE, *su·ari* (souaris): *SORICEM, etc. The same influence is noted in *kau·ar* (caouard): CODAM.

§ 94.— *o″* + *k* + voc.

Attention has already been called to the development of such words as *kĕruai·zje* (kerouaïsier): CRUCEM.[5]

[1] Cf. *vⁿgül* (àngûle): ANGUILLAM, § 38.

[2] Körting, *Wört.*, No. 7442.

[3] Cf. the fall of *e″*, § 80. Notice also *captai·n* (cap'taïne): *CAPITANEUM, and the proper names *gljom* or *gjom* (G'llaume) and *orñi* (Aur'gni).

[4] Cf. also *ulai·* (houlaïr): ULULARE.

[5] V. § 40, 1.

§ 95.— *o''* + nasal + voc.

(1) Like *o'* in the same position,[1] *o''* here becomes *u*. Examples: *dunai·* (dounnaïr) and *pardunai·* (pardounnaïr): DONARE, *pumi·e* (poumier): POMUM, *ramunai·* (ramounnaïr): *RAMONEM, *rezunai·* (raisounnaïr): *RATIONARE, *umar* (houmard): Germ. HUMMER, etc.[2]

(2) An exceptional development is seen in *na^{n}nv^{n}t* or *na^{n}nv^{n}t* (nennânte): NONAGINTA.[3]

II.— *o'' in closed syllable.*

§ 96.— *o''* + oral cons. + cons.

(1) The Guernsey dialect and French proper are again similar. Examples: *dutai·* (doutaïr): DUBITARE, etc. The pronunciation *u·a''* is also heard, as in *bu·aʃi·e* (bouachier): Frankish BUKK-, *ku·arir* (couarir): CURRERE, etc.

(2) We find two exceptions: *aʒœrnv^{n}* (ajeurnânt): DIURNUM, formed by analogy to *ʒœr* (jeur),[4] and *rotür* (roture): RUPTAM.[5]

§ 97.— *o''* + *l* + cons.

In *du·aʃma^{n}* (douach'ment): DULCEM and *pu·aʃə^{n}* (pouashîn): PULLICENUM, *o''* + *l* may have gone through the stages *o''u·* > *u* > *u·ɔ''* > *u·a''*, mentioned in connection with *o'* in open syllable.[6]

§ 98.— *o''* + cons. + *j*.

o'' here develops in the same way as *o'* in like position.[7] Examples: *bu·eλə* (bouaillait) and *bu·eλɔ^{n}* (bouaillon): BULLIRE, *katu·eλje* (catouailler): *CATTUCULARE, *nu·ezje* (nou-

[1] V. § 41.

[2] Also *bunə* (bounet), corresponding to Modern French *bonnet*, etymology unknown.

[3] Cf. § 106, 2.

[4] V. § 43, γ.

[5] Notice also *murtrai·* (mourtraïr): MONSTRARE.

[6] V. § 39, 2 and 3, β.

[7] V. § 45.

aisier): *NUCARIUM, *pu·ezɔ*^{n} (pouaison) and *a*^{n}*pu·ezunai·* (empouaisounaïr): POTIONEM. The triphthong *u·a''i·* is, however, very frequently heard instead of this diphthong *u·e''*.

§ 99.— *o''* + *ks*.

We find the product *i* in *bisɔ*^{n} (bisson) and *bisɔ*^{n}*njər* (bissongnière): BUXUM,[1] but *u·i''* in *bu·ise* (bouissé): *BUXIDAM.

§ 100.— *o''* + nasal + nasal + voc.

The result is the same as for *o''* in open syllable.[2] Examples: *grunar* (grounard): GRUNDIRE, *numai·* (noumaïr): NOMINARE, *rkunisɔ*^{n} (r'counnissânt): RECOGNOSCERE, etc.

§ 101.— *o''* + nasal + oral cons.

This result is identical with the one in French proper: *mɔ*^{n}*tai·* (montaïr): *MONTARE, etc.[3]

§ 102.— *o''* + *gn*.

We notice a change into *u·ə*^{n}*''*, in the word *aku·ə*^{n}*tir* (accouaintir): *ACCOGNITARE. This result is probably nothing but the nasalizing of *u·a''i·*,[4] from which the *a* has fallen (*u·a''i·* + nasal > *u·a''ə*^{n} > *u·ə*^{n}*''*); the pronunciation *u·a''ə*^{n} is actually heard in the Upper Parishes.

ɔ

ɔ'' in closed syllable.

§ 103.— *ɔ''* + oral cons. + cons.

The *ɔ''*, in this position, gives two results: *o* and *u*. According to the examples, *o* seems to be the more usual

[1] Notice *püſſe* (puchier): PUTEUM, and v. § 60, 2. [2] V. § 95, 1.
[3] According to Körting (*Wört.*, No. 5401), this word should come under *ɔ''*, but Schwan (*Gram.*, § 133) puts it under *o''*. [4] Cf. § 50, 1.

development: *kopai·* (copaïr): COLAPHUM, *sodai·* (sodaïr): SOLIDARE, *torma*^{n} (torment): TORMENTUM, with the single word *turnai·* (tournaïr): TORNARE as illustration of the change into *u*.

§ 104.— *ɔ″* + *lj*.

ɔ″ in this combination gives, regularly, *u·a″*. Examples: *depu·aλje* (dépouaïller): DESPOLIARE, *mu·aλje* (mouaïller): *MOLLIARE.[1] Under the influence of the tonic forms,[2] we have *fi·eλjaʒ* (fieillage) and *fi·eλü* (fieillu): FOLIUM, also *i·eλje* (ieillet) and *i·eλi:* (ieillie): OCULUM.

§ 105.— *ɔ″* + nasal + oral cons.

It is sufficient simply to call attention to this combination. Examples: *kɔ*^{n}*parai·* (comparaïr): COMPARARE, *sɔ*^{n}*ʒje* (songier): SOMNIARE, etc.

§ 106.— *ɔ″* + nasal + nasal + voc.

(1) *ɔ″*, before double *m*, generally falls. Examples: *kma*^{n} (c'ment): QUOMO, *kmɒ*^{n}*dai·* (c'màndaïr): *COMMANDARE, *kma*^{n}*ʃ* (c'menche) and *kma*^{n}*ʃma*^{n} (c'mench'ment): *COMINITIARE, *kmod* (c'mode), *kmoditai·* (c'moditaï) and *akmod* (acc'mode): COMMODUM. But *ɔ″* becomes *u* in *kumər* (coumère): COMMATREM, *kumünje* (coumunier): COMMUNEM.[3]

(2) Attention might here be called to a few words in which *o″* + nasal > *a*^{n}; for convenience sake, they are all classed under this heading: *a*^{n}*nibü* (ennibu): OMNIBUS, *kora*^{n}*nəl* (corennel): Ital. COLONNELLO, *vola*^{n}*tai·* (volentai): VOLUNTATEM.[4]

[1] Notice the same result in *su·añe* (souagner): *SONIUM.

[2] V. § 58, NOTE 1. Cf. also *kiλjət* (cuillette) and *akiλir* (accuillirent): COLLIGERE.

[3] Cf. also *muñje* (mougnier): MOLINARIUM.

[4] Cf. *ɔ*^{n}*dɒ*^{n}*ta′bjë* (indàntablle): DOMITARE, and also § 95, 2. An opposite development has taken place in *lɔ*^{n}*dmɔ*^{n} (lond'main): IN + DE + MANE.

u

I.— *u″ in open syllable.*

§ 107.— *u″* + oral cons. + voc.

The regular result is the same as in French proper: *dürai·* (duraïr): DURARE, etc., but there are some exceptions: *molatr* (molâtre): MULUM, where the *u″* has been treated like a pretonic *ɔ*;[1] *asœrai·* (asseûraïr): *ASSECURARE and *bœvɒ̃* (beuvânt): BIBERE, which have *œ*; *sœr* (seur): SUDOREM, where *u″* has been dropped entirely;[2] *ɑ̃rimai·* (enrhîmaïr): RHEUMA.

§ 108.— *u″* + *k* + voc.

In *rli·ezɒ̃* (r'liésânt): RELUCENTEM, the development is the same as for *u′* in this position.[3] Under this heading, would probably come *rüse* (rusé): √RU-, where the following *k*, or its developed *j*-sound, has drawn *u″* forward to *ü*, itself then dropping (*u″* + *j* > *ü″i·* > *ü*).

§ 109.— *u″* + nasal + voc.

The result is the same here as in French proper. Examples: *fümai·* (fumaïr): FUMARE, *ümaɔ̃* (humain): HUMANUN, etc.[4]

II.— *u″ in closed syllable.*

§ 110.— *u″* + oral cons. + cons.

As in French proper, the development is here into *ü*. Examples: *büli·e* (bûlier): BUCULUM, *pütaɔ̃* (putain): PUTIDUM, etc.

[1] Cf. § 120.

[2] In the Vale, one of the Lower Parishes, *u″* is also dropped in *bvɒ̃* (b'vànt), *bvɔ* (b'vait), etc.: BIBERE.

[3] V. § 65.

[4] Note also *dɛgünai·* (déjunaïr): JEJUNARE.

§ 111.— u'' + cons. + j.

We find two results, *ü·i''* and *ü*; the latter has already been examined,[1] the former is the same as in French proper. Examples: *mënü·izje* (menuisier): MINUTUM, *ʒü·ilə* (juillet): JULIUM, but *egüʃje* (aiguchier): ACUTIARE, *rüsjo* (russiaux) and *rüslɔ̃* (russlànt): √RU-.[2]

§ 112.— u'' + nasal + cons.

Wherever this combination occurs, u'' becomes $œ̃$, as in French proper: *lœ̃di* (lundi): LUNAM, etc.

au

I.— *a''u in open syllable.*

§ 113.— $a''u$ + oral cons. + voc.

The development is here the same as for *a'u* in open syllable.[3] Examples: *oreλ* or *orej* (oreille): AURICULAM, *ozai·* (ôsaïr): *AUSARE, *pozai·* (posaïr): PAUSARE, etc. We have an exception to the rule in *tw·are* (touaré): TAURUM.

§ 114.— $a''u$ + voc.

This result is like the one in French proper. Examples: *luai·* (louaïr): LAUDARE, *w·ir* (ouir): AUDIRE, etc. We, however, find *a''w·* in *kljaw·ai·* (cllaouaïr): CLAVUM.

§ 115.— $a''u$ + k + voc.

a''u here gives *w·e''*, as does *a'u* in this combination.[4] Examples: *gërw·ezilje* (guerouaîsilier): Germ. KRÄUSEL, *w·eze* (ouaîsé): AUCELLUM.

[1] Cf. §§ 60, 3 and 108.
[2] Cf. also *bülje* (bûllier): *BUCULARE.
[3] Cf. § 70.
[4] Cf. § 71.

§ 116.— $a''u$ + nasal + voc.

As an exceptional product is to be noted the one word *ʃumai·* (choumaïr): CAUMA.[1]

II.— *$a''u$ in closed syllable.*

§ 117.— $a''u$ + cons. + j.

The development here is again similar to that of $a'u$ in the same position:[2] *ʃü·ezir* (chuaîsir): Gothic KAUSJAN.

CHAPTER III.

ATONIC VOWELS.

a

§ 118.— pret. a + cons. + voc.

In this position, pretonic *a* falls. Examples: *kvaœ·* (k'vaeu): CAPILLUM, *ʃmᵊⁿ* (ch'min): CAMINUM, *ʃva* (ch'va): CABALLUM, etc. This result is the same as in French proper; a difference is noted only in the two words *fren* (f'reine): FARINAM and *knai·λ* (c'naïlle): *CANALIAM.

ə

§ 119.— pret. $ə$ + cons. + voc.

As in French proper, pretonic *ə*, in this position, falls. Examples: *lvai·* (l'vaïr): LEVARE, *tnir* (t'nir): TENERE, *vnir* (v'nir): VENIRE, etc. Under the influence of a neighboring

[1] Cf. § 70, 2, NOTE 2.

[2] Cf. § 72.

labial, this ɔ becomes œ, as in *lœvre* (leuvrai): LEVARE and *elœvai·* (éleuvaïr): ELEVARE.[1]

ɔ

§ 120.— pret. ɔ + oral cons. + voc.

In *sole* (sauler): SOLARIUM, ɔ gives o, but elsewhere it becomes *u·a''*, or, in a few cases, *u*. Examples: *fu·arə* (fouarêt): *FORESTEM, *ku·araʒ* (couarage): *CORATICUM, *mu·arir* (mouarir): *MORIRE,[2] but *kurɔn* (couronne): CORONAM, *pljuvə* (pllouvait): *PLOVERE, *vuli·e* (voulier): VOLERE.

§ 121.— pret. ɔ + voc.

When ɔ stands before a vowel, we observe two results: *a''u·* and *u*. Examples: *apau·ai·* (appaouaïr): *APPODARE,[3] but *puet* (pouète): POETAM and *puezi:* (pouésie): POESIM, which do not, however, represent a popular development.

§ 122.— pret. ɔ + *k* + voc.

A few peculiar products should be noted here. *foi·e* (foyer): FOCARIUM represents the regular development.[4] *njezɒⁿs* (niésânce): NOCERE has been influenced by the tonic form *nje* (niet).[5] Corresponding to the French *ü*, we find *i* in *fizi* (fîsi): FOCUM.

[1] We also hear *apœlre* (appeul'rai): APPELARE, though the infinitive is generally pronounced *aplai·* (app'laïr). Notice *akœvre* (akeuv'rai): *ACCAPARE, and even *adœrʃje* (adeurchier): *DIRECTIARE and *retœrʃje* (réteurchier): STRICTIARE, in which last two examples the vowel is not influenced by a labial.

[2] Cf. also *ku·aʃje* (couachier): COLLOCARE and *mu·aʃe* (mouaché): MONTICELLUM. Notice *si:* (s'cie): SOLLICITARE, and also *përʃəⁿ* (perchain): PROPRIUM and *tërzu* (terjous): *TOTTOS + DIURNOS (cf. § 161).

[3] Corresponding to the French *appuier*: *APPODIARE, is found *apiai·* (appiaïr); cf. *aⁿniai·* (ennyaïr): *INODIARE.

[4] V. Schwan, *Gram.*, § 136.

[5] V. § 53, 1.

§ 123.— pret. *ɔ* + nasal + voc.

Pretonic *ɔ* gives *u*[1] in *bunœr* (bounheur): BONUM, *etunai·* (étounnair): *EXTONARE, *muna:i·* (mounâïe): MONETAM, *sunai·* (sounaïr): SONARE, *sunə* (sounet): SONUM, *tunər* (tounerre): TONITRUM, *unet* (hounnête): HONESTUM, *unetai·* (hounnêt'-taï): HONESTATEM, *unœr* (hounneur): HONOREM. In *dmai·n* (d'maïne): DOMINIUM, *ɔ* has fallen.[2]

Chapter IV.

CONSONANTS.

p

§ 124.— initial *p* + *l*.

In the one word *kλjœⁿʒje* (cllùngier): *PLUMBICARE, initial *p* has become *k*, the following *l* showing mouillation according to the usual rule in Guernsey.[3]

v

§ 125.— *v* + cons.

v, before a consonant, has fallen in *bramaⁿ* (brâment): German BRAV, *por* (paure) and *portai·* (paur'taï): PAUPEREM.[4] *v* has also dropped in *mo:* (maue): MALVAM and *ne:* (née): NIVEAM.

§ 126.— final *v*.

Final *v* has disappeared in the Guernsey pronunciation. Examples: *bœ* (bœu'): BOVUM, *nœ* (neû): NOVUM, *œ* (œu'): *OVUM.[5]

[1] Cf. §§ 95, 1, and 106, 1. [2] Cf. § 106, 1. [3] V. § 150.
[4] Cf. also *mereʻλë* (méreille): MIRABILIA.
[5] Also *dërʃje* (derchié): CAPUT.

d

§ 127.— voc. + *dj* + voc.

d, followed by a *j*, develops into a fronted *g*. Examples: *ai·gje* (aïguier): ADJUTARE, *gja'bjĕ* (guiablle): DIABOLUM, *gjü* (guiu):[1] DEUM, *ogjaⁿs* (auguience): AUDIENTIAM.[2] In such words, the dental stop *d* has been changed to the palatal stop *g*, under the influence of the following palatal consonant *j*; this phenomenon is by no means a peculiarity of the Guernsey patois.[3]

§ 128.— voc. + *d* + voc.

Intervocalic *d* has fallen in *le:* (laie): Germ. LAIÐ.

§ 129.— *n* + *d*.

In one word, *d*, following immediately an *n*, has been assimilated to it: *repuni* (répounni): RESPONDERE.[4]

§ 130.— *in* + *versus*.

A *d* is intercalated in *aⁿdvi·ər* (endviers): IN + VERSUS, one proof that the vowels followed by a nasal were not only nasalized, but that *n* was also pronounced (*aⁿndvi·ər*) in Guernsey longer than in Normandy, where this result has apparently not been noted in the modern dialects; this *n* has now been dropped, but, before it had disappeared, a *d* was introduced between it and the following sound; in the passage from the nasal *n* to the pure oral consonant *v*, the velum would be raised before the tongue had broken contact with the teeth, thus inevitably bringing in a *d* in the pro-

[1] When after a word ending in a vowel.

[2] Also *kogjər* (cauguière): CALIDUM.

[3] Cf. this result with the fronted *k* from *tj*, § 132.

[4] Cf. also *punü* (pounu): PONERE, corresponding to the French *pondu*, and *grɔ̃ⁿmaⁿ* (grân'ment): GRANDEM.

nunciation. A *d* would not have been introduced here if only a nasalized vowel, not followed by the consonant *n*, had preceded the *v*.

§ 131.— final *d*.

A peculiar change of final *d* (or *t*) into *k* is seen in the form *nik* (nic): NIDUM. A like change, after the vowel *i*, is not unknown in other languages.[1]

t

§ 132.— voc. + *tj* + voc.

The result here, a fronted *k*, corresponds to the one obtained from intervocalic *dj*.[2] Examples: *krekjaⁿ* (chrêquien): CHRISTIANUM, *kjaⁿ* (quien')[3]: TENET, *mekje* (méquier): MINISTERIUM, *məⁿkjaⁿdre* (mainquiendrai): MANUM + TENERE, and such words as *bakjo* (bâquiaux), etc.[4] A more popular development is observed in *pʎjəʃ* (pllèche): PLATEAM and *püʃje* (puchier): PUTEUM.

§ 133.— cons. + *tj* + voc.

(1) *tj* here develops into *ʃ*. Examples: *adœrʃje* (adeurchier): *DIRECTIARE, *avɒⁿʃ* (avànche): AB + ANTIAM, *aⁿsɔrʃlaiˑ* (ensorchelaïr): *SORTIARIUM, *forʃ* (forche): *FORTIAM, *forʃi* (forchi): *FORTIATUM, *kaʃje* (cachier): *CAPTIARE, *lɔⁿʃœr* (lîncheur): LINTEOLUM, *niˑeʃ* (nièche): NEPTIAM, *nœʃ* (neuches): *NUPTIAS, *pərʃi* (perchi): PERITIATUM, *siˑaⁿʃ* (scienche): SCIENTIAM, *sɔrʃje* (sorchier): SORTIARIUM, *retœrʃi* (rêteurchi): STRICTIARE. The development of *tj* into *ʃ*, in this and all dialects, is explained as follows. Between the

[1] Professor Matzke has heard, in English, *preterik* for *preterit*, *acik* for *acid*, and, in German, *Zeik* for *Zeit*.

[2] V. § 127.

[3] Especially after a word ending in a vowel.

[4] V. § 28, 1. Cf. also *femkjər* (chîmquière): COEMETERIUM and *movezkje* (mauvaisqué): MALE + VATIUM.

dental *t* and the palatal *j*, an *s*-sound would be introduced, as its position lies between that of *t* and that of *j*, the point of the tongue being raised toward the teeth, accompanied with a slight rise of the back of the tongue toward the palate; this combination of sounds would then develop into *tʃj* (or *tʃ*), the *s*-sound and the *j* uniting to produce *ʃ*; under the influence of the following palatal *j*, the back of the tongue would be raised nearer to the palate than in the production of *s*, a rise that would naturally be accompanied with a lowering of the point of the tongue, and thus the *s*-sound becomes *ʃ*; the *t* of *tʃ* drops later, as it does in French proper.

(2) In this position, *tj* > *ts* > *s* in French proper[1] and in the literary Norman;[2] in the modern Norman dialects, as also in Guernsey, the result is *ʃ*.

g

§ 134.— initial *gl*.

Initial *gl* becomes *dr* in *drisaiˑ* (drissaïr): O. H. G. *GLITZAN.

§ 135.— *g* + *i*.

The development of *g* before *i* differs from that in French proper, in the one word *giluˑət* (guilouette): GIRARE.

§ 136.— *g* + *a*.

(1) *g*, initial or preceded by a vowel, remains here, whether *a* be unchanged or become *e*. Examples: *galət* (galette): Breton KALET, *gar* (gar): √GAR, *gardᵊn* (gardin): O. H. G. GARTO, *gat* (gatte): GABATAS, *gɒ̃b* (gâmbe): √CAMB, *gərb* (guerbe), *gərbaiˑ* (guerbaïr) and *gərbiˑər* (guerbière): O. H. G. GARBA, *gerə* (guéret): Cymric GÂR.

(2) An exception is noted in *dʒərgɔ̃* (djergon): √GARG; this word may have been influenced by the Modern French form.

[1] Schwan, *Gram.*, § 253, and Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, I, p. 458.
[2] Suchier, *Franç.*, p. 38.

§ 137.— *g* + *au*.

In *ʒo:* (jaue): GABATAM and *ʒu·e* (joué): GAUDIUM, the result is similar to that in French proper.

§ 138.— *g* + *o*.

g remains in this position, as it does in French proper. Examples: *gore* (gorret): O. H. G. GOR, *gul* (goule): GULAM, etc.

k

§ 139.— *ks* + cons.

When *ks* (= *x*) precedes a consonant, the *k* is dropped. Examples: *əskürsjɔ̃* (escursion): EXCURSIONEM, *əsküz* (esqûse): EXCUSARE, *əspʎikasjɔ̃* (espllication): EXPLICARE, *əsprə* (esprès): EXPRESSUM, *əstrɔrdinər* (estrordinaire): EXTRA + ORDINARIUM, *əspje* (espllait): EXPLICITUM.

§ 140.— final *k*.

Final *k* usually falls in the following words: *fro* (fro'): FLOCCUM, *kro* (cro'): *CROCCUM, *mər* (mer): Germ. MARK, *trafi* (trafi'): *TRANSVICARE, and in the proper name *iza* (Isâs); but the pronunciation with a *k* is also heard.

§ 141.— voc. + *kj* + voc.

kj, preceded by a vowel, becomes *ʃ*, sometimes heard as *sʃ*. Examples: *erifɔ̃* (hérisshon): *ERICIONEM, *faiʃ* (faisshe): FACIAM, *koʃœr* (caussheure): CALCEAM, *maʃɔ̃* (machon): MACIONEM. Wherever *k*, followed by *j*, gives *ʃ*, it must first have been strongly fronted, and then have developed like *tj* before a vowel.[1]

[1] V. § 133, 1.

§ 142.— $k + e$ (*i*).

(1) The regular development of *k*, in this position, is into *ʃ*. Examples: *aⁿbraʃi* (embrasshi): BRACHIUM, *duˑaʃmaⁿ* (douach'ment): DULCEM, *elvⁿf* (élânche): EX + LANCEARE, *limaf* (limache): LIMACEM, *mədʃen* (medchîne): MEDICINAM, *muˑaʃe* (mouaché): MONTICELLUM, *puˑaʃəⁿ* (pouasshîn): PULLECINUM, *purʃəsjɔⁿ* (pourchession): PROCESSIONEM, *püf* (puche): PULICEM, *raʃen* (rachîne): RADICINAM, *ʃaⁿ* (chent): CENTUM, *ʃvəⁿtür* (chainture): CINCTURAM, *ʃem* (chîme): CYMAM, *ʃeⁿk* (chinq): CINQUE, *ʃlaiˑ* (ch'laïr): CELARE, *ʃliz* (ch'lise): *CERASEAM.[1]

(2) A peculiar development is noted in *pot* (pôte): Germ. POKI.

§ 143.— $k + a$.

(1) In this position, *k* remains. Examples: *akataiˑ* (acataïr): ACCAPTARE, *akvaiˑ* (ak'vaïr): CAPUT, *aⁿfurkje* (enfourquer): FURCAM, *bek* (bêque): Celtic √BACC, *brvⁿk* (brânque): BRANCAM, *brokə* (broquet): BROCCAM, *ekapaiˑ* (écappaïr): CAPPAM, *fikje* (fiquer): FIGICARE, *hvⁿk* (hânque): ANCAM, *ka* (cat): CATTUM, *karuˑañ* (carouagne): *CARONIAM, *kastaiˑn* (castaïne): CASTANEAM, *kaʃje* (cachier): *CAPTIARE, *katuˑalje* (catouailler): *CATTUCULARE, *ker* (quaire): CATHEDRAM, *keriˑo* (kériot): CARRUM, *kərbɔⁿ* (querbon): CARBONEM, *kərtaːiˑ* (quertâïe): CARRUM, *kərüː* (querrue): CARRUCAM, *kljok* (clloque): CLOCAM, *ko* (caud): CALIDUM, *ko* (caux): CALCEM, *koʃ* (cauche): CALCEUM, *koʃiː* (cauchie): CALCIATAM, *koʃœr* (caussheure): CALCEAM, *kvaœˑ* (k'vaeu):[2] CAPILLUM, *makje* (mâquer): MASTICARE, *pek* (pêque): PISCARI, *tuˑakje* (touaquer):[3] Germ. *TUKKÔN, *vak* (vaque): VACCAM.

[1] Cf. also *tʃü* (tchu): CULUM.

[2] Also pronounced *gvaœˑ*, where *k* has become voiced under the influence of the following sonant *v*; cf. Fleury, *Hague*, p. 45, and Beetz, *c und ch*, p. 24.

[3] This is the pronunciation of the old people; *tuˑaʃje*, or even *tuʃje*, is more usual now.

(2) This development is similar to that in the modern patois of Northern Normandy[1] and in Old Norman.[2]

(3) Six exceptions have been found, in which *k* gives *ʃ*, the same result as in French proper:[3] *ʃape* (chapé): CAPPELLUM, *ʃvⁿdilje* (chàndiller): CANDELAM, *ʃvⁿkrë* (chàncre): CANCRUM, *ʃemna:i·* (chîmnâïe): CAMINATAM, *ʃməⁿ* (ch'min): CAMINUM, *ʃnal* (ch'nal): CANALEM. Two further exceptions present the stage before *ʃ*: *tʃaⁿ* (tchen): CANEM and *tʃai·r* tchaïr):[4] CARNEM.[5]

(4) In the following words, *k*, before an *a*, develops into *s*: *saʃ* (çache), *saʃje* (çachier) and *saʃer* (çachaire): *CAPTIARE.

§ 144.— cons. + *k* + *a*.

The *k* here becomes *ʃ*. Examples: *bjvⁿʃ* (bllànche): BLANCAM, *kw·aʃje* (couachier): COLLOCARE, *marʃi* (marchi): MERCATUM, *rakurʃje* (racourchier): CURTUM.

§ 145.— *k* + *o* (*u*).

This development agrees exactly with that in French proper, being *k* when the latter is *k*, and *ʃ* when the latter is *ʃ*. Examples: *ko:n* (cône): CORNUA, *ku:* (coue): CODAM, etc., and *muʃœ* (moucheux): *MUCCARE, *ʃaw·* (chaou): COLEM, etc.

S

§ 146.— *s* + voc.

The only examples of the development of *s* into *ʃ*, are *ʃuk* (chouque): SOCCUM, *ʃükr* (shuker): Arabic SOKKAR, and *frikaʃi* (fricasshi): Frankish *FRËK, *kraʃ* or *kraʃ* (crasshe): CRASSAM, *maʃakr* (masshacre): MASSACRIUM. It is to be noticed, in these examples, that *s* becomes *ʃ* when followed originally by a vowel

[1] Joret, *Extension*, p. 113.
[2] Suchier, *Franç.*, pp. 41 and 80.
[3] Cf. Joret, *Bessin*, p. 227, and Beetz, *c und ch*, p. 25.
[4] The pronunciation of this word with a *tʃ* was heard only in the expression *mouaïlli jusqu'au tchaïr;* elsewhere it is always pronounced with the single *ʃ*.
[5] Cf. also *etʃel* (étchelle): SCALAM.

that requires a low position of the tongue, or, in the case of *kraſ*, when final. The reason of this development is thus made manifest: as the blade of the tongue is lower in the production of our *ſ* than in that of *s*,[1] the former would naturally be produced in passing from *s* to any sound requiring a low position of the blade, in going, for example, from *s* to *u* or *a*, or to the position of rest, when *s* is final. The *ſ*-sound then absorbs the preceding *s*, and first in words where the combination is initial.

§ 147.— initial *sk*.

In *skabe* (scabê): SCABELLUM, the *e* before *s impurum* has not been added, as it is in the French word *escabeau*.

§ 148.— *s* + cons.

In a few words, *s*, followed by a consonant, falls: *aⁿrʒitrai·* (enr'gîtraïr): REGESTRUM, *ekali·e* (écalier): SCALAM, *ekĕrbɔ* (ékerbot): SCARABAEUM, *despotem* (despotîme): δεσπότης. It has not, however, disappeared in *kastañje* (castagnier): CASTANEAM.[2]

§ 149.— final *s*.

The final *s*-sound has been retained in some words where it has dropped in French proper: *hus* (houss): Frankish HULIS and *rus* (rouss): RUSSUM; also *pis* (piss): PUTEUM.

l

§ 150.— stop cons. + *l*.

(1) When *l* is preceded by a stop consonant, or by a dento-labial fricative, it is palatalized, and even develops, in some

[1] There has been much discussion concerning the relative positions of *s* and *ſ*; Jespersen (*Articulations of Speech Sounds*, p. 62) gives, for the French *s*, the notation *β* 1 *e f*, whereas he believes that *β f γ*›*ff* 1 indicates somewhat the position of the point and upper surface of the tongue for French *ſ*.

[2] Cf. *əskeri·ai·* (eskériaïr): *EXQUIRITARE.

words, into the pure palatal *j*. There seems to be no fixed rule, whereby we may know when it becomes *lj* (or λ*j*), and when it develops into *j*. The pronunciation varies with different people, the better educated being apt to retain the λ, no doubt under the influence of the orthography.[1] The pronunciation wavers in such examples as *dekljerje* (déclIairier): DECLARARE, *fljɒⁿbai·* (fllàmbaïr): O. H. G. FLIEDIMÂ, *kupa'bljë* (coupablle): CULPABILEM, whereas the country-people always pronounce *j* in *bjaⁿ* (bllanc): O. H. G. BLANCH, *fje'bjë* (fièblle): FLEBILEM, *kjai·r* (cllaïr): CLARUM, *pjezi* (pllaisi): PLACERE, *saⁿbjë* (semblle): SIMULAT, *səⁿpjë* (simplle): SIMPLUM, *ta'bjë* (tablle): TABULAM,[2] etc.

(2) The question here arises as to the exact pronunciation of the first three examples given, in which was used the transcription *lj*; there may be some doubt as to whether this sound should not be written λ, or, rather, λ*j*; the more usual pronunciation seems, however, to be *lj*. After all, this palatalization is a common phenomenon in the Romance languages.[3]

§ 151.— *l* + cons.

A few peculiar forms come under this heading. *l* is vowelized in *mogre* (maugré) or *mograi·* (maugraï): GRATUM and *sudar* (soudard): SOLDATUM; it becomes *r* in *karkül* (carqul) and *karkülai·* (carqulaïr): CALCULARE.

§ 152.— voc. + *l* + voc.

(1) Intervocalic *l* has suffered mouillation in a number of cases: *eku·eλja:i·* (écueillâïe): SCUTELLUM, *fiλjai·* (fillaïr):

[1] Mr. Guilbert says that λ*j* (or simple λ) used to be heard, when he was a boy, much more frequently than it now is; the *j*-pronunciation predominates to-day.

[2] Mr. Corbet says that λ is heard in these examples, but they are pronounced with a *j*-sound by Mr. Guilbert and other Guernseymen.

[3] Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, I, pp. 368–374. It should be noted that *l* has fallen in *pü* (pus): PLUS and its compounds.

FILARE, *viλjaə̃* (villaïn), *viλjanai·* (villanaïr) and *viλjaniz* (villanise): *VILLANUM.[1]

(2) In two words, this *l* gives *j*: *regujərma̰* (réguyer'ment): REGULAREM, *partiküje* (particuyer): PARTICULAREM.

§ 153.— voc. + *lj* + voc.

An opposite development from the last is observed in a few words, where intervocalic *lj*, instead of being palatalized, becomes a pure dental *l*.[2] Examples: *evil* (éville): *EXVIGILIAT, *fiel* (fielle): FOLIAM, *fil* (file): FILIAM, *kɔ̃sil* (consille): *CONSILIAT, *küli·er* (cullier): COCHLEAR.[3] This result is also noted in the Picard and the Wallonian dialects,[4] and in Old Norman.[5]

§ 154.— final *lj* (*kl*).

(1) Final *lj* (*kl*) develops into a pure dental *l* in *dœl* (deul): DOLIUM, *famil* (famille): FAMILIAM, *kɔ̃sel* (consel): CONSILIUM, *solel* (solel): SOLICULUM. In three words, final *lj* (*kl*) falls, as final *l* often does:[6] *apare* (apparé): PARICULUM, *orge* (orgué): Germ. URGOLI, *trava* (travas): *TRABACULUM.

(2) Final *kl* changes to *r* in the plural form *jər* (iers): OCULOS and in *vi·ər* (vier): *VECULUM; this development would be as follows: $kl > \lambda > l > r$, for it is not likely that λ would give *r* directly, without going through the stage *l*. The change of *l* to *r* is easily explained, since the effort to lower the sides of the tongue for *l* is greater than to simply loosen the point of the tongue for *r*.[7]

[1] Cf. Eggert, *Norm. Mund.*, p. 391, and also the development of *n* + secondary *j* into *ñ*, § 167.

[2] Cf. this change with that of intervocalic *gn* (*nj*) into *n*, § 166.

[3] Cf. also *büli·e* (bûllier): *BUCULARE.

[4] Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, I, p. 465.

[5] Görlich, *Mak.*, p. xxi, 56; Busch, *Ang.-Norm.*, pp. 47 and 68.

[6] V. § 155, 1.

[7] Cf. § 155, 2.

§ 155.— final *l*.

(1) Final *l* is no longer pronounced in a number of words:[1] *anima* (anima): ANIMAL, *bari* (bari): √BARR, *ma* (ma): MALUM, *nature* (naturé): NATURALEM, *nu·e* (Noué): NATALEM, *nü* (nu): NULLUM, *opita* (hopita): HOSPITALE, *porta* (porta): PORTALEM, *prə^{n}sipa* (principa): PRINCIPALEM, *svœ·* (saeu): SOLUM, *ʃva* (ch'va): CABALLUM, and also in the proper names *raʃe* (Raché), *sə^{n}miʃje* (St. Michié) and *tərtva* (Torteva).

(2) In a few examples, final *l* has developed into an *r*:[2] *gλjaʒœr* (gllajeur): GLADIOLUM, *lə^{n}ʃœr* (lîncheur): LINTEOLUM and the three persons of the singular of the present indicative from *VOLẹRE: *vœr* (j' veurs, tu veurs, i' veurt).[3] This result is a frequent one in the Romance field.[4]

§ 156.— cons. + *l* + voc.

As with *r* in this position,[5] we have metathesis of the *l* in four words: *a^{n}piljai·* (emp'yllaïr): IMPLICARE, *ɔ^{n}biljai·* (onbillaïr): *OBLITARE, *pübiljai·* (pubillaïr): PUBLICARE and *rpiljai·* (r'pillaïr): PLICARE.

r

§ 157.— voc. + *r* + voc.

The change of intervocalic *r* into *l* is illustrated by the following examples: *bërüəl* (beruelle): BRUERAM, *gilu·ət* (guilouette): GIRARE, *prokülœ* (proculeux): PROCURATOREM, *ʃliz* (ch'lise): *CERASEAM.

§ 158.— final *rj*.

In the one word *fər* (fère): FERIAM, final *rj* becomes a pure dental *r*.[6]

[1] This *l* may be pronounced sometimes, but very rarely.
[2] Cf. § 154, 2. [3] Cf. also *koronəl* (coronel): Italian COLONELLO.
[4] Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. Rom.*, I, pp. 408–410. [5] V. § 161.
[6] Cf. with this one, the development of final *lj* (*kl*) into *l*, § 154, 1.

§ 159.— final *r*.

Latin final *r* disappears in some words. Examples: *asi·e* (assiê'): SEDERE, *ave* (avé): HABERE, *be* (bê): BIBERE, *kei·* (quêi'): CADERE, *kuvri* (couvri'): COPERIRE,[1] *malœ* (malheû): AUGURIUM, *miljaœ·* (milliaeu): MELIOREM, *plʒjezi* (pllaisî): PLACERE, *se* (sê): SERUM, *sü* (sus): SUPER, *tërʒu* (terjous): DIURNOS, *ve* (vê): VIDERE, and also the nouns ending in *œ* (for *œr*), such as *foſœ* (faucheux), *pœ* (peû), *volœ* (voleux). The only remaining effect of this *r* is the lengthening of the final vowel; although this vowel may not be unusually long, yet it can never be pronounced short. In many words, the custom of dropping the final *r* is not yet firmly established; in most of the examples just given, *r* is sometimes pronounced. In many words, the final *r* is never dropped; the exclamation *ver* (ver): VERE, for instance, is never heard as *ve*, though of exceedingly common occurrence; the usual pause after this word doubtless prevents the *r* from falling. We always hear, also, *saver* (saver): SAPERE.

§ 160.— *r* + *l* (*n*).

Before a dental consonant (either *l* or *n*), *r* disappears, having been assimilated to the following sound.[2] Examples: *epaⁿñ* (épangne): Germ. *SPARANJAN, *kon* (cône): CORNUA, *mel* (mêle): MERULAM, *oloʒ* (hôloge): HOROLOGIUM, *palai·* (pâlaïr): *PARABOLARE, *ulai·* (oûlaïr): *ORULAM.[3]

§ 161.— cons. + *r* + voc.

(1) This combination is very frequently changed to cons. + voc. + *r*, with sometimes a change in the quality of the vowel. Only a few examples, from a great many, will be

[1] And so with most of the *-ir* infinitives.

[2] Cf. Fleury, *Hague*, p. 51, and Eggert, *Norm. Mund.*, p. 390.

[3] *r* falls also before an *s*-sound in *pask* (pasque), equivalent to the French *parce que*, and in *travsⁿ* (trav'sânt): TRANSVERSUS, with the tenses formed from this present participle. As in French, *r* drops in such sentences as *aut' matin*, *ent' leux dents*, etc., where *r* follows a dental *t* and precedes a consonant. Cf. the proper name *margit* (Marguite).

taken as illustrations of this change: *forma*^{n} (forment): FRUMENTUM, *adœrʃje* (adeurchier): *DIRECTIARE, *përza*^{n} (persent): PRAESENTEM. In *bërbi* (berbis): *BERBICEM, the Guernsey form seems to be nearer the Latin etymon than is the result in French proper, but such is probably not the case; if *bërbi* had come directly from *BERBICEM, the *e* would have been open, as for example, in *pərtü* (pertu): PERTUSUM.

(2) A similar result is seen in words that have as initial consonants a stop (or *f*, *v*) + *r*. An *ë* is introduced here, between the consonant and the *r*: *përiai·* (periaïr): PRECARE, *bërüəl* (beruelle): BRUERAM, etc. It is, therefore, probable that such words as the two mentioned above (*përza*^{n} and *bërbi*) show a mingling of the two laws just given; according to the first, the combinations *pre-* and *brə-* would become *per-* and *bər-* respectively; but the second law would cause the development of *pre-* and *brə-* into *përe-* and *bërə-* respectively. *për-* would, therefore, be a mixture of *per-* and *përe-*, and likewise with *bër-*, which would be the mixed product of *bər-* and *bërə-*. It should be observed that the pronunciation of *ë* in *bërbi* is not precisely the same as that of *e* in the French form *brebis;* the *ë* is rather between the French *e* of *cheval, brebis,* and *ə*. If this were not so, our *bërbi* would be developed regularly from *brëbi*, according to the first rule mentioned in this section: *brë-* > *bër-*.

(3) These two laws should now be explained. The combination of a stop + *r* was probably the first to change. When an *r*, following a consonant, is strongly trilled, and consequently held for some length of time, an indefinite *ë*-sound is almost unavoidably introduced between it and the preceding consonant; if, for example, the *r* in *priai·* be trilled (= *prrriai·*), it would soon develop an *ë* between itself and the *p* (= *përiai·*). The next combinations to change would be those with consonant + *r* + *e* (*ə* or *ë*), such as *pre-*;[1] the

[1] An illustration with an *e*, instead of an *ə* or *è*, is made use of here, because *e* is further removed from the final result *ë* than are either *ə* or *ë*, and what would apply to it, would, *a fortiori*, apply to the other two vowels.

first step might be *përe-*, and then, owing to the similarity in sound between the two *e*'s, the second would drop, but the first would take its quality, to compensate for its loss (i. e., *pre-* > *përe-* > *pɐr-*). The *e* in this last result (*per-*) would then become *ə* (or *ë*), under the influence of the following *r*, and such forms as *përza*ⁿ, *bërbi* would be the result; this change in the quality of *e* would be made easier by the existence of such regular forms as *përiai*˙, or, in other words, there would be mixture. Upon this development becoming more frequent, this law would then be easily applied to words with other vowels, like *forma*ⁿ (forment). In all these explanations, we must not leave out of consideration altogether the vowel-like quality of *r* and the ease with which it can be changed from one position in the word to another.

§ 162.— added *r*.

An *r* has been introduced into two words, *rüdr* (rudre): RUDEM and *sudar* (soudard): SOLDATUM.

§ 163.— closed voc. + *r*.

An important question to be considered, is the effect of *r* on a preceding closed vowel. A closed vowel always requires a high and tense position of the tongue, and such a position, whether front or back, is accompanied by a withdrawal of the point of the tongue from the teeth. Since, in the production of the Guernsey *r*, the point of the tongue is raised toward the teeth, the front or back of the tongue would be less tense and be somewhat lowered, in order to allow the point to press forward and be sufficiently loose to vibrate freely:[1] thus an open vowel, instead of the closed one, would most naturally be the result.

[1] According to Jespersen, this position might be indicated by βx^{e-f} or even βx^{e-fg}; a different notation would be βf or βfg.

m

§ 164.— *mm.*

In the pronunciation of the word *fλjɒmb* (fllàmbe): FLAMMAM, the velum is raised before the vocal chords cease vibrating, and thus, instead of a long *m*, is heard the combination *mb*.[1]

n

§ 165.— *n* + *t.*

n becomes *r* in *murt* (mourte) and *murtrai·* (mourtraïr): MONSTRARE; this change is simple, as both consonants are dental. This product is observed also in other languages.

§ 166.— voc. + *gn* (*nj*) + voc.

Instead of becoming *ñ*, as in French proper, intervocalic *gn*, in a few words, gives a pure dental *n*.[2] Examples: *ə"dinai·* (indinaï): DIGNUM, *kastai·n* (castaïne): CASTANEAM, *sen* (sîne): SIGNUM, *sinifiai·* (sinifiaïr): SIGNIFICARE and the proper name *almai·n* (All'maïne).[3]

§ 167.— *n* + secondary *j*.

In a few words, where French proper has the pronunciation *nj*, the Guernsey patois has *ñj*.[4] Examples: *diñje* (dignier): DENARIUM, *mañjer* (magnière): MANUARIUM, *ñje* (gniais): *NIDIACEM, *ʃɒ"suñje* (chànsougnier): CANTIONEM.[5]

§ 168.— *r* + *n* + *r*.

In *rturɔ"* (r'toûron), equivalent to the French *retournerons*, the *n* has been assimilated to *r*. Another example, where *n*

[1] For similar phenomena, v. Passy, *Changements phonétiques*, p. 216, § 535.
[2] Cf. this result with that of *l* from intervocalic *lj*, § 153.
[3] Cf. also *grunai·* (grounnaïr) and *grunar* (grounard): GRUNNIRE.
[4] Cf. this development to that of intervocalic *l* into λ and *j*, § 152.
[5] Cf. also *mu·añ* (moigne): Greek *μόνιος*.

has fallen, perhaps through differentiation from the first syllable, is *pi·anpi·a* (piâ-n-piâ), meaning "slowly," "gently."

§ 169.— voc. + *ñ*.

In a few words, *ñ* has nasalized the preceding vowel, or, rather, the nasalization of this vowel, before the following *ñ*, has not disappeared in the Guernsey dialect: *epaⁿñ* (épangne): Germ. *SPARANJAN, *kɷⁿpaⁿñ* (càmpengne): CAMPANEAM, *kɷⁿpaⁿñi:* (compengnie): *COMPANIONEM.[1]

§ 170.— nasalization of vowels.

A few words have been found, in our patois, in which the vowel has been nasalized, even when not followed by a nasal consonant.[2] Examples: *daⁿpi* (denpîs): DE + POSTEA, *ɔⁿbiljai·* (onbillaïr): *OBLITARE, and also *fəⁿʒ* (in the expression *ma finge*), if from FIDEM.[3]

EDWIN SEELYE LEWIS.

[1] Cf. also *deⁿmaⁿʃ* (Dînmanche): DOMINICUM, *deⁿnai·* (dînnaïr): *DISJUNARE and the preterit ending of the first person plural *-eⁿm* (-înmes), corresponding to the French *-îmes*.

[2] Cf. the nasalization of final *i'*, § 35, 2.

[3] *eraʒje* (éragier): *RABIARE, on the contrary, may be an example of the loss of the nasalization.

II.—THE SOCIAL ASPECT OF EARLY GERMAN ROMANTICISM.

In the history of the human mind, there have been few more striking proofs of the organic unity in which the varied manifestations of national life are bound together than that afforded by the social causes and effects of German Romanticism. Few literary movements have demonstrated more impressively the futility of individual culture if it lacks a large sense of common responsibility. The predominance, in modern German society, of fact over theory, of common sense over genius, of practical tasks over ideal aspirations, may, to a large extent at least, be explained as a wholesome reaction against the excesses of Romantic wilfulness.

German Romanticism, in its early phases, was a result of political atrophy combined with highest literary culture; it was a consequence of the abnormal condition in which at the beginning of the nineteenth century the intellectual aristocracy of the nation found itself. Through the noble poets and thinkers of the older generation the educated classes of Germany had attained to such a degree of philosophic and artistic refinement, they had acquired such a wealth of common ideal possessions as only the few greatest epochs of human history have seen. Naturally, this intenseness and universality of intellectual interest served as a stimulus to an equally intense and equally universal desire for production. Genius, as has well been said, was in the air. But where should this genius turn? What part was there for it to play? What avenues of activity were there open for it? What opportunity was there for it to influence the life of the people at large? Astonishing as it may seem, it is none the less true that now as little as in the time of Frederick the Great was there a place in Germany for genius except on the throne (where it, however, not always showed itself) and in the ideal realm of

literature and art. Even now the way toward national reform and collective enterprise seemed to be hopelessly blocked. Even now the great intellectual leaders of the age were isolated individuals without any large and compact following; they were generals in command of an army in which the rank and file was made up of officers, each of whom would rather act upon his own strategic notions than obey his superior's orders.

In other words, German classic literature, with all its magnificent achievements, lacked that firm foundation in popular tradition and belief which is the surest safeguard of an even and uninterrupted intellectual growth. And thus, at the very height of its development, it turned back, as it were, upon itself, and again gave way to that excessive and morbid craving for individual liberty from which, in the Storm and Stress movement, it had taken its start. Romanticism in its early form was a caricature of Classicism; it was individualism run mad.

Nowhere has this spirit of phantastic and wilful self-assertion manifested itself in a more striking manner than in the three novels in which three of the leading Romanticists formulated their capricious creed at the very time when Goethe and Schiller in *Wilhelm Meister* and *Wallenstein* exalted self-discipline and self-forgetfulness: Tieck's *William Lovell* (1795), Friedrich Schlegel's *Lucinde* (1799), Novalis's *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* (1800).

Tieck, in later years, in the preface to a second edition of *William Lovell*, has claimed a positive moral and educational purpose for this work of his youth. "My youth," he says,[1] "fell in those times when not only in Germany, but in the greater part of the civilized world the sense for the beautiful, the sublime, and the mysterious seemed to have been sunk to sleep. A shallow enlightenment, to which the divine appeared as an empty dream, ruled the day; indifference toward religion

[1] Ludwig Tieck's *Schriften*, VI, pp. 3–5.

was called freedom of thought, indifference toward country cosmopolitanism. In the struggle against these predominant views, I sought to conquer for myself a quiet place where nature, art, and faith might again be cultivated; and this endeavor led me to hold up to the opposing party (the party of Enlightenment) a picture of their own confusion and spiritual wantonness."

The degree of self-deception contained in these words is truly astonishing. It cannot, of course, be denied that the ideal of complete humanity which inspired the great poets and thinkers of the classic period was by a large part of their contemporaries misconstrued into a commonplace utilitarianism. Goethe and Schiller themselves, in the *Xenien*, arose in all their might against the platitudes of this sort of rationalism. But after all, rationalism of the Nicolai species was a comparatively harmless, though degenerate, variety of the true rationalism taught by the men of Weimar and Königsberg. To Tieck and his friends it was left to pervert it into its opposite, the worship of the absurd.

Nobody who reads *William Lovell* without partisan bias, can escape the impression that here we have the involuntary confessions of a mind revelling in the abnormal, given over to a sickly delight in the arbitrary rulings of fate, totally devoid of any sense of common moral obligations. Whatever Tieck may affirm to the contrary, it is not enlightenment, but his own distorted views of enlightenment, which he embodied in the hero of this novel; it is his own erratic self which we hear in the reflections of this talkative and capricious weakling, whom an equally capricious, though deliberate, scoundrel succeeds in turning into the most complete profligate and criminal.

William, in the beginning, reminds us of Wieland's Agathon. He is a youth of the finest sensibilities and the deepest feeling; he is secretly engaged to a pure and ethereal maiden; he believes in virtue, innocence, and freedom of the will. He is, of course, an enthusiastic admirer of nature; with Rousseau

he believes in a former ideal state of mankind; with Schiller he scorns the pettiness of modern life compared with that of the Greeks. "Ah, the golden age of the Muses has disappeared for ever! When Gods full of tenderness were still walking on the earth, when Beauty and Grandeur clad in harmonious robes were still dancing hand in hand on gay meadows, when the Hours with golden key still opened Aurora's gate, and blessing Genii with horns of plenty hovered over a smiling world—ah! then the sublime and the beautiful had not yet been degraded to the pretty and the alluring." This[1] sounds like an echo of Schiller's *The Gods of Greece*. The difference is that, while Schiller in this sentimental longing for an imaginary state of ideal happiness found an incentive for a life-long devotion to earnest and profound work, Tieck's hero becomes through it a victim of the first temptation that presents itself to him in the shape of a Parisian coquette.

As may be expected, his philosophy of life now takes a materialistic turn, thinly disguised by vague pantheistic phrases.[2] "I pity the fools who are forever babbling about the depravity of the senses. Blind wretches, they offer sacrifices to an impotent Deity whose gifts cannot satisfy a human heart. They climb laboriously over barren rocks to find flowers, and heedlessly pass by blooming meadows. No, I have pledged myself to the service of a higher Deity before which all living nature bows, which unites in itself every feeling, which is rapture, love, everything—for which language has no word, the lips have no sound. Only in the embraces of Louise have I come to know what love is; the memory of Amelia appears to me now as in a dim, misty distance. I never loved her."

Sickening as it is to see Faust's confession of faith thus degraded into an excuse for stooping to the charms of a heartless adventuress, this is only the preparation for things far worse. New temptations as well as occasional pangs of conscience convince William that he needs a firmer theoretical

[1] *Schriften*, VI, p. 50. [2] *Ib.*, pp. 95, 96.

foundation for his wanton practice, and he finds this foundation in a caricature of Kantian transcendentalism. The language in which he formulates his pseudo-Kantianism is the language of Fichte's *Wissenschaftslehre* (1794), stripped of its moral enthusiasm and perverted into phantastic sophistry. In directness and suggestiveness it leaves nothing to be desired.[1] "Do I not walk through this life as a somnambulist? All that I see is only a phantom of my inner vision. I am the fate which prevents the world from crumbling to pieces. The world is an empty desert in which I meet nothing but myself. All things exist only because I think them; virtue exists only because I think it. Everything submits to my caprice; every phenomenon, every act can I call such as it pleases me. The world, animate and inanimate, is suspended by the chains which my mind controls. My whole life is a dream, the manifold figures of which are formed according to my will. I am the one supreme law of all nature." The climax of this libertinism is reached when William learns that his connection with the angelic Amelia whose memory in all his reckless dissipations has been the one pure spot of his soul, meets with the opposition of his father. Now he seems to have a justification for throwing her over entirely, now he can preach the emancipation of the flesh without restriction or reserve.[2] "For sooth, lust is the great secret of our existence. Poetry, art, even religion, are lust in disguise. The works of the sculptor, the figures of the poets, the paintings before which devoutness kneels, are nothing but introductions to sensual enjoyment; every melody, every garment beautifully thrown beckons us there. All life is a wild tumultuous dance. Let my wanton spirit be borne aloft by a noble bacchantic rage, that it never again may feel at home in the miserable trifles of the common world."

The revolting story of seduction, murder, and highway robbery, which as a practical illustration of these principles

[1] *Ib.*, pp. 177–79. [2] *Ib.*, p. 212 f.

forms the closing chapter of Lovell's career, would be of little interest but for the fact that Lovell's views of life even at this stage coincide with those toward which Tieck himself and his friends were gradually drifting. They as well as Lovell began as followers of Rousseau, they as well as he passed in quick succession from an overwrought idealism to a phantastic sensualism, and thence to open rebellion against any kind of moral discipline. And (as we shall see more clearly later on) they as well as Lovell sought refuge from this hollow libertinism in an equally hollow and utterly irrational belief in the supernatural and the miraculous. A few of William's utterances indicative of this final conversion of his may serve to complete the picture of his inner development. "Our boldest thoughts," he says,[1] "our most wanton doubts, after having destroyed everything, after having swept through an immense space laid bare by themselves, at last bow before a feeling which makes the desert bear fruit again. This feeling overthrows doubt as well as certainty, it rests satisfied in itself; and the man who has arrived at this point, returns to some form of belief. Thus the most reckless freethinker at last becomes a worshipper of religion; yes, he may even become what is usually called a fanatic—a word misunderstood by most people who use it. . . . Dreams are perhaps our highest philosophy. Perhaps we are to experience a great revelation which will accomplish at one stroke what reason must forever fail to accomplish: a solution of all the mysteries, within and without. Perhaps all illusion will vanish when we reach a height of vision which to the rest of mankind appears as the height of absurdity."

If the downward career of William Lovell, with its inglorious ending in a duel forced upon him by an outraged rival, has at least something in it of a warning example, there is not even the shadow of a constructive purpose to be discovered in Friedrich Schlegel's *Lucinde*.

[1] *Ib.*, p. 344 ff., VII, p. 18.

Not as a work of fiction, but as a social program is *Lucinde* one of the remarkable books of the world's literature. Here more clearly than in any other literary production of the time, are we able to measure the degree of intellectual and moral dissoluteness into which at the end of the eighteenth century the lack of a healthy national life had driven the most cultured classes of Germany. Here, the isolated individuals of the age of the Migrations, the man without honor, the woman without shame, seem to reappear, changed from the heroic dimensions of a Clovis or Rosamond to the neatness and elegance of the authors and authoresses of whom even Mme. de Staël felt obliged to say:[1] "Il faut l'avouer, les Allemands de nos jours n'ont pas ce que l'on peut appeler du caractère." Here, modern humanity, developed to its highest refinement and susceptibility, seems to sink back again into the state of the brute. The ideal of complete culture is here perverted into the ideal of absolute aimlessness. Individualism here unknowingly declares its own bankruptcy.

Loathsome as it is, it is none the less instructive to observe the paroxysms of insanity (no other word is strong enough), into which the aesthetic libertinism of this book again and again breaks forth. "In that immortal hour," thus begins the chapter entitled 'Elegy on Idleness,'[2] "when the Spirit moved me to proclaim the divine gospel of joy and love, I thus spoke to myself: 'Oh idleness, idleness! thou art the native element of innocence and poetry; in thee live and breathe the heavenly hosts; blessed the mortals who cherish thee, thou sacred gem, sole fragment of godlike being that is left to us from paradise.'—Like a sage of the Orient, I was completely lost in holy brooding and calm contemplation of the eternal substances, especially thine (Lucinde's) and mine. With the utmost indignation I thought of the bad men who would fain take sleep out of life. Oh! they never slept and never lived themselves! Why are the Gods Gods if not because they

[1] *De l'Allemagne*, p. 465.

[2] *Lucinde*, ed. of 1799, p. 77, ff.

consciously and purposely do nothing, because they understand this art and are masters in it? Industry and utility are the angels of death who with flaming sword prevent man from his return to paradise. Through composure and gentleness only, in the sacred quietude of genuine passiveness, can we realize our whole self. The more beautiful the climate, the more truly passive man is. Only Italians know how to carry themselves, and Orientals only know how to recline. The right of idleness marks the distinction between the noble and the common, and is the true essence of aristocracy. To say it all in a word: The more divine man is, the more fully does he resemble the plant. The plant of all forms of nature is the most moral and the most beautiful. And the highest and most perfect life is reached by simple vegetating."

The first phase of Romanticism, the substitution of individual caprice for the moral law, we found exemplified in Tieck's *William Lovell.* The next step, consisting in open glorification of the flesh and open hostility to spiritual progress, was taken in Friedrich Schlegel's *Lucinde.* One thing now remained to make the caricature of the classic ideal of humanity complete: the flight into the land of the supernatural and the miraculous. This phase of Romanticism attained to its most perfect type in Novalis's *Heinrich von Ofterdingen.*

How is it that a poet who had drunk so deeply from the well of life, who was endowed with such a profound instinct for the unity of existence, as the author of the incomparable *Hymns to Night,* should after all have ended as the highpriest of a capricious mysticism and supranaturalism? The answer is not far to seek. Only the will bridges the gulf between the ideal and the real; only the moral command: Thou shalt! establishes the unity of matter and spirit. This homely truth, which in one form or another shines out from the whole life-work of Kant and Herder, of Goethe and Schiller, was something entirely hidden from the over-refined circles to which Novalis belonged. To him, as to the rest of the Romanticists, conscious activity was a sin against the Holy Ghost. What

he called the highest life was at bottom something purely negative, a fathomless nothing, complete absence of endeavor, absolutely aimless contemplation. No wonder that the actual life with its manifold claims on will and self-consciousness should have appeared to him as "a disease of the spirit;"[1] that the visible world should have seemed to him a chaotic dream, and dreams the only true reality. No wonder that his pantheistic inclinations should have led him, not to a firm faith in the supreme rule of an all-pervading and all-embracing moral law, but to a superstitious belief in the divineness of individual caprice and fancy. No wonder that he should have found the true object of poetry in representing the miraculous and the irrational; that he should have reviled the Reformation and glorified the Jesuits; that he should have fled from what he was pleased to call the infidelity and frivolity of modern science to the fairy-land of a phantastic Mediævalism.

It cannot too emphatically be stated that the Middle Ages of the Romanticists was far from being the Middle Ages of history. It was as little a reality as the natural man of Rousseau's or the ideal Greek of Schiller's imagination were realities. It was simply a new Arcadia, another form of that craving for an innocent childlike existence which seems to be a concomitant phenomenon of all highly developed civilizations. And just as the North American Indian of to-day would probably fail to recognize his likeness in the noble and sentimental savages who in the literary tradition of the eighteenth century were wont to put the perfidious European to shame; as the patriotic Athenian of the time of Pericles would probably have declined to be classed together with the philanthropic and ethereal being which the era of Enlightenment was fond of imagining as truly Grecian—so the mediæval knight and burgher would hardly have been able to suppress a scornful smile, if they had foreseen what extravagant and absurd roles they would be made to play in Romantic literature.

[1] Novalis' *Schriften*, ed. Tieck, II, p. 156.

The Middle Ages was an era of strong collectivistic tendencies, of most energetic social organization. The sinking of the individual in great public tasks, the predominance of corporate consciousness—whether it be represented by church, empire, knighthood or burgherdom—over private interest, formed its most characteristic feature. Mediæval literature and art, even where they dwell on individual experience, always presuppose the existence of a great organic whole within which the individual moves and has its being. Even over the most diversified representations of actual life, such as Wolfram's *Parzival* or the paintings of a Van Eyck or Memlinc, there is spread the halo of an all-encircling divine presence which sanctifies the most trivial and fleeting.

Take, for instance, such a work as Memlinc's *The Seven Joys of Mary*, a painting the rediscovery of which we owe to Romantic art enthusiasm.[1] Here we have a most variegated landscape, mountains and hillsides, rivers and meadows, rocky passes and the open sea, lowly hamlets and a gorgeous city; we have the greatest diversity of actions: the Annunciation, the Adoration of the Shepherds, the Infanticide of Bethlehem, the Travels of the Magi, Christ's Resurrection, the Walk to Emmaus, Mary's Death and Assumption. And yet, this multitude of scenes and figures does not bewilder us. We feel, they are held together by an inner bond, we accept them as so many different phases of the one great central action of the Christian legend: the redemption of the flesh through the incarnate God.

Now compare with this the following scenery from Novalis's *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*, a scenery intended, undoubtedly, to produce an effect similar to that of a mediæval painting.[2] "They looked down upon a romantic country which was strewn with cities and castles, with temples and monuments, and

[1] It belonged to the collection of the brothers Boisserée, before it was acquired by the Munich Pinakothek. Cf. Sulpiz Boisserée, *Briefwechsel mit Goethe*, p. 29.

[2] Novalis's *Schriften*, I, p. 180, ff.

which combined all the grace of cultivated plains with the awful charms of the desert and a rocky wilderness. The mountain tops in their ice and snow covers were shining like airy flames. The plain was smiling in its freshest green. The distance was merged into all shades of blue, and from the darkness of the sea the pennants of innumerable masts were floating. In the background there was seen a shipwreck; nearer by peasants in gay country frolic. Yonder, the majestic spectacle of a spitting volcano, the devastations of an earthquake; here, a pair of lovers in sweet embrace under shady trees. On this side, a maiden lying on the bier, the distressed lover embracing her, the weeping parents standing by; on another, a lovely mother with a child on her breast, angels sitting at her feet and looking down from the boughs overhead. The scenes shifted continually and finally streamed together into one great mysterious spectacle. Heaven and earth were in revolt. All the terrors had broken loose. A mighty voice called to arms. A ghastly army of skeletons with black standards came down from the mountains like a hurricane and fell upon the life sporting in the valley. A terrible slaughter began, the earth trembled, the storm roared, the night was rent by awful meteors. A pyre rose higher and higher, and the children of life were consumed by its flames. Suddenly, out of the ash heap there broke forth a stream, milky blue. The spectres scattered, but the flood rose and rose and devoured the gruesome brood. Soon all the terrors had vanished. Heaven and earth flowed together in sweet music. A wondrous flower swam resplendent on the gentle waves."

What is this but an idle play of fancy, a degradation of poetry to the role of a juggler, a wilful jumbling together of conceptions which have nothing in common with each other, a complete failure to give the impression of an organic and harmonious whole. It is a typical instance of the difference between the mediæval and the romantic spirit.

The fanciful exterior of mediæval life, its naive joy in the mysterious, its childlike belief in the impossible, rested on

the solid foundation of an unbroken tradition, of an implicit faith in divine omnipotence and goodness. It was counterbalanced by an earnest devotion to common social tasks, by a strong sense of mutual dependence, of the moral obligation of each to all. The romantic predilection for mystery and wonder proceeded from the overwrought imagination of extreme individualists and free-thinkers. It had no moral background. It was devoid of true religious feeling. It was a literary symptom of social disintegration, a concomitant phenomenon of the final breakdown of the Holy Roman Empire. The mysterious "blue flower," in the pursuit of which Heinrich von Ofterdingen consumes his life, was a fit symbol of the aimless and phantastic yearning in which not only Novalis, but the majority of the cultivated youth of his time squandered their intellectual energies, and which was to plunge the country into the disasters of Austerlitz and Jena.

It is instructive to compare *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*, the representative novel of Romanticism, with representative works of other ages or tendencies, such as Wolfram's *Parzival*, Grimmelshausen's *Simplicissimus*, *Wilhelm Meister*. In all three of these romances the hero enters into a conflict with the world and himself, in all three of them he is enriched and strengthened through this very conflict. Parzival wins the crown of life through earnest striving for self-mastery and through active work for the common weal. Simplicissimus, though tossed about in a sea of meanness and vice, maintains after all his moral nature and at last reaches the harbor of a tranquil indifference to outward circumstance. Wilhelm Meister, through the striving for self-culture, through contact with the most varied conditions of society, is led to a perfectly universal sympathy with actual life.

Nothing of all this do we find in *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*. "Die Welt wird Traum, der Traum wird Welt"[1]—this is the ideal of existence held up to us here. In the whole novel not

[1] *Ib.*, p. 213.

a single thing is done which may be called an act of free moral endeavor, not a single character appears whose will-power would be equal to any decisive test. The book impresses us as a series of charming hallucinations; it is as though the subconscious self had emancipated itself from the will and was roaming about, in sweet intoxication, through the shadow-land of the incoherent and the incredible.

The air is filled with gentle music, a blue haze enshrouds the distance. Mediæval merchants with faces of pre-Raphaelite saints ride on the highway, discussing in chorus questions of poetry and art. Hidden paths lead through rock and underbrush to subterraneous caverns where venerable hermits are poring over prophetic books. Voices are heard from beneath the ground; visions appear in the trees; spirits of the departed return in manifold reincarnations. In the midst of these phantastic surroundings we see Heinrich himself traveling in search of the wonderful flower at which he once has gazed in a dream, the symbol of ideal poetry; and the further he travels, the further is he removed from the life of reality, the more completely does he seem to loose his human identity. So that we are not surprised to hear that for a while he resides with the dead; that he lives through all the ages of history; that the various maidens in the love of whom he finds the same delight which the vision of the flower had given him, are in reality one; that he at length reaches a stage of existence where "men, beasts, plants, stones, stars, elements, sounds, colors, commune with each other like one family, act and talk like one race,"[1] and that he himself is transformed successively into a rock, a singing tree, and a golden wether.

In studying these phantastic ravings of an eccentric and uncontrolled imagination, one understands how a generation whose reason and will-power had been benumbed by their influence, should have become unfit for discharging the simple duties of the citizen and the patriot; one comprehends

[1] *Ib.*, p. 252.

Napoleon's contempt for "ces idéologues Allemands;" and one sees the inner justice of the political humiliation of Germany in 1806.[1]

KUNO FRANCKE.

[1] It is hardly necessary to add that this paper deals only with one side of the Romantic movement. The reconstructive work of Fichte and Schleiermacher, the later development of Tieck and the Schlegels, the rediscovery of the true Middle Ages through the brothers Grimm and their co-workers, the growth of the new historical method, the revival of the national spirit—in short, the positive achievements of Romanticism belong in another chapter.

III.—SHAKESPEARE'S FIRST PRINCIPLES OF ART.

Perhaps no part of Shakespeare has proved harder of interpretation and appreciation than the closet scene which ends Act III of *Hamlet*. Every reader, every spectator of the play has at some time felt regret, perhaps dismay, that so brilliant and capable a hero should, in such an unadvised and erratic way, reproach and revile his mother. It is a scene at no point pleasing, and in many points perplexing. And, particularly, what of the Ghost's reappearance? We find it hard to believe, even dramatically, in the inconsequential return of the same vindictive, impassioned spirit that is made so much of at the opening of the play. "It is surely a subjective ghost," says White. "It is not a subjective ghost," says another; "but the audience does not see it." "It is certainly not a subjective ghost," says yet another; "everybody sees it but the Queen." And so it goes. What did Shakespeare mean?

Verily the great master has for once showed us the measure of his mind; and that measure is greater than the measure of a man. There is no way to interpret this scene as literature, or any other scene as literature, except to interpret it as life. As that is the contention of this paper, to be exalted to a categoric proposition before we finish, let us essay to explain what we here find just as we should explain it were it to occur upon our street, under our personal observation. We may first premise these facts. We all note that our feelings towards the Queen undergo a change near the opening of Act IV; also, that the Queen, before in sympathy with the King as against Hamlet, is from this time on Hamlet's side. Immediately on return to the King after the closet interview, she affirms the fact of his madness which she does not believe, and presently fibs again for him by declaring that "he weeps for what is done." In the last scene she sends covert word to Hamlet that he should use some gentle entertainment to Laertes before

they fall to play. After the fencing begins she grows excited in Hamlet's behalf, sends him her napkin for his brows, and carouses to his fortune though the King forbids. These facts we know; and while actresses taking the part of the Queen often make it obnoxious throughout, we are not without hint in the text that Shakespeare's meaning is quite the contrary,—that he will redeem the Queen and give Hamlet in the last moments his mother's sympathy. At any rate we shall do well to follow this as a clue in our study of the difficulties before us.

We are, then, to interpret this scene precisely as if it were life, as if it had been an interview indeed between a veritable mother and her son, with ourselves in presence. Here is a queen who has an evil record, standing thus outside the limits of our sympathy. She is shameless and we are willing to see her shamed. "Now, mother, what's the matter," says the summoned visitor, in a familiar, boyish, unroyal salutation. "Hamlet, thou hast thy father much offended," is the significant answer. This tainted mother will essay to school this son, she the adulteress, him his father's avenger. "Mother, you have *my* father much offended." The retort makes her wince: does Hamlet *know?* But no matter; there is but one thing to do. She must assume a virtue if she have it not. "Come, come, you answer with an idle tongue." These words should remind him of his impertinence. But Hamlet takes issue; he has come here with no other purpose than to take issue. So he answers impetuously, echoing by contraries, "Go, go, you question with a wicked tongue." The Queen's natural rejoinder is surprise, injured innocence, at that word "wicked,"—"Why, how *now*, Hamlet? Have you *forgot me?*" "No, by the rood, *not* so. You are the Queen, *your husband's brother's wife*, and—would it were not so—you are *my mother*." Thus far our sympathies are with Hamlet. It is time that these things were said to the Queen by somebody, and we care not if they are said to her by her son. Were we

enforced spectators of the scene thus far, we could not find it in our hearts to entreat Hamlet's pause.

Here the first integral division of the scene closes. The Queen is bound, of course, to make a show of indignation, and she starts forth vaguely, perhaps with the thought of summoning the King. "Nay, then, I'll set those to you that can speak." Hamlet now takes his mother by the shoulders and thrusts her into a chair. "Come, come, and sit you down; you shall not budge; you go not till I set you up a glass where you may see the inmost part of you." Very natural is it that this woman should recoil from a prospectus like that, and even take refuge behind the fiction of fright. Her "help, ho" is echoed from behind the arras by Polonius, whom Hamlet, hoping it is the King, strikes down.

Here ends the second division of this strange scene. Were we present, we should exclaim against this violence of Hamlet towards his mother. Then we should be immeasurably awed by the spectacle of the dead body lying at the bottom of the arras. Death is the great reformer of prejudice; and now, in sight of Polonius slain, we find we have not only charity for his weakness, but also for the Queen's. One death has made amends, in some degree, not for him merely, but for the twain together. That is helped, moreover, by the discovery, flashed upon us in this astounding moment, through Hamlet's "kill a king and marry with his brother," that the Queen was not privy to her husband's murder. With this beginning, Hamlet goes on to enforce a sort of spiritual penance for his mother. As she stands aghast, wringing her hands in anguish, Hamlet again forces her to sit, affirming that he will wring her heart. Plainly Shakespeare's hand is here heavy upon his hero. For the sake of having the mother minister to the son in love and sympathy at the end of the play, he will make the son harsh and brutal to the mother here. At Hamlet's first words the Queen retreats again behind her sex's prerogative,—"What have *I* done, that thou darest wag thy tongue in noise so rude against me?" His answer is as near approach to the sugges-

tion of her guilt as he dare go, or as the author can artistically permit:

> Such an act
> That blurs the grace and blush of modesty,
> Calls virtue hypocrite, takes off the rose
> From the fair forehead of an innocent love
> And sets a blister there, makes marriage-vows
> As false as dicers' oaths; O, such a deed
> As from the body of contraction plucks
> The very soul, and sweet religion makes
> A rhapsody of words; heaven's face doth glow,
> Yea, this solidity and compound mass,
> With tristful visage, as against the doom,
> Is thought-sick at the act.

The Queen refuses to admit that she understands this language. "Ay me," she says,

> "*What* act,
> That roars so loud and thunders in the index?"

It were indeed unseemly that a royal mother,—this royal mother, who is to be restored to the love and devotion of her son, should go in definiteness much beyond. Hamlet is made to refrain from answering her question more pointedly. Shakespeare turns him aside,—in the declamation beginning, we shall remember,

> Look here, upon this picture, and on this,
> The counterfeit presentment of two brothers,—

into a tirade against her present husband, not altogether relevant to the indictment which Hamlet has been pressing. At its close the Queen cries out

> O Hamlet, speak no more!
> Thou turn'st mine eyes into my very soul,
> And there I see such black and grained spots
> As will not leave their tinct.

Here ends the third division, the third stage of this closet scene. Our feelings of dislike and revulsion have changed to surprise, and something like concern, as we see the expression

of dismay and hear the words of confession from the mother to her son. Yet it is only to us and for our sakes that she admits the consciousness of wrong. We begin to divine what the task is which Shakespeare has here set himself. If this were life, we should be content to part company here and thus with the Queen, to wish her no evil, and to forget her existence. But this is not the end, nor yet even the middle of the scene; there are still large changes to be wrought within our sympathies. The means first to be used is pity. Hamlet is made to go on scurrilously, beyond all reason, first by implication against her who sits aghast and trembling,—

> Nay, but to live
> Stewed in corruption,—

to which the Queen can only cry out, breaking in upon his violence,

> Oh, speak to me no more!
> These words like daggers enter in mine ears.
> No more, sweet Hamlet!

This has indeed gone too far. Will he drive her crazy? She is no longer at war with conscience, is no longer indignant at the voice that is calling her to account. But he has put himself, as the instrument of her penitence, wholly in the wrong, and now essays to punish her. All her pleading, even with her hands stopping her ears, is of none effect. Were this scene real, we should interfere for her, we should plead with her against her persecutor. Helpless as she, we are forced to listen as Hamlet raves on against the King:—

> A murtherer and a villain;
> A slave that is not twentieth part the tithe
> Of your precedent lord; a vice of kings;
> A cutpurse of the empire and the rule,—
> A king of shreds and patches.

The fourth stage in the transactions of the scene begins at this point. The wrong done by the Queen to herself she feels, and has acknowledged. The wrong done her husband remains

paramount in our consciousness. How can that be taken from our thought, from the associations of her past? The Ghost is now here to answer. Hamlet asks in dismay if he be not come to chide his tardy son, that lets go by the important acting of his dread command. The Ghost makes but a perfunctory and evasive answer, "Do not forget,"—as if Hamlet, whose whole life and soul is full of the obligation to revenge, whose days and nights have been chafed and fevered at the delay, at whose feet lies even now the dead body of Polonius, could have forgotten. Then the real concern of this shadowy visitant is betrayed. He will not reveal himself to *her;* that would but bring endless grief, remorse. He will save her all further suffering, if he may, even of the thorns that prick and sting her in her bosom. With what majestic tenderness does he turn Hamlet's eyes to the spectacle he has too little regarded hitherto! And let us note his words: 'Look, amazement (*i. e.*, distraction) on thy mother sits. O, step between her and her fighting soul! Take her part against the assaults of too great grief for her folly. Conceit in weakest bodies strongest works; her imagination has been too much wrought upon already. Speak to her, Hamlet, in kindliness and sympathy, as if we were again a family together.' There can be no mistaking the spirit, nor indeed the language, of this new and final message.

When an injured husband forgives, the rest of the world drops the matter. So we here and now drop the past of the Queen's history from our thought. This is, moreover, a voice of love and forgiveness from the other world, speaking with other than the authority of men. The Ghost tarries to make sure that Hamlet shall "speak to her," indeed, but not in the former way, and look upon her, but as a reconciled son, not an avenger. Satisfied that his stern exhortation is heeded, that there will be no more harsh words, he goes his way.

Now comes the next step in the plan. What of the future of the Queen? Shall she live yet with the paramour who slew Hamlet's father? Were she to presume this, or seem to presume it, that presumption would be fatal to the redemption

Shakespeare has thus far attempted. Of course, under all the circumstances, since she cannot know of the punishment awaiting Claudius, she must continue to be Queen of Denmark, and wife to Hamlet's uncle. But how to make us see that and feel that, so we from this time forth shall be no more scandalized at the thought? To have Hamlet discuss the question, and affirm to her that it were right and well so to do, would be Ben Jonson, or Otway, or Colley Cibber, but it would not be Shakespeare. To him there is but one way, though he be again compelled to levy injuriously upon his hero. Hamlet is made to give his mother strange advice,—advice which he manifestly forgot almost before he gave it, and advice which he surely did not mean. He knew his mother could not cease to be wife to the King even if she would, and that, being of such unstalwart temper, she would not even if she could. The situation is clear to us, and the effect upon us complete, when we hear Hamlet bid his mother "go not to his uncle's bed."

The author is ready to advance another step. The mother and her son are restored to each other. Her feeling towards him and his towards her are such as have not been since he came back from Wittenberg. What shall be their amity hereafter? Shall she stand with the King as against her son, or against the King and on Hamlet's side? With her woman's intuition she now knows that Hamlet the elder has been slain, and that Hamlet the younger cannot make peace with the King. Moreover, there can be no pathos at the close, if Hamlet have not his mother's love entire and fully. But how are we to know of this alliance apart from what we see hereafter? Hamlet in playful irony bids his mother let the King coax from her his secret,—namely, that he is essentially not in madness, but mad in craft. Her answer is unequivocal, the first strong thing she has so far, in normal moments, said:—

> Be thou assured, if words be made of breath,
> And breath of life, I have no life to breathe
> What thou hast said to me.

And yet this scene is not complete; still another integral part remains to be developed to us. Hamlet believes again in his mother, the instincts to confide in her and repose in her as his best friend possess him again as in youth and boyhood, when he told her his ills, his hopes, his projects. There are great schemes afoot, and Hamlet will not conceal from her his part in them. She does not know the King's vile purpose against Hamlet's life, as Hamlet is aware, but he will tell her of his counterplots just the same. He is to meet knavery with knavery; his two school-fellows are to marshal him thereto. He will hoist the enginer who directs them with his own petar. And with no fear lest his counsel shall be betrayed, with no further exhortation, this son, bidding his mother a familiar and affectionate "good night" that brings back lively associations of earlier years,—which by Shakespeare's amazing art have indeed come back, goes out from the scene. He has been hurt some little as a hero, but that shall be repaired; while, on the other hand, both he and the play have gained a mother.

Clearly enough, then, Shakespeare brings Hamlet and his mother into mutual understanding and mutual sympathy within the limits of this scene. But it would be of little profit to bring Hamlet and his mother into such understanding and sympathy, if she were not withal made tolerable to ourselves. Shakespeare here executes both tasks in one. Very likely this fact is no revelation to most of us. We may have known it and felt it all our lives, only we have not known or felt it consciously. Yet had Hamlet's mother been a veritable acquaintance of our own, had she been in any sense a member of our personal circle, we should have certainly, if we ignored her offences or condoned her folly, been conscious both of the act and of our feelings towards her in consequence of that act. If we have never noticed that we from this point countenance the Queen and accept her offices in Hamlet's behalf, it is because we have regarded her too distantly. We have interpreted the dialogue

and the happenings in this scene as something less than life, and so lost the best of its power and influence upon us.

For another example of long-range interpretation we will turn to the *Merchant of Venice*. It is often asserted that the most capable person to evaluate a play is the dramatic critic, that the only commanding point of view is on the stage side of the curtain. But this approximate wisdom hardly serves us in the present case. If the judgment of actors and playwrights were to be insisted on, Shakespeare would hardly be approved even in the ground-work of this drama, though perhaps his most artistic and finished production. Indeed, the most eminent dramatic critic in the country save one, known to us all as an authority on Shakespeare's art and meaning, unhesitatingly pronounces the fifth act of the play in question a blemish and a mistake, affirming that the last scene of Act IV is the proper close. However much we closet admirers and critics may be inclined to agree, we are naturally loath to declare Shakespeare wrong; for we have too often found, as Ingleby says, that the lion, when we have struck at him, is only sleeping. It may then be well to look at this fifth act, just as the scene heretofore considered, as if our experiences with it were complete experiences from real life. It may turn out that the dramatic critics likewise have dealt too little with facts at the bottom and too much with guessed principles at the top. Accepting the conditions of this play as veritable, how should we like the spectacle of a man setting forth to woo at a friend's cost, indeed, hypothecating a pound of that friend's very flesh? Would it not set our tongues wagging? Now the plot requires just such a Bassanio as will unhesitatingly pawn even the life of a friend like Antonio, to go a wooing. The exigencies of the plot require also that the Portia who is at last to save Antonio shall be very palpably Bassanio's superior. Yet the play is to be the most select and aristocratic in tone of all Shakespeare's comedies. There will be no burlesque, no travesty. We must see Portia give herself and her wealth to a man negatively faultless,—except living for show beyond

his means, but in positive qualities beneath her, and yet be delighted with the match. We must see the noble Antonio used by Bassanio even unto blood, and not rebel. This last will be easy enough to compass; the romance of an adorable Portia and her caskets fixes that. But how shall we be kept from consciousness that the play deserves a better hero, Portia a wiser husband, and Antonio a more appreciative friend? How can Shakespeare make us conceive for such lovers, betrothed under such auspices, the supreme happiness that a play of this character demands? They are to represent to us the best that life promises or can mean; they must pass with us as candidates for the very highest felicity. The process Shakespeare uses is very simple. We have perhaps often seen a marriage in high life follow a humbler. When we have noted that the secondary couple are, under their limitations, altogether happy in themselves, we cannot keep imagination from postulating for the other lovers, by a sort of spiritual *a fortiori*, so much greater happiness in themselves as they are more highly privileged in wealth and station. So here Shakespeare, having kept from us what would hinder idealization in earlier scenes, constructs his fifth act in order to transfigure, through the same *a fortiori* predilection, the future of these lovers. At the opening Lorenzo and Jessica,—he the superior in this case, she the Bassanio nature,—appear in the joy of their new wedded life, and give utterance to their bliss in answering strophes. Moreover, they are quartered in the very home of the heroine, which is soon to receive again to itself its mistress and her lord. Imagination, we may say, knows no other language save exclamation or questions of appeal. So now, looking upon this play as life and the people in it as veritable flesh and blood, we find our sympathies potentially saying to us, "if the inferior lovers are so much to each other, being what they are and having what they have, how much superior will be the felicity of their betters, the rightful inheritors of this Belmont?" And the idealization growing more specific, we are conscious perhaps of the half-voiced feeling—

"if Lorenzo sees so much that is adorable in Jessica, how much more must Bassanio in a Portia?" There is little room in our thought for intellectual criticism or dissent, and we forget that the heroine, to meet the exigencies of the trial scene, has been made from the first just a bit strong-minded. Moreover, we are strangely kept from asking potentially in our feelings, while we are asking the other questions, "how will it all prove for Portia?" But we remember that Shakespeare deems it neither unusual nor out of order that Portias should wed Bassanios. Withal, finally, it becomes clear that we should not have found the hero altogether enviable and the heroine wholly admirable, except from contrast with the eclipsed loves of Lorenzo and Jessica, and indeed that this sub-pair were created and adjusted to each other solely for their sakes.[1]

Other and perhaps better examples of profit from interpreting baffling parts of Shakespeare and other literature by life might be instanced were there not time limits to these papers. It would seem in any case not premature to say that Shakespeare's principles of art are nothing different, *in kind*, from the instincts of characterization and presentation common to us all, and require no different powers of interpretation, *except in degree*, from those in exercise among all men in outside, daily life. The painter must spend half a lifetime in acquiring mastery of certain other principles and devices of presentation, by use of which he shall make a plane surface seem a landscape,—principles and devices not common except to those who achieve them like himself. Language, written or spoken, has no such limitations. I knew once a clergyman who, that he might exhibit the height of forehead in keeping, according to his notion, with the sacred office, kept his hair shaved back an inch and a half beyond its proper border line. I knew too of sundry attempts, some of them literary, to set this man forth professionally and personally, but they were all of the kind

[1] Of course the sufferings of Lear are enlarged and intensified to imagination by the same process, through *a priore* comparison with what, from inferior and subordinated occasions, Gloster undergoes.

that Shakespeare does not use. Yet among the bucolic minds of his parish, for he preached to a country congregation, he was always thought of and spoken of as the minister who shaved his forehead. They saw the whole man in that single point of description, expecting those to whom they told it to do the like; and what is more, they were wholly right. Men in common life, and often besides illiterate, have no lack of skill in selecting or adjusting such hints as will hit off character, or even incidents and escapades, with vividness; and we know this has been true for centuries. At the same time let us remember that in literature there were none who did this after Chaucer until Shakespeare, and that those who have done it since his day have not been many. That we have not been able to characterize as well in writing as in speaking is merely accident, and due to mal-direction, not organic fault. We have been wont to assume great principles, or half-principles, and deductively descend from them to the mysteries of literature, accepting these as the only right and worthy conclusion of the whole matter. Yet even the school-boy who runs in to tell the family his discovery that Tom or some other village lothario dyes his moustache, has the instinct of characterization already orally developed. He sees what must spiritually go with a fact like that, and tells you that you also may see. Shakespeare does nothing generically more or greater. He has the same knack as the school-boy of seizing character hints that shall be to imagination potential of the whole personality, only he has it in vastly larger degree. He knows the secret of reaching the fancy with an expansive picture, through selection of some kindling hint, as Tennyson in

"Fresh as the first beam glittering on a sail."

But we have all found men on trains and at clubs, or women at dinners and receptions, and none of them trained or gifted in literary utterance, who could do the like. He has great skill in managing associations and contrasts, as we have ourselves in our less degrees. In brief, Shakespeare's first principles of art

are all men's principles. He may have modes of imagination not common to ourselves, but we do not and cannot know them, or him through them. To know literature we must go to life; and to know life for literary ends we must study the interpretations of it that we are daily and hourly making. When we shall go to life and learn why we give our sympathies as we do, why we are impressed thus and thus under such and such conditions, what these conditions are and how they may be selected and grouped for literary presentation, we shall know and appreciate Shakespeare, and become safe and complete interpreters of literary art.

L. A. Sherman.

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IV.—ANGLO-SAXON DÆG-MÆL.

("Swa swa þa geleafullas ræderas hit gesetton, and eac gewisse dæg-mæl us swa tæcaþ," *Leechdoms*, III, 256.)

INTRODUCTION.

I began my work upon this subject with a study of the Anglo-Saxon year; but this, I was soon convinced, meant nothing less than a study of medieval astronomical science, and required far more leisure and aptitude than I possessed. I have, therefore, chosen to limit myself to particular portions of this broad subject.

In my first chapter, I discuss the Anglo-Saxon day and the method of determining its divisions. To the mathematical treatment, I regret that I am unable to bring the scientific sense that it demands; but the results reached in my earliest pages are, I believe, accurate and, I hope, not without value. In the second part of this chapter, I make the Canonical Hours the basis of a detailed study of the Anglo-Saxon divisions of time, and seek to show what these divisions meant to clerk and layman. I use freely the Benedictine church offices, when they serve to fix the time of the hours; and have been much assisted by the labors of students of

ecclesiastical institutions like Fosbroke (*British Monachism*, 1843) and Bouterwek (*Cædmon's Biblische Dichtungen*, 1854, Chap. VIII).

I am quite well convinced of the insufficient character of my study of the Middle-English Hours. Even this modest attempt to supplement work in the older field is much more than has yet been done; and my results here will, I doubt not, be confirmed by more thorough research. Lexicons contain much of the material that I have collected independently, but this fact does not diminish the worth of a tabulation of references, which, in their previous arrangement, could give but little help to the student of Anglo-Saxon Dæg-mæl.

The purpose of my second chapter is to present in Calendar form the Rubrics of the Anglo-Saxon Gospels; to trace the history of the connection between text and date from the early days of the Church until our own time; and, by a system of notes explanatory of the Rubrics, to discuss the Anglo-Saxon feasts and fasts. I mention necessary introductory details at the beginning of this chapter.

I had in mind to discuss the Year, Seasons and Day in Anglo-Saxon poetry; but I reserve this treatment on account of the length of my paper. A reference from my headings to Grein's *Sprachschatz* will, however, put at command the necessary material.

I have not deemed it necessary to swell my Bibliography with texts used for one or two references. These, and the Middle-English works employed, are sufficiently defined when mentioned in the body of the paper. The sources of much of my study of the Rubrics are given in the introduction to the second chapter.

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Chapter I.

The Anglo-Saxon Day.

In treating of the Anglo-Saxon day, its divisions and the time and significance of each, we have to deal with conditions very different from those that govern our calculations to-day. The following passage from Newcomb and Holden's *Astronomy*, p. 217, will prepare us for the discussion to follow:—

"The division of the day into hours was, in ancient and medieval times, effected in a way very unlike that which we practice. Artificial time-keepers not being in general use, the two cardinal moments were sunrise or sunset, which marked the day as distinct from the night. . . . The interval between

[1] 1720 as a terminus a quo for the Notes is attested by Waterland's citations from Johnson's *Laws*. This copy of Somner is now in the Library of Dr. J. W. Bright.

sunrise and sunset was divided into twelve equal parts called hours, and, as this interval varied with the season, the length of the hour varied also. The night, whether long or short, was divided into hours of the same character, only when the night hours were long those of the day were short, and *vice versa*. These variable hours were called temporary hours. At the time of the Equinoxes both the day and night hours were of the same length as those we use, namely, the 24th part of the day. These were, therefore, called equinoctial hours."

The use of temporary hours among Jews, Greeks, and Romans is attested by many ancient writers cited by Leo Allatius in his learned treatise, *De Mensura Temporum*, Chap. IV. Among late Latin writers, Censorinus (*De die nat.*, Chap. XXIII, § 1 sq.) and Macrobius (*Saturnaliorum*, Lib. I, Chap. III, § 11) distinguish clearly between the Natural day of twelve temporary hours, beginning at sunrise and ending at sunset, and the Civil day of twenty-four hours, beginning at midnight.

Now, is this true of Anglo-Saxon times; are we to expect here also a distinction between Natural and Civil day, between temporary and equinoctial hours? This question can be linked with another: when was the Anglo-Saxon day beginning? Answers are not far to seek. Bede, the prop of all Anglo-Saxon science, tells us in his *De Temporum Ratione*, Chap. V (Migne's *Patr. Lat.*, 90, p. 309):

"Dies definitio bifariam dividitur, hoc est vulgariter et proprie. Vulgum enim omnem diem solis praesentiam super terras appellat. Proprie autem dies XXIV horis, id est circuitu solis totum orbis lustrantis impletur."

Ælfric, *De Temporibus*, a translation of Bede's *Starcraft*[1] (Wright, *Pop. Science*, 2; Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, III, 236)—henceforth quoted as Bede[2]—follows his master closely:

"We hataþ ænne dæg fram Sunnan upgange oþ æfen. ac swa þeah is on bocum geteald to anum dagum fram þære Sun-

[1] Upon the Relation of this work to its originals, see Reum, *Anglia*, X, 457 sq.

nan upgange oð þæt heo eft becume þær heo ær upstah—on þæm fæce sind getealde feower and twenti tida."

That remarkable potpourri, Byrhtferð's *Handboc* (*Anglia*, VIII, 317, 8), yields the following:

"On twam wisum ys se dæg gecweden, naturaliter et vulgariter, þæt ys gecyndlice and ceorlice þæt ys þæs dæges gecynd þæt he hæbbe feower and twentig tida fram þære sunnan upspringe þæt he eft up hyre leoman ætywe. Vulgaris vel artificialis dies est þæt biþ ceorlisc dæg oððe cræftlice fram þære sunnan anginne þæt heo to setle ga and eft cum mancynne to blisse."

Here then is the most direct evidence that the Anglo-Saxon day, natural or artificial, began at sunrise.[1]

Prime, which must be sung at sunrise,—"Primsang on þære forman dæg tid þæt is be sunnan upgange," Bouterwek's *Caedmons biblische Dichtungen*, p. CXCVI—shows the ecclesiastical time of beginning the day.[2]

The Anglo-Saxon usage does not correspond, therefore, to the Roman, nor to the sunset-beginning of the Hebrews, but to the one employed in the Saviour's lifetime, the Chaldaean and Persian (Bede, *De Ratione Temporum*, Chap. V, M. *P. L.*, 90, p. 313). Durand's *Rationale*, VII, I, 16, p. 281, shows that, even in his day (1286), a sunrise-beginning was favored. All time-conditions were altered by the introduction of clocks (*infra*); but Chaucer mentions the "Day artificial," that lasted from "the sonne arysing til hit go to reste" (*Astrolabe*, Part II, 7).

[1] The meaning of *morgen* in many places is corroborative evidence: *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, E. 1106, on þe niht þe on mergen wæs Cena Domini; *Leechdoms*, III, 6, and þonne oniht þonne Sumor gæþ on tun on mergen; *Calendewide*, p. 16, l. 218. In these cases the *cras* and *mane* meanings correspond. *To mergen*, *cras* is of frequent occurrence: *Genesis*, XIX, 1; *Exodus*, VII, 15 (*mane*); VIII, 10 (*cras*); *Ex.*, IX, 5; XVII, 9; XXXII, 5 (*cras*), etc., etc.

[2] That *Nocturnalis Synaxis* (*Excerptions* of Ecgbriht, 28, Thorpe, *A. L.*, p. 328), *Matutinum* (*Benedictine Rule*, Chap. XVI) and *Uhtsang* (*Canons of Ælfric*, 19, Thorpe, *A. L.*, p. 444) precede Primsang, does not indicate the Roman midnight-beginning of the day, but the mere order of work of the monks, after leaving their beds.

We have seen that the Anglo-Saxon distinguished between Natural and Artificial day. As upon this distinction hangs the difference between the equal or equinoctial and the unequal or temporary hours, a detailed treatment of each class of day is necessary.

I. *Natural Day.*

The whole matter is put concisely by Bede, when he tells us (*De Temporum Ratione*, Chap. III, M. *P. L.*, 90, p. 392) that, if we count the day from sunrise to sunset, it will contain more equinoctial hours in summer than in winter. This recognition of the Natural day for common use is confirmed in Bede[2] (Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, III, 260), and equinoctial hours are mentioned: *De Temporum Ratione*, Chap. XXXI, XXXIII; *De Ratione Computus*, Chap. II; *De Divisione Temporis*, Chap. VIII; *Ecclesiastical History*, I, 1 (Giles, p. 30, l. 27).

The Natural day is treated in a *Book of Martyrs* of King Ælfred's reign (Cockayne):

Shrine, p.		69.	March.	Night,	12	hrs.	Day,	12	hrs.
"	"	79.	April.	"	10	"	"	14	"
"	"	99.	June.	"	6	"	"	18	"
"	"	110.	July.	"	8	"	"	16	"
"	"	124.	August.	"	10	"	"	14	"
"	"	153.	November.	"	16	"	"	8	"

This list is remarkably supplemented by Byrhtferð:

B. 59, *Anglia*, VIII, 305, 32.				Jan.	Night,	16	hrs.	Day,	8 hrs.
" 84,	"	"	311, 5.	May.	"	8	"	"	16 "
" 86,	"	"	311, 22.	Aug.	"	10	"	"	14 "
" 86,	"	"	311, 27.	Sept.	"	12	"	"	12 "
" 87,	"	"	311, 32.	Oct.	"	14	"	"	10 "
" 88,	"	"	311, 42.	Dec.	"	18	"	"	6 "[1]

[1] The hours of day and night in each month are given: Cotton Vitellius E, XVIII; Cotton, Titus D., XXVII (Hampson, *Kalendarium*, I, 422 sq., 435 sq).

Of course any systematic time-measurement (Byrhtferð, 115–120, *Anglia*, VIII, 317–18) presupposes the use of the Natural day, but this will be treated later.[1]

II. *Artificial Day.*

The evidence that unequal hours were employed by the Anglo-Saxons is very conclusive. In the passage mentioned under the Natural day, Bede shows that the twelve hours of the Artificial day—the time from sunrise to sunset—are necessarily unequal; and the frequent mention of *aequinoctiales horae* argues for those of another order (Bede[2], Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, III, 236, 256). Ælfric, who had translated portions of the *De Temporibus* (see Bede[2]), and assented elsewhere in his works to Bede's astronomical teachings (Thorpe, *Homilies*, I, 100, "Se lareow Beda tilþ us mid miclum gesceade, etc.") clearly recognizes the Artificial division, Thorpe, *Homilies*, II, 388, 14: "An wæcce hæfð þreo tida, feower wæccan gefylleþ twelf tida, swa fela tida hæfð seo niht." The writer of the Ælfredian Metres had unequal hours in mind, when he departed thus from his original (IV, 18):

"Hwæt þu fæder weorcest
sumorlange dagas swiþe hate;
þæm winterdagum wundrum sceorta
tida getiohhast."

In Anglo-Saxon times, unequal hours had their support in the Hours of the Canons. Though these were strictly for "hooded men" or monks (cf. Opening of Benedictine service, and Byrhtferð, 123, *Anglia*, VIII, 319, "gemearcode cnihtas"), there can be but little doubt that with them the laity were perfectly familiar. The Homily on the fifth Sunday in Quadragesima (Assmann, Grein's *Bibliothek der A.-S. Prosa*, III, Chap. XII, p. 144) directs laymen who cannot attend daily

[1] References to Chaucer are interesting here: *Complaint of Mars*, l. 122. "A naturel day in derke, I let her dwelle;" *Astrolabe*, II, § 7, l. 12, cited Skeat's Note to above (*Complete Works*, I, p. 499), "The day naturel, that is to seyn 24 hours."

services to be present on Sundays and feast-days at Uhtsang and Mass and Evensong; and in the *Blickling Homilies*, p. 47, every Christian man is directed to cross himself seven times a day at the Canonical Hours.

The Hours of the Canons are necessarily unequal. The gloss to Midday is always "sexta hora," and to None, "nona hora" (*Benedictine Rule*); in the *Leechdoms*, II, 116, 7, "to middes morgenes" is substituted for Undern, the day's third hour (*Benedictine Rule;* Bouterwek, *Caedmon's biblische Dichtungen*, p. CXCVI; *Shrine*, p. 79). Now, as Prime is necessarily at sunrise (*supra*), it is easy to see that, were equinoctial hours employed, on December 25th, when the sun rises at 8.20 a. m. and sets at 3.40 p. m. (Horology), Undern would not fall at mid-morning, but at 11.20 a. m.; Midday ("sexta hora") at 2.20 p. m., and None, three hours later at the end of the evening twilight. The temporary hours are, without question, those in use (cf. Smith, *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, s. v. "Hours of Prayer").

I shall now present a scientific study of the data, given in connection with an Anglo-Saxon Horologium (MS. Cotton Tib. A., III, fol. 176, *Leechdoms*, III, 218 sq.). This will disclose the old method of marking time and will aid our consideration of the Artificial day and unequal hours.

Horology Notes.[1]

1. On account of the ancient error in the Calendar, December 25th in the 10th Century, would be December 30th, according to corrected methods of calculation; January 6th, January 11th, etc.

[1] In connection with this attempt to

> "tell what hour o' th' day
> The clock does strike, by Algebra,"

I must acknowledge the generous assistance of my friend, Dr. Horace C. Richards, of the University of Pennsylvania. For any Hudibras-like blunders, I am, of course, personally responsible.

	Shadows.		Latitude.	Declination.	Horology Undern.	Horology None.	Sunrise.	Sunset.	Standard Artificial Undern.	Standard Artificial None.
	None or Undern.	Midday.								
					A. M.	P. M.	A. M.	P. M.	A. M.	P. M.
Dec. 25th.....	26½	24	52° 48′	S. 23° 9′	11–10	12–50	8–20	3–40	10–10	1–50
Jan. 6th.....	25	22	52° 59′	S. 21° 46′	10–50	1–10	8–11	3–49	10–6	1–54
Jan. 21st.....	21	18+	53° 6′	S. 18° 39′	10–40	1–20	7–48	4–12	9–54	2–6
Feb. 4th.....	17½	15	53° 37′	S. 14° 35′	10–27	1–33	7–22	4–38	9–41	2–19
Feb. 17th.....	15	12	53° 20′	S. 10° 6′	10–3	1–57	6–56	5–4	9–28	2–32
March 6th.....	13	9½	54° 6′	S. 3° 36′	9–25	2–35	6–20	5–40	9–10	2–50
March 21st..... (Equinox).	11	8½	57° 4′	N. 2° 17′	9–22	2–38	5–47	6–13	8–54	3–6
April 5th.....	9½	7	57° 25′	N. 8° 1′	9–2	2–58	5–17	6–43	8–39	3–21
April 20th.....	8+	6	58° 15′	N. 13° 15′	8–58	3–2	4–47	7–13	8–24	3–26
May 6th.....	8	4½	54° 48′	N. 17° 55′	8–34	3–26	4–17	7–43	8–9	3–51
May 21st.....	7	4	54° 51′	N. 21° 9′	8–38	3–22	3–55	8–5	7–58	4–2
June 1st.....	7+	4	56° 22′	N. 22° 40′	8–28	3–32	3–44	8–16	7–52	4–8
June 13th.....	7½	4	57° 6′	N. 23° 25′	8–16	3–44	3–38	8–22	7–49	4–11
June 24th.....	8	4	57° 55′	N. 23° 13′	8–10	3–50	3–40	8–20	7–50	4–10
July 6th.....	8	4+	57° 6′	N. 22° 5′	8–11	3–49	3–48	8–12	7–54	4–6
July 21st.....	8+	4½	56° 17′	N. 19° 27′	8–20	3–40	4–7	7–53	8–4	3–56
Aug. 8th.....	8½	5+	55° 33′	N. 14° 37′	8–18	3–42	4–38	7–22	8–19	3–41
Aug. 21st.....	9	6	55° 22′	N. 10° 21′	8–52	3–8	5–3	6–57	8–32	3–28
Sept. 5th.....	10½	7	54° 17′	N. 4° 55′	9–8	2–52	5–35	6–26	8–47	3–13
Sept. 20th..... (Equinox.)	12	9	55° 24′	S. 0° 55′	9–38	2–22	6–11	5–49	9–5	2–55
Oct. 6th.....	14	11	54° 17′	S. 7° 5′	9–40	2–20	6–39	5–21	9–20	2–40
Oct. 21st.....	16+	13	52° 43′	S. 12° 31′	10–14	1–46	7–10	4–50	9–35	2–25
Nov. 5th.....	19	17	53° 21′	S. 17° 12′	10–36	1–24	7–39	4–21	9–50	2–10
Nov. 20th.....	24	21	53° 16′	S. 20° 48′	10–45	1–15	8–3	3–57	10–2	1–58
Dec. 14th.....	27	25	52° 58′	S. 23° 25′	11–12	12–48	8–23	3–37	10–12	1–48

2. The variation of Latitude shows how hopelessly inaccurate were the monkish calculations. As, however, it is natural to suppose that the mistake would be smaller when the shadow was longer, I have taken the mean of the "winter latitudes," 53° 20′. Learning the Declination for each of the given dates from the *Greenwich Ephemeris and Nautical Almanac*, I determined from the formula, Cos h = — tan ϕ tan d (h = hour-angle; ϕ = latitude; d = declination), the time of sunrise and sunset. As all glosses of Undern and None are "tertia hora" and "nona hora," and the Horology tells us that they are on equal sides of Midday (both having the same shadow), I have placed what I may term for convenience the "standard artificial" Undern at half-way between sunrise and Midday, the "standard artificial" None at half-way between Midday and sunset.

3. Although the Undern and None of the Horologium are too inaccurate for scientific purposes, they are useful in pointing out the probability of unequal hours in the calculation. By the formula in Newcomb and Holden's *Astronomy*, p. 44, $\sin^2 \frac{1}{2} h = \frac{\cos.(\phi - d) - \sin a}{2 \cos \phi \cos d}$ when $\tan a = \frac{l}{m}$ (a = altitude; l = height of gnomon; m = shadow), I have discovered that the hours of the Horology approach far nearer to the "standard artificial" Undern and None, than to the equinoctial hours, 9 a. m. and 3 p. m.

4. The writer of the Horology knew so little of Astronomy that he gives us different lengths for the shadows at the two Equinoxes—an impossibility, of course. This in itself does not impeach the value of his measurements, for, as I have shown (1), March 21st was not really the Equinox at all. A passage from Bede,[2] *Leechdoms*, III, 256, § 6, shows that other men of his day were farther from the truth than he:

"Manigra manna cwyddung is þæt seo lenctenlice emniht gebyrige rihtlice on octava Kl. Aprilis, þæt is on Marian Mæsse dæge."

5. The editor of Pope Gregory's *Liber Sacramentorum* shows by citing (M. *P. L.* 78, p. 447) sentences at the close of an Horology by Bede, that the arrangement of this was to suit the Canonical Hours,—whose inequality demands no further discussion. This is strong accumulative evidence to the truth of results otherwise obtained.

6. The following references to Bede may be useful in this connection. In the *Libellus de Mensura Horologii* (M. *P. L.* 90, pp. 951–954) the Horology is carefully pictured and described. For length of shadows during different months of the year, and in different parts of the world, compare "Glossae et Scholiae," M. *P. L.* 90, 447, cited by Hampson, *M. A. Kal.*, Glossary, s. v. "Hora," and *De Ratione Temporum*, XXXIII, p. 447. Various pictorial representations of the Horology will be found: M. *P. L.* 90, pp. 433–436.

7. A treatise on the length of the days of the year, MS. Harleian 941, 15th Century, printed in *Reliquiae Antiquae*, I, 318, has this heading: "Thys tretys was made at Oxynforde be the new Kalendre and proved in alle the Universyty." The latitude of Oxford is, however, 2° less than that of our Horology.

Long after Anglo-Saxon times, the Artificial day and unequal hours were known and employed. Philip of Thaun (circa 1121) notes the two kinds of day (*Li Cumpoz*, Mall, Strassburg, 1873, p. 11, l. 323, or *Livre des Creatures*, Wright's *Popular Science*, p. 25); Durand (1286) recognizes the temporary hours in his *Rationale*, v, 2, p. 138, but the *13th Century Latin Description of the Chilindre* (p. 51) gives the best evidence of the persistence of the Artificial day; I quote from Brock's translation: "When you wish to know the hours on any day, turn the style or indicator over the part of the month in which you are, and the shadow of the style will show you the hours passed, that is *the 12 hours of the day, whether the day be longer or shorter.*" This proves, as Mr. Brock says, that the hours used are unequal hours.

Even in Chaucer's day, when artificial time-keepers were in general use, temporary hours were not altogether a thing of the past. Equal and unequal hours exist side by side in the *Astrolabe* (Brae, 90–101):

Astrolabe, II, 8. "To turn the howres inequales in howres equales—knowe the nombre of the degrees in the houris inequales and departe hem by 15 and tak ther thin houris equales."

Astrolabe, II, 10 is interesting in connection with the use of planetary hours in the Knight's Tale (cf. Skeat's Notes, Clarendon Press Ed.):

Understond wel that thise houres inequalis ben cleped houris of planetes, and understond wel that some tyme ben thei lengere by day [than] by nyht and som tyme the contrarie.—Compare Skeat's *Astrolabe*, Preface LXI; II, § 7, p. 21.

The Artificial day will attract further attention, when I come to speak of the Canonical Hours.

Divisions of Night and Day.

In an interesting essay, "Die Aelteste Zeittheilung des indogermanischen Volkes" (*Sammlung gemein. wissenschaftlicher Vorträge*, XIII Ser, Heft 296, Berlin, 1878), p. 44 (324), Dr. O. Schrader has discussed the Indogermanic habit of counting by nights, and the precedence given to night in many words,—e. g. raucapativâ, Νυχθήμερον, etc.

Since the Anglo-Saxons also employed this method of counting (*Menology*, l. 25, nihtgerimes; l. 48, ymb feower niht, etc., etc.), and since, whatever might be true of the Christian English, the Natural day began at sunset with their forefathers (Tacitus, *Germania*, 11: "Nox ducere diem videtur;" compare Kluge, *Etymologische Wörterbuch*, s. v. Abend, Fastabend, Sonnabend), I shall begin with the divisions of the night. Of these there are several Anglo-Saxon descriptions:

(a). Bede,[2] *Leechdoms*, III, 242 (cf. Wright's *Biographia Britannica Literaria*, I, 86–87), "Seo niht hæfð seofon dælas fram þære sunnan setlunge oð hire upgang. An þæra dæla is Crepusculum, þæt is Æfengloma. Oþer is Vesperum þæt is

Æfen, þonne se æfensteorra betwux þære repsunge æteowaþ. Þridde is Conticinium þonne ealle þing sweowiað on hyra reste. Feorða is Intempestum, þæt is Midniht. Fifta is Gallicinium, þæt is Hancred. Syxta is Matutinum vel Aurora, þæt is Dægred. Seofoða is Diluculum, þæt is se ær marien betweox þam Dægrede and sunnan upgange" (Capitals my own). Compare the above with the original, Bede, *De Temporum Ratione*, VIII, M. *P. L.*, 90, 323.

(b). Byrhtferð, *Handboc*, 124, *Anglia*, VIII, 319, 26, shows that he knows his Bede:[1]

Seo niht hafað seofon todælednyssa. Crepusculum ys seo forme þæt ys Æfen-gloma, oðer ys Vesperum þæt ys Æfen oððe Hrepsung, þridde Conticinium, þæt is Switima oððe Salnyssa timan, feorðe Intempestivum, þæt ys Midniht oððe Unworclic tima, fifte Gallicinium þæt ys Hancred, þon sceolon gode munecas arisan and godе singan, syxte Matutinum vel Aurora, þæt ys Dægred, þon eac gewuniað þa syfre godes þegnas mid mode and stefne god towurðian and benedictus dñs bliðelice up ahebban. Seo seofoðe ys þære nihte todælednyss Diluculum gecigeð þæt ys ærne mergen betwux Dægrede and þære sunnan uppgange (I again capitalize).

(c). *Supplement* to Ælfric's *Glossary*, Wright-Wülker, *Vocabularies*, I, col. 175:

Mane Ærmyrgen	Diluculum Dægred
Crepusculum Tweone	Aurora Dægrima
leoht vel Deorcung	Prima Prim
Conticinium vel Gallicinium	Matutinum Uhten-tid
Hancred	Tertia Undern
Intempesta Nox Midniht	Sexta Middæg
Maligna Lux vel Dubia	Suprema Ofer-non
Tweonul Leoht	oþþe geloten dæg
	Vesperum Æfen
	Serum Bed-tid.

[1] This is natural as Byrhtferð had written a commentary upon Bede's scientific works: (Wülker, *Grundriss*, p. 506).

Under (c) I have included for convenience the divisions of the day. Of this Bede gives three main portions—if we can regard as genuine the tractate, *De Divisione Temporis*, M. *P. L.* 90, 656—and is closely followed by Byrhtferð, 123, *Anglia*, VIII, 319, 21:

"Se dæg hæfð þreo todælednyssa. Seo forme hatte Mane, þæt ys Ærne merigen, and seo oðer ys gecweden Meridies, and seo þridde ys geciged Suppremum þæt ys on Æfen oððe seo ytemeste tid."[1]

Each of the more important time-divisions given above will be discussed in connection with the Canonical Cursus.

Anglo-Saxon Horologies.

It is difficult to give briefly the long pedigree of the Horology. Allatius, *De Mensura Temporum*, p. 33 sq., argues that it was known among the Hebrews, discusses the Clepsydra of the Greeks (cf. Aristophanes, *Aves*, 1695; *Acharnians*, 693; *Vespae*, 93; Aristotle, *Poetics*, 7, 11), and shows that water-clocks and sun-dials were known at Rome at the time of the first Punic War (Pliny, VII, Chap. LX). References to Vitruvius, Petronius Arbiter and Censorinus, given by Beaupré Bell, *Archæologia*, VI, 133, and by Gough, *Archæologia*, X, 173, show the antiquity of the Horology.[2]

In a scholarly article, "Recherches sur les Horloges des Anciens" (1716), *Histoire de L'Académie des Inscriptions*, Vol. IV, p. 148, L'Abbé Sallier mentions—citing in each case his authority—the more important time-keepers of early Christian times; the sun-dials of Boethius and of Cassiodorus;

[1] Their Anglo-Saxon names constitute the main interest that these hours have for us. The divisions and their Latin names were known long before Bede. Bede's list follows closely the spaces of time, given by Macrobius, *Saturnaliorum*, I, III, 12, and agrees, in all important particulars, with the hours of the ancients discussed by Lalamantius, "De Tempore," etc., in 1570 (Gronovius, *Thesaurus Graecarum Antiquitatum*, 1701, vol. 9, p. 1047).

[2] Cf. "Galenus ueber Sonnen und Wasseruhren," N. Sauppe, *Philologus*, XXIII (1866), 448.

the handsome clocks, sent by Paul 1st to Pepin le Bref, and by Haroun Alraschid to Charlemagne; the great water-clock for the nightly hours, made by order of Pacificus, Archdeacon of Verona (d. 846); the golden horologe fashioned by Leon the Philosopher for the emperor, Theophilus; and finally the wonderful mechanical invention of Gerbert, afterwards Pope Sylvester II. (circa 1000).

In respect to time-markers, the Anglo-Saxons were not as fortunate as their neighbors. Of water-clocks and sand-glasses they probably knew little. Asser, in describing Alfred's famous candle-expedient (Wise, Ed., p. 67), tells us the straits of the king on cloudy days and on dark nights; and the time-divisions enumerated (*supra*), and many passages in prose and poetry show how entirely the monks and people relied upon the heavens as their guide (Boethius, 39, 13, Fox, 223, 34; Boethius, 4, Fox, 8, 3; Ælfred's *Metres*, IV, 13 (Latin, V, 10); *Blickling Homilies*, 137, 29; 163, 28).

However much the stars and the shadow of the human body[1] may have aided them, the sun-dial was the chief chronometer. In his medley of Latin and Saxon, Byrhtferð (*Handboc*, 114, *Anglia*, VIII, 317) describes the dial or dæg-mæl of his day; on the 6th leaf of the MS. Cott. Tiberius, C. VI, 11th Century, a figure is neatly drawn and named "Horologium Solare" (W. H. Smyth, *Archæologia*, XXXIII, 10); but the Saxon remains in England help us most here. In the *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, Vol. XXIX (1873), p. 281, three Saxon dials are pictured and described:

1st. The dial at Kirkdale in Rydale in the North Riding. The writer in the *Journal*, Cuming, does not note that a handsome plate of this was accompanied by an excellent article by Brooke (*Archæologia*, V, 188). The inscription upon this is so valuable a bit of Anglo-Saxon that I append it in toto:

[1] I have discussed at length above an horology with a 6 ft. gnomon. In connection with this, I must refer to a pamphlet by Dr. Foerster, "Ueber Zeitmaase und ihre Verwaltung durch die Astronomie," Berlin, 1872, pp. 20–21 (*Sammlung Wiss. Vorträge*, I Ser., Heft 5).

"Orm · Gamal · suna · bohte · sanctus · Gregorius minster · þonne · hit · wes æl to · brocan ⁊ tofalan. Chehitle ⁊ man (Hübner, from whom Earle translates, *A. S. Literature*, p. 49: "⁊ he hit let man") newan from grunde Christe and Sanctus Gregorius in Eadward dagum cñg · in Tosti dagum eorl."

Under the dial.

"And Haward me wroht and Brand pr̃s."

Around radii of dial

"þis is daeges s̃(æ)l merca
(To sunn) a Tillum (win)tere(s).[1]

2nd. The dial on the south side of the old Saxon church at Bishopstone, Sussex (Compare *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1840, p. 496, cited by Cuming). Upon it is inscribed the name "Eadric."

3rd. Mural Solarium on south face of nave near porch of Bricet Church, Suffolk, 1096.

Earle (loc. cit.) mentions, upon the authority of Hübner—not accessible to me—several dials with vernacular inscriptions in the North Riding of Yorkshire.

Artificial time-keepers—i. e. clocks, in our sense of the word—were not introduced into England until the end of the 13th Century. With the fine-money of Ralph of Hengham, Chief-Justice of the King's Bench, a clock-tower was built near Westminster in 1288 (*Archæologia*, v, 416); MS. Cott. Galba E., iv, 14, fol. 103 (quoted *Archæologia*, xxxiii, 8), mentions among the items of expense at Canterbury Cathedral in 1292, "novum orologium magnum in ecclesia, pretium xxx li;" the "engine of Richard de Wallingford, Abbot of St. Albans in 1326, which showed the fixed stars and planets, the ebbing and flowing of the sea, the hours and the minutes of the hours" was justly famous; but the oldest English clock-relic was made in 1340 by Peter Lightfoot, a monk of Glastonbury, for Adam de Sudbury, his abbot (*Archæologia*, xxxiii, 11–12).

[1] The bracketed letters constitute a "very ingenious conjecture" by Mr. Manning of Godelming, cited by Brooke. I am disposed to accept his reading; but Brooke's Chehitle is clearly a Saxon Mrs. Harris.

The artificial system of time in use among the Anglo-Saxons was derived from classical sources (cf. Lalamantius, *Thes. Graec. Antiq.*, Vol. IX, 1047). It has been treated by Bede, *De Temporum Ratione*, Chap. III; *De Ratione Computus*, II; *De Divisione Temporis*, I; but the only Saxon description is by Byrhtferð (*Handboc*, 115–121, *Anglia*, VIII, 317–318). I give his table:

564 Atoms	make a	Momentum (Styrung).
4 Momenta	"	" Minutum.
2½ Minuta	"	" Punctus (Prica).
4 Puncti	"	" Hora (Tid).
6 Horae	"	" Quadrans (Fyrðling).
4 Quadrantes	"	" Dies (Daeg).

Let us reduce this, for the sake of convenience, to our present standard:

376 Atoms	=	1 Minute.
1 Ostentum	=	1 Minute.
1 Momentum	=	1½ Minutes.
1 Minutum	=	6 Minutes.
1 Punctus (Prica)[1]	=	15 Minutes.
4 Puncti	=	1 Hour.

The guardian of the horology, who, like the *παρήτρια* of the Greeks, was supposed to announce the hours, was known by various names: "horarum receptor" (Du Cange's *Glossarium* s. v.), "horoscopus" or "daegmaelsceawere" (Wright-Wülker, *Vocabularies*, I, 188, 34; cf. note), and perhaps "circa" ('*Concordia Regularis*,' l. 981, Logeman, *Anglia*, XIII). The hours were announced by a bell; *Colloquy of Ælfric*, Wright-Wülker, *Vocabularies*, I, 103:

Master—"Who awakes you at uhtsong?"

[1]As Bosworth-Toller shows in its excellent treatment of the word, a prica may be also the fifth part of an hour (cf. *Leechdoms*, III, 242, 7; III, 253, 17; Dietrich, *Niedner's Zeitschrift*, XXVI, 165).

Discipulus—"Sometimes I hear the bell (cnyll), and get up; sometimes my master arouses me roughly with a stick."

"Canons of Northumbrian Priests" (950), 36, Thorpe, *A. L.*, p. 318, "Gif preost on gesetne timan tida ne ringe, etc;" "Canons under Edgar" (960), 45, Thorpe, *A. L.*, p. 399, "And we læraþ þæt man on rihtne timan tida ringe; Schröer, *Benedictine Rule*, XLIII, p. 67, 20, þæt beacn þæs bellhrincges (signum); XLVIII, p. 72, 8, Rubric, Be getacniendum tidum Godes weorces = Winteney Version, 97, Be þam godcundan tyde hu careful sceal beo þeo bellringestre, þat hig beon ariht geringde; XLVIII, 72, 11, 14; *Concordia* (*Anglia*, XIII), l. 212, 218, 247, 256, 274, 360, 408, 592, 725, 964; Assmann, *Homilies*, XIV, l. 106, Grein, *Bibl. der A.-S. Prosa*, III, p. 168. This will be discussed under None.

Length of Sunday.[1]

Both the seventh and first days of the week were rest-days under the old dispensation (Exodus, XII, 16), and the meaning of "Sabbatum" is, therefore, not a little confused in the early English monuments. Of the many examples that present themselves, I select a few from the *Anglo-Saxon Gospels:* Matt., XII, 8,—*τοῦ σαββάτου*,—Vulgate, Sabbati, Corpus MS. restedæges, Hatton MS. restes-dayges, Lindisfarne Gloss, to sunna-dæ and to sæternes-dæg, wæs ðæra Judea sunna-dæg; Mark, XV, 42,—*παρασκευὴ ὃ εστι προσάββατον*,—Vulg. Parasceve quod est ante Sabbatum; Corp. Hat., þæt is ær sæterdæge, Rushworth MS., Lind. Gl., þæt is fore sunna-dæg; Luke, XXIII, 54,—*σάββατον ἐπέφασκε*,—Vulg., Sabbatum illucescebat, Corp. Hat., sæterdæg onlyhte, Rush, Lind. Gl., sunnadæg inlixade (Rush. -ende); Luke, XXIII, 56,—*τὸ μὲν σάββατον*,—Vulg., et quidem Sabbato, Corp. Hat., on sæterndæg, Rush, synna-dæg, Lind. Gl., sunna-dæg. In Bede, *Eccl.*

[1] Most of the material given in this discussion has been already printed by me in an Article upon "The Anglo-Saxon Sabbath," *Nation*, Vol. 56, No. 1448, March 30, 1893.

Hist., III, XIV (17), 208, 2, mention is made of "one of the rest-days that is now called Sunday."

This consideration of the regard paid to Sunday as a Jewish Sabbath will prepare us for the discussion to follow. Bede *De Temporum Ratione*, VI, M. *P. L.*, 90, 313, directs "that the English Sabbath, like the Jewish, be observed from evening to evening." The Anglo-Saxon laws are the chief testimony to this observance: compare Withred (697 A. D.), Thorpe, *A. L.*, 17, Schmid, 16; Theodore, "Penitentiale," XVII, 6, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 283; XXXVIII, 8, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 298. At a later day the Sabbath rest was extended to include the time between Saturday at None and Monday's dawn: compare Edgar's Laws, II, 5, Schmid, 188, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 112; Canute, I, 14, Schmid, 262, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 157. What was the reason for this change? Lingard tells us (*History of Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. 1845, I, 341): "At a later period, some time before the reign of Edgar, though probably no change had taken place in the ecclesiastical computation, the freedom of the Sunday was enlarged in favor of the working population." This could be debated; but another question presents itself. Why did Sunday receive honor in the Anglo-Saxon Church? Two answers are ready from Anglo-Saxon churchmen:

(1). Ælfric, whose conservatism is well known, holds to the teaching of the Fathers (*Homilies*, II, 206, 30): "Saturday was called rest-day until Christ's passion. On that day Christ's body lay in the tomb, and he arose from death on Sunday, and this day is the day of rest to all Christian men, and holy, on account of Christ's resurrection. We must ever celebrate this day with spiritual honor," etc.

(2). There were, however, other churchmen at this period who were not unaffected by the theories that had filtered into the Church a few centuries before (Alcuin, *Lib. de Divinis Officiis*, XXVII, M. *P. L.*, 101, § 487, p. 1226). One of these was the strong advocate of the Sunday observance in the collection of homilies classed under the name of Wulfstan. He agrees, of course, with the views of Ælfric (XLIV, 222, 28),

but to him the Lord's resurrection was not the only thing that made Sunday a rest-day. The catalogue of Scriptural events that he gives shows the blending of the Jewish Sabbath with the rest-day of the new dispensation: XLIII, 210, 10, "On this day (sunnan-dæg) was Adam the first man created, and on this day Moses and his troop crossed the Red Sea dry-shod. On this day the Lord began to feed the people with manna, the heavenly meat. The Lord said: 'Six days are given you to labor, but the seventh is the holy rest-day;'" XLIII, 211, 11, "On Sunday was Christ baptized, and on the same day the Spirit descended upon his Apostles."

The Wulfstan homilist follows the laws of his day in directing that the holy Sunday be observed "fram non-tide þæs sæterndæges oð monandæges lihtincge" (XLIII, 207, 10). Compare XLIII, 205, 8; 208, 10 (the very words of Canute's law); 210, 3, 10; 211, 10, 15, 18, 28–29; 212, 7; XLIV (37), 219, 11, 25; 220, 1, 20; 222, 1, 14, 30; 225, 14, 27; XLV (38), 230, 10; L (35), 272, 14; LVII, 293, 2; 296, 30. He had other than legal reasons in favor of the correctness of this observance. Very strong proof is found in the testimony of Nial, the Scotch deacon (Wulfstan, XLIII, 211, 27), who had enjoyed the exceptional privilege of a five-weeks' visit to Paradise, and had declared upon his return, "that God was violently opposed to any work between None, Saturday and Monday's dawn." Another homilist of 150 years later had even stronger support (Morris, *Old English Homilies*, 1st Ser., E. E. T. Soc., Vols. 29, 43, IV, p. 44; *Early English Specimens*, I; III, A. 20, 80). The Lord is made to say: "Arise now, Paul, arise; I grant rest, according to your request from Saturday at None until Monday's dawn, even until Domesday."

Sunday was doubtless strictly observed among the Anglo-Saxons. The Laws, in many places, forbid trading, hunting, travelling, marriage and executions upon the Lord's Day. We have besides a remarkable bit of evidence from the early eleventh-century *Colloquy of Ælfric*, Wright-Wülker, *Vocabu-*

laries, I, 92. The hunter is asked: "Did you hunt to-day?" He replies: "I did not because it is Sunday, but yesterday I hunted."

The Canonical Hours.

Bouterwek has devoted a chapter of his *Cædmon* (Chap. VII, pp. CLXXIX–CXCII) to "Das Benediktiner Officium," and Fosbroke in his *British Monachism*, 3rd Ed., 1843, Chap. IV, p. 28 sq., has discussed in detail the *Concordia Regularis* (*Constitutions of Æthelwold*).[1]

This does not preclude a treatment of the subject from a point of view, so different as my own. Consistently with the general object of my paper, the Canonical Hours will be viewed rather as divisions of the temporal day than as points of time, having no significance save as seasons of prayer, and deriving their only importance from the scriptural events they recalled.

The history of the Canonical Hours in the early church has been fully traced (cf. Smith, *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, s. v. "Hours of Prayer"); a few citations from the Fathers are all-sufficient to show their origin. Tertullian, "De Jejuniis," M. *P. L.*, 2, Chap. X, p. 1007, mentions three Hours of Prayer, "tertia," "sexta" and "nona;" Cyprian, M. *P. L.*, 4, 559, and Clement of Alexandria, M. *P. G.*, 2, 455, give the same number; Origen, "De Oratione," Chap. XII, M. *P. G.*, 11, p. 457, names "sexta hora (Acts X, 9), mane (Ps. V, 4), vesperum (Ps. CXL, 2), and nocturnum (Mark, I, 35"); Jerome, "Epistles," 22, M. *P. L.*, 22, p. 422, five, "tertia," "sexta," "nona," "diluculum" and "vesperum;" but in "Epistle 30," loc. cit., 1119, he excludes "diluculum" in favor of "media nox;" *Apostolic Constitutions* (end of 4th Century), Donaldson, Edinburgh, 1870, p. 247, differs from

[1] In *Modern Language Notes*, June, 1893, I have endeavored to put beyond question the identity of these works; and to show, by internal and external evidence, that Æthelwold was the author.

Jerome in substituting "gallicinium" for "diluculum;" in *Benedictine Rule* (c. 530), M. *P. L.*, 66, the seven Hours, "matutinae, prima, tertia, sexta, nona, vesperum et completorium," are now firmly established, and the lists of Gregory the Great (d. 604), M. *P. L.*, 78, p. 537, and of Chrodegang (d. 766), M. *P. L.*, 88, 1066 (cited by Bouterwek, *Cædmon*, CLXXXV) are complete. Ælfric recognizes the antiquity of the Hours, *Pastoral Letter*, 30, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 456–457: "Four synods (in this case the four great Oecumenical Councils) appointed all the services which we have in God's ministry, at mass, at matins, and at all the Canonical Hours" ("To mæssan and to uhtsange and to eallum tidsangum").

With this short sketch of the Hours before us, we are better prepared to consider them in the Anglo-Saxon Church. I mention the main instances of their occurrence in church literature:

1. *Excerptions of Ecgbert*, XXVIII, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 328: "Prima est nocturnalis synaxis; secunda prima hora diei; tertia ipsa est hora quam tertiam vocamus; quarta vero sexta hora; quinta nona hora est; 'sexta autem synaxis vespera hora est;' septimam namque synaxim completorium vocitamus."

2. *Benedictine Rule*, Chap. XVI: "Matutino (Gloss, 'Æftersangum;' Translation, 'Dægredsangum'), Prima (Gloss and Trsl., 'Primsang'), Tertia (G. T., 'Undernsang'), Sexta (G. T., 'Middægsang'), Nona (G. T., 'Nonsang'), Vespera (G. T., 'Æfensang'), and Completorium (G. T., 'Nihtsang')."[1]

3. *Benedictine Service*, Bouterwek, *Cædmon*, CXCIV, "Ærest on ærne morgen, and eft on undern-tid, and on midne dæg, and on non, and on æfen, and on foranniht, and on uhtantiman." Aerne morgen includes Dægredsang and Primsang.

[1] The Translation (Grein, *Bibl. der A. S. Prosa*, II) is to be dated about 970 (cf. Article by the writer, *Modern Language Notes*, June, 1893), but the earliest MS. is of the first portion of the 11th Century. The Gloss (E. E. T. Soc., 90) is of the same age as the Translation.

4. *Blickling Homilies* (c. 971), Morris, p. 47: "Ærest on ærne morgen, oþre siþe on undern, þridde siþe on midne dæg, feorþan siþe on non, fiftan siþe on æfen, sixtan siþe on niht ær he ræste, seofoþan siþe on uhtan."

5. *Concordia Regularis* (*Constitutions of Æthelwold*)—no collected account:—"Matutina" ("Æftersang," "Dægredsang"), "Prim," "Undern," "Middæg," "Non," "Vesperum" ("Æfen"), and "Completorium" (Logeman, l. 413, "on ytemystre tide riht gesetre").

6. *Canons* of Ælfric, 19, Thorpe, *A. L.*, p. 444: "Uhtsang and primsang, undernsang and middægsang, nonsang and æfensang and nihtsang seofoþan."

7. Ælfric's *Pastoral Letter*, 31, Thorpe, *A. L.*, p. 457: "Se forma tidsang is uhtsang mid þam æftersang þe þǎrto gebyraþ, primsang, undernsang, middægsang, nonsang, æfensang, nihtsang."

For general notices of the Canonical Hours in the Anglo-Saxon Laws, compare Bouterwek, *Cædmon*, CLXXIX sq.

It is necessary to supplement the above list by a few citations, showing that the Hours are rather services than divisions of time:

Schröer, *Benedictine Rule*, 7, 28; 33, 1; XVIII, 43, 11; 44, 17; XXX, 55, 18: "on gedafenum tidum" ("horis competentibus"); XXXVII, 61, 16–17, "mid heora þygene forhradian þa regolican tida" ("horas canonicas"); XLIII, 67, 17, "to tidsange," *Winteney Vers.*, "to Godes þenunge," Latin, "Ad opus Dei."

Ælfric, *Homilies*, Thorpe, II, 160, 19: "Sum munuc wæs unstæððig on Godes lofsangum, and ne mihte his tidsangas gestandan mid his gebroðrum."

Wulfstan, *Homilies*, XXXV (30), p. 171, 14: "Æt ælcum tidsange; LVI (42), p. 290, 17, "and þu ahst to fyllene þine seofon tidsangas under (German, "unter") dæg and niht, þæt is, to ælcan tidsange seofon pr̃ nr̃ . . . . and þe ðe his dægsang cûnne, singe þone, swa he oftost mæge, and his credan ilome, etc."

Previous Treatment of the Canonical Hours.

I shall review, as briefly as possible, previous discussions of the Anglo-Saxon Hours.

Spelman, *Concilia*, (1639), 577, 19, gives Latin equivalents of the Saxon names of the hours; his translation of "Uhtsang" by "Cantus antelucanus" is interesting. The *Benedictine Service* was printed in an Appendix to Hickes' *Letters to a Popish Priest* (1705), and received numerous explanatory notes from the hands of William Elstob. His definitions of the Hours are suggestive, but not always correct:

(1). On ærne morgen—Early in the morning at break of day or the first hour (Prime); (2). Underntid—3rd Hour—Verstegan's "afternoon" translation (*Restitution of Decayed Intelligence*, p. 234) is disproved; (3). Middæg—Midday; (4). Non—Hora nona (3 p. m.); (5). Æfen—Even (12th hour), so-called because it even'd the civil day; (6). Foranniht—probably 9 p. m.; (7). Uhtan—Midnight (so-called because the twenty-four hours were run out).

Elizabeth Elstob, *Homily on the Birthday of St. Gregory* (1709), p. 40, quotes from the *Psalter of St. Augustine* (see M. *P. L.*, XXXVII) the hymns for the different Hours. The Editor of Sir John Fortescue's work, *The Difference between an Absolute and a Limited Monarchy* (1714), p. 143, note, places Uhtsang at 3 a. m., Æfensang at 9 p. m., and Nihtsang at Midnight. Johnson's *Canons of the English Church* appeared in 1720; the following is his Cursus: Uhtsang—Mattins or Nocturns; Prime Song—7 o'clock; Undernsong—9 o'clock; Middaysong—12 o'clock; Noonsong—3 o'clock; Evensong—6 o'clock; Compline—9 o'clock. Baron's Notes to his Edition of Johnson (1850) will be considered presently.

Waterland, in his MS. Notes to Somner's *Dictionary*, availed himself of Johnson, but his lists of the Hours were drawn from the "Blickling MS.," Ælfric's *Canons*, Wycliffe, Hugues, *De Ecclesiae Mysteriis* (12th Cent., M. *P. L.*, CLXXVII), *Psalter*

of Gregory the Great (cf. Wanley, *Catalogue*, p. 172), etc. Peck's division of the Roman day and night (*Desiderata Curiosa*, 1779, Vol. I, 224) is at once so interesting and so minute, that—although it is not in every case applicable to Anglo-Saxon times—I shall follow it in detail:

"Prima Vigilia—1st Hour = Solis Occasus; 2nd Hour = Crepusculum Vespertinum or Evening twilight; 3rd Hour = Ὀψέ; Service = Evensong.

"Secunda Vigilia—1st Part = Prima fax = Candle light; 2nd Part = Prima Nox; 3rd Part = Concubium or Bed-time; 4th Part = Somnus Tempestivus; 5th Part = Ad Mediam Noctem; Service—Officium Completorium.

"Tertia Vigilia—1st Part = Media Nox; 2nd Part = De Media Nocte; 3rd Part = Gallicinium = 2 a. m.; 4th Part = Conticinium (Cock now silent); Service—Officium Matutinum Vesperum.

"Quarta Vigilia—1st Part = Πρώς, Diluculum or Dawn; 2nd Part = Crepusculum Matutinum; 3rd Part = Ἠώς or Aurora—Morning light; 4th Part = Exortus Solis (6 a. m.); Service—Officium Horae Matutinae or Matins.

"Hours of the Day—Mane Plenum (6–9)—Service = Primesong; Tempus Antemeridianum = Forenoon (Undernoon is discussed; see *infra*); Service = Terce; Meridies (12–3)—1st Part = Medius Dies; 2nd Part = De Meridie; Service = Officium Horae Sextae; Tempus Postmeridianum = Overnoon; Service = Officium Horae Nonae."

Hampson, *M. A. Kalendarium*, Glossary, s. v. "Hours," has given many useful references to the Canonical Services. Fosbroke's division of the *Concordia* services (*British Monachism*, p. 28 sq.) is as follows: (1). Unthsang (sic) embraces Mattins and Lauds—Midnight to Primsang (6 a. m., Prime). (2). Duties from Primsang to Undersang (Tierce, about 9 a. m.). (3). Undersang to Middægsang (Sext, about 12). (4). From Middægsang to Nonsang (Nones, about 2 or 3 p. m.). (5). From Nonsang to Æfensang (Vespers, Lucernarium, about 4 p. m.). (6). From Æfensang to Nihtsang (Complin,

2nd Vespers, 7 p. m.). Baron, in his excellent note to the 19th Canon of Ælfric (1850 Edition of Johnson's *Collection of Laws and Canons*, I, p. 393), defines the Equinoctial Hours thus: Uhtsang (Midnight); Lofsang = Æftersang or Dægredlice Lofsangas (2–3 a. m.); Primsang (6–7 a. m.); Undernsang = Tertia (8–9 a. m.); Middægsang = Sexta (11–12 a. m.); Nonsang (2–3 p. m.); Æfensang (6–7 p. m.); Completorium (8–9 p. m).

With Baron's divisions, my own,[1] in the main, correspond: Uhtsang, Lofsang and Æftersang, 2–6 a. m.; Prime, 6 a. m.; Undern, 8–9 a. m.; Middæg, 11–12 a. m.; Non, 2–3 p. m.; Æfen, 4–5 p. m.; Completorium, 6 p. m.

My Horology table shows, however, that Undern and None, being equally distant from 12 o'clock, were counted usually at 9 a. m. and 3 p. m. As Æfen is the 11th Hour, I have placed it from 4–5 p. m., and Completorium, the 12th hour at 6 p. m., but the services of these periods were doubtless later, probably at the time indicated by Baron. Durand, *Rationale*, v, 2, p. 138, tells us that "under Prime two hours were reckoned, the first and second (6–8 a. m.); under Terce, three (8–11 a. m.); under Sext or Midday, three, the sixth, seventh and eighth (11 a. m.–2 p. m.); under None, two (2 p. m.–4 p. m.); Vespers occupy the 11th (4–5 p. m.), and Completorium, the 12th (5–6 p. m.). But Durand is defining the so-called Canonical Spaces,—to be distinguished from the several hours. Compare Canonical Hours, Horstman's *Lives of the Saints*, E. E. T. Soc., 87, XXXVI, p. 225, l. 217 sq.; "York Hours of the Cross," E. E. T. S., 71 (1879), p. 82; *Lay Folks Prayer Book*, E. E. T. S., 105 (1895); *Minor Poems of Vernon MS.*, E. E. T. S., 94 (1892), p. 37.

At this point some reference to Canonical Hours on the Continent is necessary. The "Gebet and Tischreden" in Wackernagel's *Altdeutsche Predigten und Gebete*, 1876, are from Basel MS., B. XI, 23, of 14th Century (p. 561 sq.):

[1] Let it be remembered that these are Equinoctial divisions and will vary with the seasons (cf. Horology, *supra*).

Rubrics, p. 561, "Zů metten zeit als unser herre gevangen wart;" p. 562, l. 50, "Zu prime zit alz unser herre von gerihtes stunte;" p. 563, l. 90, "Zu tercie zit als unser herre mit růten und mit geuscheln geschlagen wart;" p. 565, l. 140, "Zů sexte zit als unser herre sin cruze zu der marter trůg;" p. 566, l. 205, "Zu none zit alz unser herre stunt an dem cruze;" p. 566, l. 244, "Zu nonzit starb Jesus an dem crutz;" p. 568, l. 273, "Zu vesperzit als unser herre aber dem cruzte genomen wart;" p. 570, l. 364, "Zu completenzit als unser herre in dz grap geleit wart." The *Oxforder Benediktinerregel*, Sievers, Halle, 1887 (Abdruck aus dem *Tübinger Decanals programn*),[1] contains numerous examples of the German names of the Hours.

The French "Heures Canoniales" will be cited from time to time in connection with the several Hours.

Number and Symbolism of the Canonical Hours.

In the *Roman Breviary*, published by Pius V (1566), and revised by Clement VIII (1592) and Urban VIII (1623) (Marquis of Bute, 1879), the division of the ecclesiastical day is as follows (p. 235 sq.): Mattins (subdivided into 1st, 2nd and 3rd Nocturns), Lauds, Prime, Tierce, Sext, None, Vespers and Compline. It will be noticed that this gives eight divisions instead of seven, and that Mattins and Lauds are two distinct tides. Upon the relation of Mattins (Uhtsang) and Lauds (Dægredsang) will rest much of the discussion to follow.

That the Canonical Hours should be seven in number seemed to early churchmen attested by the scriptures (Hickes, *Letters to a Popish Priest*, Appendix): David had said (*Psalms*, 119, 164): "Seven times a day do I praise Thee because of Thy righteous judgments." The gifts of the Holy Ghost were seven in number (Luke, xi, 26; Matt., xii, 45).

[1] This version, Cod, Laud Misc., 237, Bodleian, is, like the "Winteney," a feminine one, traced by Sievers, p. ix, to the Eberbach circle of Nunneries, and bears the stamp of the 14th Century speech of South and Middle Nassau.

A just man falleth seven times a day and riseth again (Proverbs, XXIV, 16). There were seven deadly sins (Proverbs, XXVI, 25), seven trumpets of Jericho (Joshua, VI), seven stars, seven churches, and seven golden candlesticks (Revelations, I). Each of these all-convincing arguments from example would be cited by ritualist or homilist.

The reason for eight hours is given by Durand, *Rationale*, V, 1, p. 137: "Esdras divided day into 1st, 3rd, 6th and 9th Hours, night into vespers, completorium, nocturns and diluculum (laudes matutinae)." The prompt observance of the Lauds at dawn, demanded by the *Benedictine Rule* (XVI), was in Durand's day complied with only by those who were blinded by a halo of apocryphal glory (compare Durand, V, 4, 1, p. 152).

Let us now consider the changes in the "septenarius sacratus numerus" occasioned by an imperfect conception of the relation between the midnight confessional and the morning Lauds. Gregory of Tours (540–594), *Historia Francorum*, VIII, par. 387, M. *P. L.*, 71, p. 459: "Expergefactus vero circa medium noctis cum ad cursum reddendum surgerem." "Ad cursum reddendum" cannot be taken strictly as placing Midnight among the Canonical Hours, for Gregory, a reliable authority on account of his work, *De Cursibus Ecclesiastis*, gives in his *Vitae Patrum*, par 1187, M. *P. L.*, 71, p. 1043, an assured place to Matins. Chrodegang, M. *P. L.*, 88, 1066, couples Matins with Diluculum and makes no mention of the Midnight Vigil.

The *Benedictine Rule* (VIII, XI, XVI) does not include Uhtsang or Vigils among the Canonical Hours, and therefore does not appear to observe with it the same strictness as with the others. It could be shortened to insure a prompt beginning of the Matins at day-break; and, in order that the monks might not be deprived of their meed of sleep, they were not compelled to rise promptly at Midnight ("ut modice amplius de media nocte pausentur"). Æftersang or Dægredsang (Matutini) is, however, always a distinct Canonical Hour in

the Rule; a collection of examples from both the Translation (Schröer, *Bibliothek der A. S. Prosa*, II) and the Gloss (Logeman, E. E. T. Soc., 90) will show plainly the relation it bore to Uhtsang:

(Translation).

Uhta—IX, p. 33, l. 7, uhtsang ("Winteney," 43, 19, utsang); VIII, 32, 47, æfter þam uhtsange (post vigilias); VIII, 32, 20, se ærest þæs uhtsanges ("Winteney," 43, 12, þæs uhtsanges time) = hora vigiliarum; VIII, 32, 21, betwyh þæm uhtsange and þæm dægredsange—no lemma; IX, 33, 17, æt þæm uhtsange ("Winteney," 45, 3, æfter þan uhtsangan) = in vigiliis; IX, 34, 3, se nihtlica uhtsang = vigilie nocturne; X, 34, 5 (Rubric), Hu on Sumere seo nihtlice tid to healdenne sy ("Winteney," 45, 13, hu me sceall singe uhtsang on Sumerliche time) = Nocturna laus, etc., etc.

Dægred—VIII, p. 32, l. 21, and þæm dægredsange—no lemma; VIII, 33, 1, dægredsange = matutini; XI, 35, 23, dægeredsang = matutinos; XI, 36, 10, dægredsanges = matutinorum solemnitas; XIII, 37, 5, dægredsanges weorðung = matutinorum solempnitas, etc., etc.

(Gloss).

Uhta—VIII, p. 37, l. 8, æfter uhtsange = post vigilias; VIII, 37, 12, tid uhtsanga = hora vigiliarum; IX, 38, 15, æt uhtsangum = in vigiliis; IX, 39, 8, nihtlice uhtsangas = vigilie nocturne; X, 40, 3, to nihtlicum uhtsangum = ad vigilias nocturnas. Compare XI, 40, 8; XV, 45, 14; XVI, 46, 9; XVII, 47, 1; XVIII, 49, 7; XVIII, 51, 7.

Æftersang—VIII, 37, 14, merigenlice lofsang = matutini; XI, 41, 15, mergenlice lof = matutinos; XII, 42, 9, on mergenlicum lofsangum = in matutinis; XIII, 43, 1, æftersanga = matutinorum; XVII, 47, 1, meriendlice lofsangas æftersanges = matutinis. Compare XIII, 44, 6; XV, 46, 5; XXXV, 66, 13.

With the above must be compared the glossed text of the *Concordia Regularis* (*Anglia*, XIII), whose author Æthelwold

was the translator of the *Benedictine Rule* (*Modern Language Notes*, June, 1893):

Concordia, l. 220, 449, 523, 933, Uhtsang = nocturna; 1014, uhtsanglic = nocturnus; l. 449, 450, 528, 663, 904, 944, 974, æftersang = matutina; 476, æftersingallice = matutinales; 243, to uhtlicum lofsangum = ad matutinales laudes; 388, 689, 870, dægredsang = matutinus; 507, dægredlice lofu.

In the other Anglo-Saxon lists of Canonical Hours, we have quite a different arrangement. In the *Benedictine Service* (Bouterwek's *Cædmon*, I, CLXXI) and the *Blickling Homilies*, Uhtsang is one of the Hours (cf. the "nocturnalis synaxis" of Ecgbert), but Dægredsang or Æftersang has become a part of the Ær-morgen service. In the *Canons* and *Pastoral Letter* of Ælfric, Dægredsang is united with Uhtsang as the "Æftersang þe þārto gebyraþ." In the last case, which is by far the more natural change (compare Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, IV, VIII, Miller's Ed., p. 284, l. 9), Uhtsang assumes the meaning of Matins. In either case Uhtsang has risen to the dignity of a Canonical Hour, a position that it never held in the *Benedictine Rule*.

The order of services in the *Concordia* is as follows: "Three orations, followed by Nocturns, to which were added its Lauds; then the Matutinales Laudes were sung in the time between dawn and sunrise (in lucis crepusculo), Prime beginning with the light of day." Nothing, however, is said of an "early morning service," including Dægred and Prime (Fosbroke, *British Monachism*, p. 29). The *Concordia* is closely followed by the monks mentioned in the glossed *Colloquy* of Ælfric (Wright-Wülker, *Vocabularies*, I, 101): "Manega þingc ic dyde. on þisse niht þa þa cnylle ic gehyrde ic aras on minon bedde and eode to cyrcean and sang uhtsang (nocturnam) mid gebroþrum æfter þa we sungon be eallum halgum and dægredlice lofsangas (matutinales laudes) æfter þysum prim, etc."

The order of services in all cases remained the same; the difference between them was only one of name.

To sum up, I have shown that Uhtsang or Nocturns, formerly only Vigils, became a separate Canonical Hour in the Anglo-Saxon Church, and that, although Uhta might include Nocturns and Dægredsang, or Ær-morgen include Dægredsang and Prime, the strict number of Hours never exceeded seven.

The Hours of the Canons were fraught with symbolism to the mediæval monk. Not only was a special significance given to each period by some circumstance in the Saviour's passion, but the stages of the world and the periods of human life were represented by the Hours.

Ælfric, *Homilies*, II, 74, translating from Gregory's 19th Homily, M. *P. L.*, 76, 1154 (Förster, "Ueber die Quellen von Ælfrics Exegetischen Homiliae Catholicae," § 43, *Anglia*, XVI, 3), tells us, in connection with the Parable of the Vineyard: "Eornostlice se ær-merigen wæs fram Adam oð Noe, se undern fram Noe oð Abraham, se middæg fram Abraham oð Moysen, se non fram Moyse oð Drihtnes to-cyme, seo endlyfte tid fram Drihtnes acennednysse oð ende þises middaneardes." Compare Durand, *Rationale*, v, 1, p. 137.

Ælfric continues (II, 76): "We magon eac ðas ylcan mislicnyssa ðæra foresædra tida to anum gehwylcum menn þurh his ylda tidum todaelan. Witodlice ures andgites merigen is ure cildhad, ure cnihthad swylce undern-tid, on þam astihð ure geogoð, swa swa seo sunne deð ymbe ðære ðriddan tide; ure fulfremeda wæstm swa swa middæg, forðan ðe on midne dæg bið seo sunne on ðam ufemestum ryne stigende swa swa se fulfremeda wæstm bið on fulre strencðe þeonde. Seo non-tid bið ure yld forðan ðe on nontid asihð seo sunne, and ðæs ealdigendan mannes mægen bið wanigende. Seo endlyfte tid bið seo forwerode ealdnyss þam deaðe genealæcende, swa swa seo sunne setlunge genealæhð on þæs dæges geendunge."

This interpretation of the Parable is repeated in *Kentish Sermons* (Laud MS. 471), "Dominica in Sexagesima," *O. E. Miscellany* (E. E. T. S., 50, p. 34). Durand, *Rationale*, v, 1,

137, institutes the same comparison: (1). Infantia = Matutinae Laudes. (2). Pueritia = Prima. (3). Adolescentia = Tertia. (4). Juventus = Sexta. (5). Senectus = Nona. (6). Senium = Vesperae. (7). Decrepita Aetas = Completorium.

Each Canonical division will now be considered in turn, and the introductory discussion supplemented by matter more appropriate to the consideration of the several hours than to a general view of the whole.

Uhta.

The etymology of the word Uhta, given by Elstob (Appendix to Hickes' *Letters to a Popish Priest*), is ingenious enough to deserve notice: "Gothic uhtwo and Runic otta (Norse) convince us that Uhta derived its name from the fact that the four and twenty hours were run out and the civil day was compleat." Elstob suggests also a connection with "uhtelun (sic), timebant, Mark, XI, 32, uht-tid being the dread time of night and full of horror." Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, Stalleybras, II, 747, regards the root as unexplained. Later scholars seem well-agreed over its history: Uhta, dawn; Old Norse, ôtta; O. H. G., uhta; Gothic, ūhtwo; uhteigs < Germanic type, unχtwon < Idg. base, n̥qtun > Sanskrit, aktu (brilliance); Greek, *ἀκτίς* (beam) (Fick, *Wörterbuch der Indogermanischen Sprache*, 1876, VII, 9, v, 297; Kluge, *Nominale Stammbildung*, p. 140).[1]

Grimm (loc. cit.) gives the time of Uhta: "The very first glimmer of dawn, or strictly speaking, that which precedes it, the latter end of night, is expressed by the Gothic uhtwo (Greek, *ἔννυχον*), Mark, I, 35." The Vulgate reads here "mane noctu valde," and the Anglo-Saxon versions, "swiþe ær." Spelman's translation of Uhtsang, "Antelucanus" (*Concilia*, 577) is correct, and true of all Saxon observance.

[1] George Hempl, *Modern Language Notes*, November, 1891, derived N. H. G. nüchtern from ne-uoht-nar-in, the third element appearing in N. H. G. nahren. The use mentioned by Fick (loc. cit.) in M. H. G. supports this view (cf. Lexer, *Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch*, 1876, s. v. "Uht-weide").

Ælfric's *Vocabulary*, Wright-Wülker, 129, 32, gives—like Ælfric's *Canons* and *Pastoral Letter*—Matutinum as the Latin equivalent of Uhtgebed (cf. Wright-Wülker, 175, 40).

It is difficult to define closely the position of Uhta. In ecclesiastical usage, it varied at different seasons of the year (*Benedictine Rule*, Chap. VIII); but it meant doubtless, to churchman and layman, the darkest portion of the night, the hour before the dawn (Wright-Wülker, *Vocabularies*, 450, 3, Matutinum = Uht-tid sive beforan dæge; Beowulf, 126, Andreas, 235, 1390, Elene, 105, on uhtan mid ærdæge; Satan, 404–406, 465, on uhtan ær dægrede), the time associated in Anglo-Saxon poetry with "ealdra uhtsceaþa" (Beowulf, 2271) and "ealdes uhtflogan" (Beowulf, 2760).

One meaning that Uhta could never assume has been ascribed to it by Thorpe and Bouterwek. In Ælfric's "Homily on the Assumption of St. John, the Apostle," Thorpe, I, 74, we are told that the Apostle "on Sunnan-uhtan ærwacol (Thorpe, 'at sunrise, early rising') to þære cyrcan com and þam folce from hancred oð undern Godes gerihta lærde and him mæssan gesang." Ælfric uses the expression, "sunnan-uhtan" again in his *Pastoral Letter*, 44: "And ge sculon singan sunnan-uhtan and mæsse-uhtan, etc." Wilkins, *Leges Anglo-Saxonicae* (1721), p. 161, renders this, "ad solis ortum et missae initium." Thorpe, *A. L.*, 461, translates: "And ye should sing sunrise matins and mass matins." Bouterwek's rendering (*Cædmon*, CLXXXII) is similar: "Und ihr sollt singen die Metten bei Sonnenaufgang und die Frühmesse."

There are many reasons why Sunnan-uhtan should not be rendered "sunrise." (1). Uhtsang must end at dawn, and the period, Uhta, always precedes the light. (2). The context in the Homily passage shows that Sunnan-uhtan can mean only Sunday morning before day (notice that the period precedes Hancred). Sweet, *Anglo-Saxon Reader*, 14a/299, Gloss, 283, and Bright, *Anglo-Saxon Reader*, p. 213, Note to p. 84, 10–11, give the proper meaning. (3). John's action was so common

among holy men that there can be little doubt of the time of these devotions. Bede tells us, *Ecclesiastical History*, III, X, Miller, p. 188, 7: "Sægdon þætte þa men þa hit cuðon þæt he oftost fram þære tide þæs uhtlican lofsonges oð hluttorne dæg in gebedum astode awunade." Id., IV, XXI, 318, 22: "Symle gif hire hefigre untrymnesse ne bewere of þære tide uhtsanges oð hluttorne dæg in cirican in halgum gebedum stod." Compare Ælfric's *Lives of the Saints*, Skeat, XV, 95, Bright's *Reader*, 101, 13. (4) The use of "sunnandagum and mæssedagum" (*Blickling Homilies*, 47) makes clear the meaning of "Sunnan-uhtan and Maesse-uhtan;" and a passage from Wulfstan's *Homilies* (Napier, LVIII, p. 305, l. 21) is conclusive: "Nagan læwede men þurh hæmed þinge gif hi Godes miltse habban willaþ wifes gemanan sunnan-nihtum ne maesse-nihtum ne wodnes-nihtum ne frige-nihtum." *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, D. 1021, "Cristes maesse-uhtan" can mean only, "on Christmas before day." Thus the expressions "Sunnan-uhtan and Maesse-uhtan" are to be translated, "at Uhta on Sunday and Mass-days."[1]

A very peculiar use of the word is found in the *Leechdoms*, II, 346: "On gang þe aweg, gang eft to þonne dæg and niht furþum scade, on þam ilcan uhte gang ærest to ciricean." It should be noted that this striking expression, "þonne dæg and niht scade" (cf. *Leechdoms*, II, 116, 18; II, 356, 6), has a classical origin; compare *Durham Ritual*, p. 36, 9: "Deus qui diem discernis a nocte" (Gloss: "God ðv—gesceadas fram næhte"); Ibid., p. 182: "Qui separasti lucem a tenebris" (Gloss: "ðv ð. gesceadest liht fram ðiostrum").

"Ær uhton" (*Leechdoms*, III, 20), rendered wrongly by Cockayne, "before sunrise," is equivalent to the Gothic "air uhtwon" (Mark, I, 35), and has the same meaning as "foran to uhtes" (Cockayne, *Narratiunculae*, p. 15).

A few other instances of the word's occurrence may be cited: On the 24th Moon "on uhtan ȝod mona blod lætan" (*Leech-*

[1] The times of mass are given in MS. Caligula, A. 15, fol. 140b, A. Napier, "Altenglische Kleinigkeiten," *Anglia*, XI, 7.

doms, III, 196, 4); "On uhtatide" (Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, Capit. 4, XIV, Miller, 18, 33), and "In uhttide se steorra ætywde se is cometa nemned" (Ibid., IV, XVI, Miller, 300, 1); *Martyr Book*, May 9 (*Shrine*, 83), þonne gangaŏ þa seofon steorras on uhtan upp and on æfen on setle.

Uhta in Middle English.

Uhta did not live long in the language, and, unlike many of the other Canonical Hours, it preserved to the last its original meaning. A few of the Bradley-Stratmann examples will show this: Orm is describing the vision of Joseph the Carpenter (l. 2483):

"And Godes engell comm him to
Onn uhtenn þær he sleppte."

And again (Ibid., 5381):

"His Crist ras upp off deeþe
Onn uhtenntid to þridde dæg."

In *Ancren Riwle*, Morton, p. 20, Uhtsang[1] has the meaning of Nocturns.

Hancred.

In the *Apostolic Constitutions*, VIII, 34, Cockcrowing is mentioned as one of the regular Hours of Prayer: "At Cockcrowing, because that hour brings the good news of the coming on of the day for the operations proper to light." In Anglo-Saxon days, it was still a time of devotion: Byrhtferŏ, *Handboc*, 124, *Anglia*, VIII, 319: "Gallicinium þæt ys Hancred þon sceolon gode munecas arisan and gode singan;" *Life of St. Guthlac*, by Felix of Croyland, Chap. VI, Goodwin, p. 42: "Ða gelamp hit sumre nihte þa hit wæs hancred and

[1] It is possible that Oughtred (pr. Ŏt′-red), the name of an English divine, 1574–1660 (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, s. v.), may be derived from Uht-red (cf. Dæg-red); but the non-occurrence in literary English of the demanded form, and the changed meaning of Uhta make one hesitate.

se eadiga wer, Guðlac, his uhtgebedum befeal, þa wæs he sæmninga mid leohte slæpe swefed;" *Reden der Seelen*, l. 66, Grein, I, p. 201:

> "Sceal ic þe nihtes swa þeah nede gesecan
> Synnum gesargod and eft sona fram þe
> Hweorfan on hancred þonne halige men
> Lifiendum gode lofsang doð."

The common meaning of Hancred is shown clearly in the Ælfredian version of the *Cura Pastoralis*, Chap. LXXIII, Sweet, p. 458: "Ðæs cocces ðeaw is ðæt he micle hludor singð on uhtan ðonne on dægred. Ac ðonne hit nealæcð dæge ðonne singð he smalor and smicror." Compare with this Gregory's Latin, XXXIX, M. *P. L.*, 77, 124.

Hancred usually indicates Gallicinium. "On Hancrede" translates the Vulgate "Galli Cantu" (Mark, XIII, 35);[1] and the word appears, *Leechdoms*, III, 266, in a connection that leaves but little doubt of its meaning: "Gif he (mona) þonne æfter sunnan setlunge ontend byð, oþþe on middere niht, oþþe on hancrede, ne byð he næfre niwe geteald." Compare Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, IV, XXIV, Miller, 338, 24, ymb honcred; *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, D., Anno 795, betwux hancraede and dagunge; Ælfric's *Homilies*, II, 334, 30, betwux hancrede; II, 334, 35, ealle ða niht oð hancred. The passage, *Leechdoms*, III, 6, presents a difficulty:

"And þonne oniht þonne sumor on tun gæð on mergen þonne sceal se man wacyan ealle þa niht þe þone drenc drincan wille and þonne coccas crawan forman syðe þonne drince he æne, oþre siðe þonne dæg and niht scade, þriddan siðe þonne sunne upga and reste hine syþþan."

Cockayne takes "forman syþe" with "crawan;" but the meaning of "first cockcrow" (*infra*) and coördination in the above passage show that the adverbial phrase qualifies "drince."

Hancred, however, was not only in the morning before day. In the "Glosses" of Mone's *Quellen und Forschungen*,

[1] Here the Lindisfarne MS. reads: "On uhte tide and on honcroed."

B. 4677, Galli-Cantu is glossed by "cwyld-setene," which is elsewhere the gloss of Conticinium (*infra*, s. v.); and in the *Vocabulary* of Ælfric, Wright-Wülker, 175, 36, Hancred translates Gallicinium vel Conticinium, the last named being defined as the third division of the night (Beda,[2] and Byrhtferð; see *supra*). Now it is possible to regard Conticinium as occupying also a place in the early morning—the case, sometimes, in antiquity (Lalamantius, "De Tempore," *Thes. Graec. Ant.*, 1049); but it is more natural to suppose that it retained its early-night position ("cwyld-setene" could never have referred to a morning hour), and was the first of the three cock-crows mentioned, *Leechdoms*, II, 294, 5.[1] Conticinium is doubtless the hour referred to in the Historical Fragment, MS. Cott. Caligula A., XIV, *Leechdoms*, III, 424, where a miracle "embe forman hancred" is described. Symeon of Durham, who tells the same story (Arnold, *Rolls Series*, II, 8), puts the time at "intempesta noctis quiete," the dead of night.

Later cock-crows are helpful here. Chaucer tells us the time of the third cock-crow (Reeve's Tale, A. 4233):

> "Till that the thridde cok began to singe
> Aleyn wax wery in the dawenynge."

Shakspere mentions a first cock-crow (Mid. N's Dream, II, 1, 267; 1 Henry IV, II, 1, 20; Lear, III, IV, 121), probably at Midnight, a second cock-crow at 3 o'clock (Romeo and Juliet, IV, 4, 3; Macbeth, II, 3, 22—Note in *Variorum* Ed.), and a morning cock-crow (Hamlet, I, 2, 218). Shakspere's cocks had been drilled in Tusser's barnyard—*Five Hundred Pointes*

[1] In Matt., XIV, 25, where "embe þone feorþan hancred" renders "Quarta vigilia," the cock is supposed by the translator to crow at every watch; cf. *O. E. Homilies*, 2nd Ser., VI, Morris, *E. E. T. Soc.*, 53, 39: "On þis niht beð feower niht wecches. Biforen even þe belimpeð to children. Midniht . . . to frumberdlegges, hanecrau . . . þowuene men, morgewile to alde men."

Compare Theocritus, Idyl., XXIV, Lang's Translation, 1892, p. 128, "The cocks were now but singing their third welcome to the earliest dawn."

of Good Husbandrie, 74, *Eng. Dialect Society*, 21 (1878), p. 165 (cf. Hazlitt's Ed. of Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, II, 34).

> "At midnight, at three, and an hour near day
> They utter their language as well as they may."

Compare Hazlitt, l. c., for other examples.[1]

The Anglo-Saxon Hancred may be properly regarded as the last portion of Uhta, and be placed roughly at about an hour before Dægred or Dawn.

On Ærne Morgen.

I. *Dægred.*

II. *Prime.*

Ær-morgen may be regarded as extending from Dawn to Undern (Mid-morning). I have, therefore, included under it the two Canonical divisions of Dægred and Prime. A number of examples of the rather generic term, Ær-morgen, are given:

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A°. 538, A., fram ær-mergenne oð undern (B. morgenne, C. E. morgene, F. æran morgen); A°. 678, E. ælce morgen = F. 677, on ærne morgen.

Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, I, XVIII (34), Miller, 92, 3, on ærmergen he iteð hloðe and on æfenne hereof dælað; II, XI (14), 140, 12, from ærmorgenne oð æfen (Giles, 236, 10, a mane usque ad vesperam); V, VI (6), 402, 11, sona in ær-morgen (Giles, 176, 26, mane); V, IX (9), 410, 6, on ærmorgen (Giles, 188, 14, mane). Notice the translator's preference for the compound form found in the Psalter and in "Ælfred's Metres" (Bosworth-Toller, s. v.).

[1] "De fust rooster-crow" of the Southern Negro (T. Nelson Page, *In Ole Virginia*, p. 84) falls, I am informed by a colored authority on the fowl-house, "at midnight," "de secon'" at "fo' day," "de third" at "come day."

The three Spanish cock-crows fall at midnight, day-break and sunset (H. Lang, "The Fowl in Spanish Proverb and Metaphor," *Mod. Lang. Notes*, May, 1887).

Anglo-Saxon Gospels, Matt., XX, 1, on ærne merigen (cum diluculo); Mark, XVI, 9, on ærne morgen (mane); John, XXI, 4, on ærne mergen (mane autem jam facto).

Old Testament, (Grein's *Bibliothek der A.-S. Prosa*, I), Gen., XIX, 15, 27, Deut., XXVIII, 67, on ærne mergen (mane); Gen., XXI, 14, on ærne morgen sôna (mane); Ex., XII, 22, ær on morgen (usque mane); Numbers, XVII, 7, on ærne mergen (sequenti die); Joshua, VIII, 10, on ærne mergen (diluculo); Job, I (1^5), on ærne marigen (diluculo).

Ælfric's *Homilies*, I, 286, 32, Swa hraðe swa heo (seo sunne) upasprencð on ærne-merigen heo scinð on Hierusalem; II, 72, 17; 74, 7; 126, 12; 138, 18; 348, 19; 446, 16, on ærne-merigen; II, 74, 17, se ær-merigen. Ælfric's *Lives of the Saints* (Skeat), III, 341, fram ærne marien; VI, 70; X, 123; XI, 52; XI, 235; XXIII, 472, on ærne mergen; XII, 344, on ærne mærgen; XV, 80, on ærne merigen; Ælfric's *Homily on the Book of Judith*, Assmann, Grein, *Bibl. der A.-S. Prosa*, III, 113, 351, on ærne mergen.

Wulfstan's *Homilies*, VI (13, 14), Napier, 46, 14, ær on morgen (mane).

Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, I, 180; III, 92, 8, on ærne mergen; I, 224, Chap. CXI, on ærne mergen þonne seo sunne ærest upgange.

Grein's *Sprachschatz* contains many examples of ær-morgen and ær-dæge (s. v.).

I shall now cite a number of the more general expressions for morning:

Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, II, VI, Miller, 114, 28, sona on marne; III, I, 154, 34, sona on morne; III, VIII, 182, 28, þa hit þa wæs on marne dæg geworden; IV, III (3), 272, 2, on morne (Giles, III, 24, 20, mane); IV, VIII (7), 284, 25; IV, XXV (24), 344, 17, on morgenne (mane).

Anglo-Saxon Gospels, Mark, I, 35, ær (mane); Mark, XIII, 35, on mergen (mane); Mark, XVI, 2, swyðe ær (valde mane); Luke, IV, 42, ða gewordenum dæge (facta autem die); John, XX, 1, on mergen ær hit leoht wære (mane tenebris adhuc existentibus).

Old Testament, Gen., I, often, morgen; Gen., XXVIII, 18, on mergen þa he ârâs (surgens mane); Gen., XLI, 8, on morgen (facto mane); XLIV, 3, on morgen (orto mane); Ex., X, 13, on morgen (mane facto); Ex. XVI, 13, 21; XXXII, 6, on morgen (mane); Ex. XVI, 20, oð hit morgen wæs (usque mane); Ex., XXIII, 18, oð morgen (usque mane); Num., XVI, 8, on mergen. (The "cras" meaning is frequent in this work; compare *supra*.)

Blickling Homilies, 69, 28; 231, 36, on morgen; 235, 18, þa se morgen geworden wæs; 201, 35; 203, 2; 207, 8, on morgenne; 207, 3, to morgne (to-morrow); 213, 22, morgendæg (morrow); 139, 18; 143, 2, morgenlican.

Ælfric's *Homilies*, I, 504, 19, 23; II, 172, 3, 188, 17, on merigen; I, 572, 30, on merien; II, 138, 17, on merigenlicere tide; II, 172, 17, on þære nihte þe se andaga on merigen wæs; II, 182, 33, oð merigen.

Wulfstan's *Homilies*, XXIX (25), Napier, 137, 11, and seo sunne forswyreð sona on morgen and se mona næfð nane lihtincge.

Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, III, 6, 5; III, 8, 3, etc., on mergen; III, 44, often, on morgenne.

I. *Dægred.*

It will be remembered that Bede[2] and Byrhtferð, in their lists of the nightly hours, regarded Dægred as the sixth division, and that Byrhtferð connected with it the songs of praise of the monks. The Blickling homilist mentions the service at this hour (207, 35): "Ac on dægred, siþþan hit frumlyhte hie þyder inwæron to ðam lofsangum gesamnode." The significance of the service itself has been discussed (*supra*).

In Anglo-Saxon times, as now, Dægred was the time that husbandmen went to the fields (*Colloquy* of Ælfric, 90, 13) (Arator): "Eala leof þearle ic deorfe; ic ga ut on dægred (diluculo), þywende oxon to felda and jugie hig to syl" (Gloss).

A few examples of the use of the word may be cited:

Anglo-Saxon Gospels, Luke, XXIV, 1, swyðe ær on dægred = diluculo profundo (ὄρθρου βάθεος); John, VIII, 2, on dægred (diluculo).

Old Testament, Ex., VIII, 20, on dægred (diluculo); Ex., XIV, 23, on dægred (vigilia matutina); Ex., XXIX, 41, æfter þære dægred-offrung (juxta ritum matutinae oblationis).

Blickling Glosses, 64, 9 (B. H., p. 262) [ut-]gang dægeredes: Exitus matutini.

Ælfric employs Dægred in a simile (*Lives of the Saints*, V, 108):

> "Swa swa dægred todræfð þa dimlican þystra
> And manna eagan onlyht þe blinde wæron on niht." [1]

Other examples of Dægred will be found in the poets (cf. Grein's *Sprachschatz*).

Dægred has many equivalents. Aurora is translated (Wright-Wülker, *Vocabularies*, 175, 52) by Dæg-rima; and this expression, common in poetry (cf. Grein), is found more than once in the prose: *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, E. 1122, þæt fir hi seagon in þe dæi rime and læste swa lange þe hit wæs liht ofer eall; Schröer, *Ben. Rule*, VIII, 33, 1, upaspringenum dægriman ("Winteney," 43, 15, þonne þæs dæges lyht aȝynd) = incipiente luce; Ælfric's *Homilies*, I, 442, 33, arisende dægrima. Another word with the sense of Dægred appears in the Shepherd's speech in the *Colloquy* of Ælfric (Wright-Wülker, *Vocabularies*, 91, 12), on forewerdne morgen (in primo mane) ic drife sceap mine to heora læse. Cf. "Lihting" (*Wulfstan Homilies, supra* sub "Length of Sunday").

Many Anglo-Saxon phrases convey the idea of dawn: Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, III, 1 (2), Miller, 154, 34, sona on morne swa hit dagian ongan (Giles, 264, 11, incipiente diluculo); III, VI (8), 174, 11, þa wæs in þære seolfan nihte

[1] Reum, *Anglia*, X, 482, says of such passages as this: "Weit oft sieht er (Ælfric) sich in den Hom. und den Hlg. Lb. natürlich beeinflusst durch die Sprache der Bibel und der Kirchenväter veranlasst Bilder und Beispiele einzuflechten."

þæm ytemæstan dæle þæt is þa hit dagian ongon (Giles, 174, 32, ipsa autem nocte in cujus ultima parte id est incipiente aurora); III, IX (11), 182, 28, þa hit þa wæs on marne dæg geworden (Giles, 298, 24, mane facto); IV, X (8), 286, 24, þonne dagunge tid cwome (Giles, III, 42, 21, adveniente diluculo); IV, X, 286, 26, ymb þæs dæges upyrne (Giles, III, 42, 22, circa exortum diei); IV, XXIV, 340, 25, swiþe ær in dagunge (Giles, III, 110, 3, primo diluculo); V, XIII (12), 422, 28, in dagunge (Giles, III, 200, 28, diluculo); V, XVII (19), 462, 9, on dagunge (Giles, III, 248, 28, illuscente die). Ælfric's *Lives of the Saints*, XXI, 172, mid þam þe hit dagode; XXIII, 489, mid þam dæge. Bede,[2] *Leechdoms*, III, 206, 1, swylce hit ealle niht dagie.

Crepusculum is glossed, Wright-Wülker's *Vocabularies*, 175, 34, by "tweone leoht vel deorcung," and in the *Concordia*, 475, 508, by "on leohtes þeorcunge." Dægred is the Morning Crepusculum in the technical sense used by Chaucer, *Astrolabe*, II, 6, Skeat, 20, "the spring of the dawyng and the ende of the evenynge, the which ben called the two Crepusculus."

II. *Prime.*

I have already shown that the Anglo-Saxons began their day at Prime or Sunrise (*Benedictine Service*, Bouterwek, *Cædmon*, CXCVI, on þære forman dæg-tide, þæt is be sunnan upgange). The sunrise-machinery of the poets has been treated by Gummere in his *Anglo-Saxon Metaphor*.

A few prose examples are gleaned from Bede's *Ecclesiastical History:* I, XXI (23), 476, 6, oðer hiora (cometa) foreeode þa sunnan on morgen þonne heo upgangende wæs, oðer on æfenne æfter fyligde þonne heo on setl eode; IV, III (3), 264, 22, from eastsuðdæle heofones þæt is from heanisse þære winterlican sunnan upgonge (Giles, III, 18, 6, ab euro-austro, id est ab alto brumalis exortus); V, XIII (12), 428, 24, suðeast on ðon rodor swa swa seo wintre sunne uppgongeð; V, XIII (12), 424, 20, ongen norðeast rodor swa sunnan upgong bið æt middum sumere.

Byrhtferð tells us something of the Prime service, *Handboc*, 123, *Anglia*, VIII, 319: "On þam dæge ys seo forme tid prima gehaten, on þære sceolon gemearcode cnihtas geornlice to gode clypian and þa six tida bliðelice wurðian mid sealmsange godes lof up ahebban. Swa se haliga wer, Ambrosius in dagum cwæð, 'Jam lucis orto sidere,'" etc. This is the hymn at Prime in the *Benedictine Service* (Bouterwek's *Cædmon*, CC). In the *Colloquy* of Ælfric (Wright-Wülker, 101) the young monk says: "Æfter þysum prim and seofon sealmas and letania and capitos mæssan.

Numerous examples of Primsang present themselves: *Benedictine Rule*, Translation (Schröer), XVIII, 40, 21, to primsange (prima hora); XVIII, 42, 7, to primsange (ad primam); XLVIII, 73, 9, fram primsange (a prima); LXVIII, 115, 13, 14, on þære forman tide þæs dæges, prima hora diei (cf. 115, 14, 15, on þære oðre tide, secunda hora diei); Gloss (Logeman), XV, 45, 16, prim (prima); XVI, 45, 6, primsanges (primae); XVI, 46, 13, primsang (prima); XVII, 47, 5; XXIII, 105, 13, on þære forman tide (prima hora); XVIII, 49, 1, 3, æt primsange (ad primam); XVIII, 48, 14–15, on þære forman tide on sunnandæge (prima hora dominica); XLVIII, 81, 12, fram primsange (a prima); *Concordia* (Logeman, *Anglia*, XIII), 246, 248, 478, 509, 510, 667, 735, 912, 944, prim; 248, primsang.

The "Oratio ad Primam" in the *Durham Ritual* is thus composed: (1). Deus qui ad principium hujus diei nos pervenire fecisti, etc., etc. (2). Domine Deus omnipotens qui nos in hanc horam matutinam secundam per nocturnas caligines pervenire fecisti. "Hora matutina secunda" implies, perhaps, that Uhtsang was "hora matutina prima;" or else reference may be had to the two hours of which Prime was composed (Durand, *Rationale*, v, 2, p. 138).

In connection with the hours beginning at Prime, I may refer to the daily life of the Virgin, Assmann, Grein, *Bibl. der A.-S. Prosa*, III, 127, Chap. X, Pseudo Matthaei Ev., line 341 (June 22): "And heo (Maria) gesette hyre sylfre haligne regol swa þæt heo wolde beon fram þære ærestan tide þæs

dæges on hyre halgum gebedum wuniende oð þæt þa þriddan tide and fram þære þriddan tide oð ða nigoþan tide ymbe hyre webb geweorc. And eft fram þære nigoðan tide heo þurhwunode standende on hyre gebedum oð þæt godes engel hyre ætywde."

Prime in Middle English.[1]

Prime has an interesting history. In the *Ancren Riwle*, p. 20, it appears in Canonical connection, but without its old "sunrise" meaning: "Prime iþe winter erlice, iþe sumor bivor deies;" p. 20 (Morris, *Selections*, IX, 311): "Also efter þe ancre cumplie [aðet prime] vort mid-morwen ne don no þing, ne ne singen hware þuruh hire silence muwe beon i-sturbed." Prime holds its place as a Canonical Hoûr in the *Holy Rood*, p. 223 (E. E. T. Soc., 46), and in the *Lay Folks Mass Book*, 86 (E. E. T. Soc., 71). Compare Horn, 977, bi pryme; 857, primetide.

Skeat, in his note to *Piers Plowman*, C. IX, 149, discusses the expression "hye prime," and shows that the Natural day (or day by the clock) is referred to. High Prime, Skeat believes, fell at 9 o'clock. Tyrwhit explains, in his note to Canterbury Tales, l. 3904, that the Prime period was a fourth part of the day (6–9 a. m.); and the long list of examples of the Chaucerian use of the expression, given by Skeat, *Astrolabe*, LXII, shows that Prime could be placed either at the beginning or end of this.

In his *Astrolabe* Preface, LXI–LXII, Skeat discusses the passage in the Nonne Preestes Tale, B. 4377, where Chanticleer's worth as a horologe is extolled; I defer to his article, and mention only the lines:

> "Caste up his eyen to the brighte sonne
> That in the signe of Taurus hadde y-ronne
> Twenty degrees and oon, and somwhat more

[1] Of the meaning of Prime we know, thanks to Skeat and Brae, a little more than when W. Carew Hazlitt explained it as Noon (cf. Lowell, "Library of Old Authors," *Essays*, Riverside Press ed., 1892, I, pp. 337–338).

He knew by kynde and by noon other lore
That it was Pryme, and crew with blisful stevene
The sonne, he sayde, is clomben up on hevene
Twenty (Forty) degrees and oon, and more y-wis."

The most superficial reader can see that Prime could not now be six o'clock, as the sun, at this hour, at this date, would not be far from the horizon.

By far the best authority on Chaucer's Prime is Brae, who leaves in his excellent essay on that subject (*Astrolabe*, 90–101) very little else to be said. The opinion of Brae and Skeat that Prime had, usually, at this time, the meaning of 9 o'clock is confirmed by these lines from the King's Quair, v, xx (Rogers' *Poetical Remains of James I*, 1873, p. 69; Skeat's *Specimens of Eng. Lit.*, 1394–1579, p. 386):

"Now hald thy grippis, quoth sche for thy time
An houre and more it rynis over prime
To count the hole, the half is nere away
Spend wele, therefore, the remanant of the day."

An hour or more over Prime or 9 o'clock causes half of the day to be "nere away." The three hours included in the Prime of this period—the Anglo-Saxon Prime included only "ipsa prima et secunda"—were called (Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, I, 224 sq.) Mane Plenum and Spatium orationum primarum.

When Prime acquired the meaning of 9 o'clock, it usurped the place of Undern (*infra*) as a meal hour; compare Shipman's Tale, B. 1396:

"And lat us dyne as sone as that ye may
For, by my chilindre, it is prime of day."

Prime in its earliest signification is not uncommon in later English poetry. Other examples may be added to those given in the *Century Dictionary*, sub "Prime," II, 2:

"Awake; the morning shines and the fresh field
Calls us; we lose the prime," etc.
(Paradise Lost, v, 20.)

"While day arises, that sweet hour of prime."
(Ibid., v, 170.)

"The season, prime for sweetest sents and airs."
(Ibid., IX, 200; compare Newton's Note.)

Tennyson-Turner employs the word in one of his best sonnets, "The Lattice at Sunrise" (Sharp's *Sonnets of this Century*, p. 233):

"Nightly and daily, like the flowing sea,
His lustre pierceth through the midnight glooms;
And at prime hour, behold! He follows me
With golden shadows to my secret rooms."

Undern.

The word Undern is common to all the Teutonic dialects, Fick, *Indogermanisches Wörterbuch*, VII, 34:

"An. Undern, Vormittag; Goth. Undaurni-mats, Mittagsessen; A. S. Undarn, Undern; Ags. Undern; Ahd. Untorn, Untarn; Mhd. Undern, Mittag, Mittags-essen."[1]

Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, s. v., "Morgen" assigns to Undaurns the meaning "Mittag." The single Gothic example, Undaurni-mats, translates the Greek ἄριστον ἢ δεῖπνον (prandium aut coenam), so it is impossible to determine the exact meaning in that dialect. According to the *Icelandic-English Dictionary* of Cleasby and Vigfusson (1874), the word occurs five times in Old Norse—once in the sense of mid-afternoon, twice as mid-forenoon, and twice as a meal-time, and is not found in provincial Icelandic of to-day. In Scandinavia (Ibid.) and in Bavaria (Schade, *Altdeutsches Wörterbuch*, 1872, s. v.) the word is used to indicate a "middle-meal," taken either in the forenoon or in the evening. Before the word had passed out of German literary use, it lost its old "morning" meaning and was equivalent to Merenda or Nach-

[1] Undern may possibly be connected with un-dyrne ("not dark") since it was the full morning hour. The forms of the word in other dialects rather sustain than oppose this view of its origin.

mittags (Lexer, *Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch*, 1876, s. v.). The *Century Dictionary* shows that Undern means literally "the intervening time" (< Under = between) and gives two divisions of its use in provincial or obsolete English: (1). Nine o'clock in the morning; the period from nine o'clock to noon; the canonical hour of terce. (2). Noon or afternoon; also a noon-meal. With this necessary introduction, I can begin my study of Undern.

Undern in Anglo-Saxon.

Undern meant to the Anglo-Saxon the time midway between Sunrise and Midday, and was to the morning what None was to the afternoon (Horology). The "Martyr Book," *Shrine*, 79, says, "On þa þriddan tid dæges ðæt is on undern," and the Benedictine service (Bouterwek, *Cædmon*, CCXIV) gives a characteristically symbolical reason why Undern should be celebrated: "Undern is dæges þriddan tide þonne is eac rihtlic þæt we to þære þriddan tide þa halgan þrynesse georn lice herian." Undern is always the gloss to Tertia Hora: Wright-Wülker, *Vocabularies*, 175, 44; *Benedictine Rule*, Gloss, XV, 45, 16, undersang = tertia; XVI, 46, 13, undernsanc = tertia; XVII, 47, 10, undersanges = tertiė; XVIII, 48, 17, undern-sang = tertia; XVIII, 49, 8, to undernsange = ad tertiam; XVIII, 49, 14, æt undernsange = tertiam; XLVIII, 82, 15, oð þære þriddan tide = usque ad tertiam; *Benedictine Rule*, Translation, XVII, 41, 3, on undern = tercia; XVIII, 42, 3–4, on undern = tercia; XVIII, 42, 5, on undern; XVIII, 42, 17, to undernsange = ad terciam; XVIII, 42, 22, on undern = ad tertiam; XLVIII, 73, 10, forneah an tid over undern = ad horam pene quartam—this shows the definiteness of Undern; XLVIII, 74, 4, an tid to underne = ad horam secundam; XLVIII, 74, 11, fram ærmorgen oð heane undern ("Winteney," fram ærne morgen oð heahne undern) = a mane usque ad terciam plenam; "Winteney," XLVIII, 99, 16, an tid toforan undern = hora secunda; *Concordia*, Logeman,

314, 315, 329, 331, 554, 672, 953, Undern = tertia; 57, Undersange (MS.) = tertia; *Anglo-Saxon Gospels*, Matt., XX, 3, ymbe undern-tide (Hatton, ymbe under-tid) = circa tertiam horam; Mark, XV, 25, undern-tid (Hatton, under-tid) = tertia hora."

Cockayne renders the "to middes morgenes" of *Leechdoms*, II, 116, 17, by 7 o'clock. "As the morning begins," he says, "at dawn and ends at Undern, our nine o'clock, the middle will be about seven on the average." The absolute incorrectness of his translation is shown, first by *Ecclesiastical Institutes*, XLV, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 488, where Undern is replaced by Middemorgenne, and secondly by the use of Mid-morrow for Undern in Middle English (*infra*). In Old Norse, "miðsmorguns" is not a synonym of "undurn," but falls at Prim (*Norges Gamle Love*, B. II, I, 308, cited by Cleasby-Vigfusson, s. v. Undorn); cf. Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary*, s. v. Undern.

The Anglo-Saxon Undern had, therefore, a definite signification and, unlike the Undern of later English, could mean only "tertia hora" or "mid-morning." Grein and Heyne, misled probably by Germanic analogies, translate "undernmael" (*Beowulf*, 1429) by "Mittag." Even Sweet's rendering (*Anglo-Saxon Reader*, Glossary to 14a/300, 20/178) "morning" is far too indefinite. Bright, *Anglo-Saxon Reader*, Glossary, s. v., gives "mid-morning" as an equivalent. In *Leechdoms*, II, 184, 25, on æfenne ge on underne, the "morning" meaning might possibly be preferred, but in nearly every case "tertia hora" is its synonym.

Other Anglo-Saxon examples sustain the above view: *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, A°. 530, A. B. C. F., fulneah healfe tid over undern (E. under); A°. 530, A. fram ærmergenne oð undern (cited *supra*); A°. 1122, E. fram þa undern dæies to þa swarte niht; *Blickling Homilies*—Morris's Glossary, s. v.: "the third hour in the morning, also the forenoon from nine to twelve"—93, 22, æt underne (wrongly translated, "at noon"); 93, 36, ær underne (before the third hour); 93, 15, ofer undern (after the third hour); 47, 17, undern-tid (9 o'clock); 133, 27, undern-

tid (translated, "undern-time"); 155, 19; 201, 25, æt þære þriddan tide; Ælfric's *Homilies*, I, 74, undern; I, 314, hit is undern-tid; I, 504, 22, ane tyd ofer undern; II, 74, eft on undern; II, 76, Ure cnihthad swylce undern-tide on þam unstihþ ure geoguþ swa swa seo sunne deþ ymbe þære þriddan tide (*supra*).

Undern in Canonical Usage.—Undern was, among the Anglo-Saxons, the time of the morning mass (Fosbroke, *British Monachism*, p. 27): Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, IV, XXIII, 38, 32, Fram undern tide, þonne mon mæssan oftost singeþ; Ælfric's *Homilies*, II, 358, 20, ymbe undern-tid, ða ða se broðor wæs gewunod to mæssigenne (Thorpe translates "ninth hour"); *Colloquy* of Ælfric (Wright-Wülker, 101, 17), syþþan undertide and dydon mæssa (MS.) be dæge; Byrhtferð, 126, *Anglia*, VIII, 320, 4, Hwæt þa halgan underntid arcebiscopas mid gehadedum þegnum kyrtenlice wynsumiað and þa æþelan munecas þære tide lof mid kyrriole and engla lofsange gewurðiað.

There were reasons for an important service at Undern (*Benedictine Service*, Bouterwek, *Cædmon*, CCXIV): "On undern we sculon God herian forþam on undern-timan Crist wæs þurh þæra Judêa dom to deaþe fordemed and toweard þære rode gelæd þe he siððan on þrowode for ealles middaneardes alysednysse. And eft æfter his æriste on pentecostenes dæg com se halga gast on undern-timan ofer þa apostolas."

I may mention here the "ær underne" of Aldred's very important autograph memorandum in the *Durham Ritual*, Stevenson, p. 185.

Undern as a Meal-time.—Undern was the Anglo-Saxon breakfast hour. Wright-Wülker, *Vocabularies*, 281, 30, undermete = prandium (æfenmete = coena); 479, 3, undern-mete = sub modio; Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, III, IV (6), 164, 30, æt his undernswæsendum (Giles, 280, 12, ad prandium); Ælfred robs the epigrammatic Latin, "Prandite tamque apud inferos coenaturi," of all its force (*Orosius*, Sweet, II, V, 84, 30): "Mid þæm þe hè sprecend wæs to his geférum æt his

underngereord ær he to þæm gefeohte fore: 'Uton ne brucan þisses undermetes swa þa sculon þe heora æfen-giefl on helle gefeccean sculon.'" *Pastoral Care*, XLIV, 322, 19, underngifl oððe æfengifl (Gregory, XX, C, M. *P. L.*, 77, 84, prandium aut coenam); *Blickling Homilies*, 99, 2, heora underngereordu and æfengereordu hie mengdon togædere; Salomon and Saturn, Kemble, 193, 59, On XII monþum þu scealt sillan þinum þeowan men, VII hund hlafa and XII hlafa buton morgen-metum and non-metum.

We have (in the *Leechdoms*) far more direct evidence to the time of the first meal. One sufferer with a bad digestion is directed (II, 178, 1) to take "to undernes" bread broken in hot-water or peeled apples; for another dyspeptic is prescribed (II, 194, 3) a very deadly diet of hard-boiled eggs, roots, lettuce, giblets, goose, etc.; other more unpalatable doses are ordered (II, 18; II, 140, LXIX; II, 346, 4), and finally the invalid is to "take his constitutional" at that hour (II, 182). Quite à tort I quote III, 196, that the 26th Moon, "fram undertid oð non nis na god mona blod lætan."

On fasting days the hungry faster was not allowed to compensate himself for the loss of breakfast (undern-gereord) and dinner by gastronomic prowess at the evening meal (æfen-gifle or gyfel) ("Ecclesiastical Institutes," XXXVIII, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 486): "On undern and on æfen" was the time of meals on Quadragesima Sundays (Ælfric, *Lives of Saints*, XII, 2).

Undern in Middle English.

Two things must be noted in studying the later history of the Anglo-Saxon hours:

I. As Canonical Hours they were rather comprehensive, including often the quarter of a day. This served to increase their vagueness and to prevent their names being limited definitely to single hours. In the case of Prime and Undern the hours of early-morning and mid-morning service were not changed, but the names came to be applied rather to the end

than to the beginning of the "spatium orationis." How None was used for a division of time, two hours before the old "nona hora," will be considered later.

II. The introduction of clocks into England during the 13th and 14th Centuries (*supra* sub Horologies) established "equinoctial" hours and caused the old temporary divisions to lose their meaning. This innovation did not affect Prime and Undern, which were not destined to live long in the language, as decidedly as it did None.

The Middle English examples of Undern that I shall give are not, of course, exhaustive; yet, in spite of their limited number, they will illustrate, I hope, the different stages in the word's history.

Two questions must be discussed under Undern:

A. The change of meaning in Undern itself.

B. The connection of Undern with Undermele and Undertide.

A.

(a). In religious poems and prose, scriptural events connect themselves immediately with certain hours and indicate their time.

In *Orm*, 19458 (Holt, 1878, II, 374), the meaning is not uncertain:

"Godes gast off heffne com
I firen onnlicnesse
Uppo the Laferrd Cristess hird
An dagg at unndern time."

The Gift of Tongues was at "hora tercia diei" (Acts, II, 15). In *Ancren Riwle*, 24, 426, it is equal, as in Anglo-Saxon usage, to Mid-morrow, and Ibid., 400, Under-tid is the time of the ascent to the cross (Mark, XV, 25, hora tertia). *Holy Rood*, p. 222 (*E. E. T. Soc.*, 46), "at hondren day on eode þe giwes grene; *Legend of St. Katharine*, l. 2940 (*E. E. T. Soc.*, 80, p. 122):

"Fridei onont te under
I þe dei and þe time
þ. hire deore leofmon

Jesuse ure loverd
Leafde lif on rode
Fur hire and fur us alle."

Latin—hora tercia, servans videlicet diem et horam. *Lay Folk's Mass Book*, 84 (*E. E. T. Soc.*, 71, 1879), tells of the cries of the Jews at the 3rd hour: "At the time of oundren þai gan cry and call;" Ibid., p. 131, l. 125 ("Vernon MS."), gives the time of travelers' masses:

"In þe morweninge ȝif þou may
And ȝif þou may not do so
I rede beo underne or þou go
Or elles be heiȝ midday."

William of Shoreham, Wright, p. 81, names: "Thyse oures of the Canone at matyn-tyde by nyȝte—at prime—at ondre—atte syxte tyde—atte none—at evesange—at complyn; Ibid., p. 84, "Crucyfige! Crucifige! Greddon hi at ondre" (tercia hora).

In *Cursor Mundi* (A. D. 1320), l. 16741, Undern has asumed the meaning of "midday:" "Be þis was undren on þe dai þat mirckend al þe light (cf. Matt., XXVII, 45; Mark, XV, 33; Luke, XXIII, 44, "Erat autem fere hora sexta et tenebrae factae sunt," etc.). The "midday" meaning of Undern is common in the speech of Wycliffe. Contrast with William of Shoreham's list (*supra*), the Canonical Hours in Wycliffe's *Rule of St. Francis* (Matthew, *E. E. T. Soc.*, 74, p. 41): "But late lewid freris seie four and twenti pater nostris for matynes, for laudes five, for prime, tierce (9 a. m.), undren (12 m.) and noon (3 p. m.), for eche of hem seven pater nostris and for evensong twelve and for compleyn sevene" (Note). Many examples are found in the Wycliffite versions of the *New Testament* (Forshall and Madden, 1850): Matt., XX, 3, thridde our (A. S. undern); Mark, XV, 25, Forsoth it was the thridde our that men clepen undrun (Variants, p. 136, unduren, undren, underne); Mark, XV, 33, and the syxte our or mydday (Variants, p. 137, or undurne); Luke, XXIII, 44, Sothly it was almost the sixte

our (Variants, our or middai, hour or underne); John, IV, 7, Sothli the our was the syxte or undurn (Var., midday); Acts, II, 15, It is thridde our of the day or underne.

In the South Undern retains its old meaning. As the passage from the *Cursor Mundi* indicates, the "midday" signification is doubtless one of the traces of the North in Wycliffe's work, or may indicate a Northern scribe. It is not surprising to find the word assuming before it disappeared from literature, the meaning "midday" in the very section where it was to have for centuries a signification unknown to the Anglo-Saxons.

(b). In non-scriptural usage it is harder to find the time. Bradley-Stratmann gives several examples of the word's occurrence, but I shall mention only instances that determine its meaning:

Old English Miscellanies, 33 (*E. E. T. Soc.*, 49), at undren and at midday also; 56, 657, at þon heye undarne (this has undoubtedly the "tercia plena" meaning of *Ben. Rule*, Trsl., XLVIII, 74, 11, quoted *supra*—cf. high prime, *Piers Plowman*, C. IX, 149, and "heie none," *Holy Rood*, 44, 308); *Alexander*, 5853 (*E. E. T. Soc.*, Extra Ser. 47), myd over underne (Skeat's Note); *Alliterative Poems*, A. 512 (Morris, *E. E. T. Soc.*, I; Gollancz, Pearl, 1891, stanza 43), aboute under: the Editor of *Catholicon Anglicanum*, s. v., Orendron and Gollancz, in his Edition de luxe, translate this as "Noon," but the sense of "third hour" is clear; *Holy Rood*, 721 (*E. E. T. Soc.*, 46, 82), betwix þe underen and þe prime; Chaucer, B. 4412, Till it was passed undern of the day: Morris, in his Clarendon Press Ed. of *Prologue, etc.*, Glossary, s. v., assigns Undern in the last passage to 11 a. m. I prefer to think with Brae (Essay on Prime, *Astrolabe*) that it is synchronous with the 9 o'clock Pryme of B. 4387 (Skeat, *Astrolabe*, LXI). Tyrwhitt explains Chaucer, v. 8136 (Clerk's Tale) = E. 260, "the time of undurne of the same day," as the third hour of the day or 9 o'clock; the original here has "hora prandii" from which we may, with reason, infer that Undern was in

Chaucer's day a meal-time. In v. 8857 (Tyrwhitt's Ed.) = E. 981, Undern translates "hora tertia." Thus, whatever may be true of the North, in the southerly counties, Undern retained to the end its Anglo-Saxon meaning.[1]

A few words about the later history of Undern: *Catholicon Anglicanum*, p. 261, gives these definitions: "Orendron—Meridies; Orendron-mete—Merenda; To ete orendron-mete —Merendinare." The *Promptorium Parvulorum* definition will be discussed later.

In the *Collection of North Country Words*, made by Ray in 1691 (*Eng. Dialect Soc.*, XV, 1874), cited by Skeat, *Etymological Dictionary*, and by the *Century*, we find numerous corruptions of Undern: "Aandorn sb. Merenda, an afternoon meal; Orndorns, afternoon drinking (Cumberland); Aunder or Oneder (Cheschire), Doundrins (Derby), Dondinner (Yorkshire) = afternoon drinking. Undern has thus acquired, in modern dialects, a meaning which, in literary English, it never assumed.

B.

Tyrwhitt, Glossary, is perplexed by the etymology of "undermeles," but refers to the passage cited by Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, Vol. I, VI, 36 (Ed. of 1777, I, p. 229 sq.), from the Town Book of Stamford, XVIII, E. IV: "It is ordeyned that no person opyn their sack or let the corn to sale before the hour of ten of the clok, or else the undernone bell be rongyn."

"Undertime," says Nares in his *Glossary* (London, 1876), "means Evening from Under and time, the inferior or under part of the day. It has no connection with Undern which, as we have seen, refers to an early hour before Noon." Skeat, *Etym. Dict.*, *Chaucer's Complete Works*, Notes to Canterbury Tales, p. 315, claims that such a connection exists.

[1] I cannot find the slightest authority for Skeat's statement (*Chaucer's Complete Works*, Notes to Canterbury Tales, p. 345; Glossary, s. v. Undern) that Undern meant sometimes 10.30 or 11 a. m., sometimes an afternoon hour.

The best argument against Nares' position is one from example. I cite some instances already mentioned: *Anglo-Saxon Gospels*, Matt., xx, 3, Hatton MS., under-tid; Mark, xv, 25, Corp. undern-tide, Hatton, under tid; *Ben. Service*, Bouterwek, *Cædmon*, ccxiv, undern-timan; *Beowulf*, 1429, undern-mael; Wright-Wülker, *Vocabularies*, 101, 17, undertid; 281, 30, under-mete; *Orosius*, ii, v, 84, 30, undermetes; *Leechdoms*, iii, 196, 8, undertid; *Concordia*, 57, undersang; *Ben. Rule*, Gloss, xv, 45, 16, undersang. To continue into Middle English the history of these forms: *Ancren Riwle*, 400, under-tid; Ritson, *Metrical Romances*, ii, 251, Orpheus 73, undertyde (cited by Bradley-Stratmann); Böddeker, "Harleian MS. 2253," p. 184, Geistliche Lieder, ii, 5, at under (9 o'clock); St. Katharine, 2940 (*supra*), onont te under; *All. Poems*, A. 512 (*supra*), aboute under. The above list shows the identity of Under and its compounds with Undern—a clear case of "phonetic decay."

Under-mele was however to change its meaning. Trevisa (v, 173) translates Higden's Latin, "meridiano tempore" by "under-mele-tide;" here the "Harleian MS. 2261" reads "in his meridien tyme." In Chaucer's well-known "undermeles and morweninges" (Wife of Bath's Tale, D. 875) an afternoon time is indicated, but the idea of repast is not necessarily present. That the name of the meal, however, was connected on certain occasions with the period of the day is shown very strikingly, Tale of Beryn, 226 (*Chaucer Society*, 2nd Ser., 17, 1876):

> "Then al this aftyr-mete I hold it for the beste
> To sport and pley us, quod the hoost, eeche man as him leste."

Ibid., l. 388:

> "They wissh and sett rigte as he bad each man with his frere
> And bigonne to talk of sportis and of chere
> þat they had the after-mete whils þey were out."

The context shows that "after-mete" was the period between the Midday-meal and Supper.

No very rigid laws can be applied to these hour-changes. An analogous case to the one that I am discussing presents itself. In many sections of America, certainly of the Southern States, Noon has the well-defined meaning of Midday, while Afternoon is used to cover the period between the 2nd and 3rd meals (roughly speaking, 3–7 p. m.). Just such a case is the one before us. Undern and Under-mele gradually became separated, the divergence being assisted by popular etymology[1] and by such reasons as I have given at the beginning of my treatment of the Middle English Undern. The difference in meaning is particularly striking in the *Promptorium Parvulorum* (1450), Way, 1865, p. 511: "Underne (Undyre and Undermele), Submeridianum, Submesimbria, C. F. In Mesimbria; Undermele, Postmeridies, Postmesimbria, Merarium." It will aid my discussion of None to note here that these meanings of Under-mele and After-mete constitute a strong argument in favor of a meal at Midday.

The later history of Under-mele has been traced by Nares. His examples (*Glossary*, s. v.) show that it was not an uncommon word in Elizabethan English, and that it then and later bore the meaning of Afternoon (Coles, *Eng. Dictionary*, 1677).

Middæg.

This Hour does not need much comment. In canonical use it was one of the less important services and is always the translation of Sexta hora or Meridies:

Benedictine Rule, Gloss (Logeman), XV, 45, 16; XVI, 46, 14; XVIII, 47, 10; XVIII, 48, 17, 49, 9, 49, 14; XXIII, 56, 13; XXXVIII, 70, 11–12; XLI, 73, 4; XLVIII, 81, 15, middægsang = sexta; Translation (Schröer), XVII, 41, 3; XVIII, 42, 4, 17, 23; XXIV, 42, 23; XXIV, 49, 7; XLVIII, 73, 11, middæg = sexta; *Concordia*, Logeman, 371 (twice), 674, 687, 955, 956, middæg = sexta.

[1] If "Under" had aught of its old "between" meaning, it was natural that "undermele" should fall in the afternoon, between dinner and supper.

In other texts it has the same meaning:

Orosius, III, v, 104, niht oð midne dæg (nox usque ad plurimam diei partem); IV, 7, 184, 28, niht oð midne dæg (nocte multa lucem claram effulsus); Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, II, XIII (16), 144, 12, æt middum dæge (Giles, II, 240, 3, die media); IV, VIII (7), 284, 16, þon sunnan leoht bið æt middan dæge (Giles, III, 40, 4, sol meridianus); IV, XXXIII (32), 384, 1, þa hit wæs foreweard middæges (Giles, III, 156, 8, imminente hora ipsius diei); V, VI (6), 402, 1, wæs hit huhugu seo seofoðe tid dæges, ðæt is an tid ofer midne dæg (Giles, III, 176, 16, erat autem hora diei circiter septima); V, XIII (12), 430, 7, oðþe ðære middæglican sunnan sciman (Giles, III, 206, 33, sive solis meridiani radiis). *Anglo-Saxon Gospels*, Matt., XXV, 5, ymbe þa sixtan tide; Matt., XXVIII, 45, fram þære sixtan oð þa nigoþan tide; Mark., XV, 33, and on þære sixtan tide; Luke, XXIII, 44, seo syxte tid; John, IV, 6, VII, 14, middæg; IX, 14, seo syxte tid. *Old Testament* (Grein, *Bibl. der A.-S. Prosa*, I), Gen., XLIII, 16, to middes dæges, meridie; Deut., XXVIII, 29, on midne dæg, in meridie; *Blickling Homilies*, 91, 28, on midne dæg; 145, 27, ær þære syxtan tide þæs dæges; Ælfric, *Homilies*, I, 108, 18, 228, 14, fram middæge oð non; I, 128, 12, ofer midne dæg; Ælfric, *Lives of Saints*, III, 341; XVIII, 16, oð ofer midne dæg; III, 590, middeges (at midday); III, 595, oð middæg; *Leechdoms*, I, 180, Chap. LXXVII, to middan-dæge; II, 28, 5, þonne middæg sie; II, 140, Chap. LXIV, on þreo tida, on undern, on middæg and on non; II, 146, Chap. LXXII; III, 74, 6, on middel-dagum; II, 288, 25, he sceal fæstan oð midne dæg; III, 186, 5; 188, 22; 190, 20; 194, 24; 196, 4, syxtan tide; Wright-Wülker, *Voc.*, 175, 45, sexta, middæg; 450, 5, middægtid, meridies.

The *Benedictine Service*, Bouterwek, *Cædmon*, CCXVI, enjoins a service of praise at Midday "forðon to middes dæges Crist wæs on rode aþened," etc.

The connection of Midday with the meal-time of the Anglo-Saxons will be considered under the head of None.

None.

Peck, in his *Desiderata Curiosa*, I, 124 sq., regards Noon as a contraction of the Latin "novus dies" and argues from this that the Saxons began the Natural Day[1] at Midday. He has been followed, it is needless to say, by no later writer. The Anglo-Saxon None, etymologically our Noon, has always the meaning of "nona hora:"

Benedictine Rule, Gloss, XV, 46, 5, none (Lat.); XV, 46, 14, nonsanc = nona; XVII, 47, 10–11, nonsanges = none; XVIII, 49, 15, æt nonsange = nonam; XXIII, 56, 14, to nonas = nona; XXXVIII, 70, 12, nones = none; XLI, 73, 7, oð non = usque ad nonam; XLI, 73, 15, to nonas = ad nonam; XLVIII, 81, 18; 82, 10; 82, 11–12, þære nontide = hore none; Translation, XVII, 41, 3; XVIII, 42, 4; XXIV, 49, 7, 8, on non = nona; XVIII, 42, 18, to nonsange = ad nonam; XVII, 42, 23, on non = ad nonam; XLVIII, 73, 14, sy se non geradod and sy gehringed þonne seo eahtoðe tid bið healf agan; XLVIII, 74, 12, an tid ofer non = ad decimam plenam; *Concordia*, 378, 483, 567, 674, 732, 734, 737, non = nona; 833, tide nones = hora nona. Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, IV, XIV, 296, 14, gefylledre nontide; *Shrine*, 80, 1, oð ða nigeðan tid þæt is þonne non; 85, 30, on ða nygeðan tide þæt is on ðone non. *Anglo-Saxon Gospels*, Matt., XXVII, 45; Luke, XXIII, 44, oþ þa nygoþan tide; Matt., XX, 5, ymbe þa sixtan and nigoþan tide; XXVII, 46, and ymbe þa nigoþan tide; Mark, XV, 33, oð non-tide = usque in horam nonam; XV, 34, to non-tid = hora nona; Ælfric's *Homilies*, I, 216, þa embe nontid; I, 228, fram middæge oþ non; II, 74, se non fram Moyse oð Dryhtnes to-cyme; II, 76, seo non-tid bið ure yld forðan ðe on non-tide asyhð seo sunne and ðæs ealdigendan mannes mægen bið wanigende (*supra*); II, 256, hwæt ða, ymbe midne dæg wearð middaneard aðeostrod and seo

[1] Let me emphasize here—as I have done in my first pages—the Saxon "Natural." As distinguished from the classical idea, it is always connected with equal hours.

sunne, behydde hire hatan leoman oð ða nigoðan tide, ðe we non hataþ (a reference to the Passion); *Leechdoms*, II, 140, Chap. LXIV, on non; II, 290, 7, to nones;[1] III, 186, 5, fram tide þære syxtan oð non god mona (4th Moon) blod lætan; III, 194, 3, oð ða nigoþen; III, 196, 4, 8, oð non; III, 196, 17, fram non-tide; Wright-Wülker, *Vocabularies*, 101, 19, we sungon non; 175, 46, non = nona hora. The *Benedictine Service* gives the reason for worship at this hour (Bouterwek, *Cædmon*, CCXVI): "On nontiman we sculon God herian forþam on þone timan Crist gebæd for þam þe him deredon and siððan his gast asende and on þone timan sculon geleaffulle men hi georne gebiddan" (cf. Bouterwek, CXC).

None as a Meal-time.

Wright, *Homes of Other Days*, 1871, p. 34, is inclined to consider None the meal-time, as Midday and not as one of the Canonical Hours. I shall take a very similar view of the Middle English None, but Wright's statement is certainly not true of the Anglo-Saxon dinner-hour.

The Glosses help us in finding the time of the 2nd meal; Wright-Wülker, *Vocabularies*, 147, 30, Merenda = Non-mete; 282, 13; 353, 28, Annona = Non-mete. Bells summoned the monks to their meals at None; *Ben. Rule*, Translation, XLVIII, 98, 5: "Siððan hy þone forman cnyll to none gehyren, gongen hy ealle from hyra weorce and don hy gearuwe þæt hi magon to cirican þonne man eft cnylle. Ðonne eft æfter heora nongereorde ('Winteney,' 99, 20, non-mete = refectio) ræden hy eft heora bec oððe hyra psalmas singan." The *Concordia*, l. 374, commands, with even more definiteness that, at the first none bell (primum signum nonae), the monks should wash their hands and prepare themselves for the repast. In the

[1] The adverbial phrases, "to nones," "to middes dæges" (Gen., XLIII, 16) are to be rendered, as the contexts show, "at noon," "at midday." "To æfenes" (Conf. Ecgberti, XXX, Th., *A. L.*, 355) means undoubtedly "till evening" (for this and like phrases, compare Sievers-Cook, *Old English Grammar*, p. 178, § 320, Note).

Colloquy of Ælfric (Wright-Wülker, *Voc.*, 103) the young monk places "the eating and drinking" after Middaysong, but in the *Benedictine Rule*, XLI, it is directed that the times of meals vary with the seasons: "From Easter to Pentecost let the brothers refresh themselves at the sixth hour (Logeman, 65, 14, þæs middæges gereord). During the Summer if the labors of the field do not hold them and the heat disturb them, let them fast even to None on Wednesday and Friday; on other days let them take their meals at the 6th Hour. From the Ides of September let them ever refresh themselves at None (to nones gereorden)." That the Anglo-Saxon drafters of the *Concordia* found such a variation of the meal-hour necessary is shown by their enjoining (l. 560) the monks to take "from Easter to Holyrood Day dinner at sext, followed by the meridien sleep; from Holyrood Day to Lent, on Wednesdays and Fridays in the Summer, and at all the fasts of the order, dinner at None." According to *Benedictine Rule*, Chap. XXIV, 49, 7, an excommunicated person should receive his dinner alone after the dinner-time of the brothers, if the brothers at Midday, he at Noon, if the brothers at Noon, he at Evening. That Noon was the dinner hour of all classes is indicated by an interesting entry in the *Chronicle* (E. 1140): "þerefter in þe Lengten þestrede þe sunne and te daei abuton non-tid daies þa men eten þæt men lihtede candles to æten bi."

None on Fast Days.

Bede tells us (*Eccl. Hist.*, III, 5, 162, 8) that, by the example of Bishop Aidan, it became the habit for all religious people to fast up to the ninth hour (to nones) on the fourth and six days[1] of the week except during fifty days after Easter.

[1] That honor was paid to Wednesday and Friday by the Anglo-Saxons, the Laws give ample evidence: Bouterwek, *Cædmon*, LV; Theodore, "Penitentiale," XVII, 6, Thorpe, *A. L.*, p. 283; "Excerptions" of Ecgbert, 108, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 335; "Constitutions" of Odo, Spelman, *Concilia*, p. 417, Johnson, 362; "Excerptions" of Ecgbert, XXXVI, Thorpe, 329; "Canons" of Ælfric, 37, Thorpe, 450; Edgar's Laws, II, 5, Schmid, 188; Athelred, V, 17, Schmid, 224; VI, 24, Schmid, 230; Canute, I, 16, Schmid, 262; Athelstan, V, 3, Schmid, 154; *Leechdoms*, III, 224.

Two of the MSS. of the "Confessionale" of Ecgbert, Archbishop of York, contain this interesting addendum (XXXVII, N. 6, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 358): "On þam ærran dæge æt geolum (y. = Bodl. Laud, F. 17, middan wintra) æt none, siððan mæsse byð gesungen heo gereordiað Romani; Grecas to æfenne, þonne æfen bið gesungen and mæsse, þonne foð hi to mete."

Wulfstan (*Homilies*, LV (1a), 284, 28; XXIX, (25), 136, 16; XVII (22), Sermo in XL, 102, 23) enjoins every healthy man to fast until None (to nones) on every Lenten day. *Ecclesiastical Institutes*, XXXIX, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 486, and the Sermon on the 3rd Sunday in Lent (Assmann, Grein, *Bibl. der A.-S. Prosa*, III, p. 140), unite in declaring that it is no fitting fast to take to meat as soon as one hears the none-bell (Sermon: "sona swa hy þæt belltacen gehyrað þære nigoþan tide, þæt is seo non-tid"); but it is proper to postpone the meal until after evening-service (Sermon, "æfenþenunge").

None in Middle English.

Johnson, Note to Edgar's *Canons* (Baron's ed., p. 410), explains thus the change in the meaning of None:

"The monks could not eat their dinner till they had said their noonsong, which was a service regularly to be said at three o'clock, but they probably anticipated their devotions and their dinner by saying their noondaysong immediately after their middaysong and presently falling on. But it may fairly be supposed that when Midday became the time of dining and saying noonsong it was for that reason called Noon by the monks." This is true in part. *Ancren Riwle*, p. 21, shows, however, that during a great part of the year the 2nd meal preceded Nones.

Skeat, *Etymological Dictionary*, Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, and the *Century Dictionary* claim that the time of the Church Service called Nones was altered and that the term came to be applied to Midday. My own view is this. The

time of None became settled at midday, after the introduction of clock hours and a fixed time-standard, because the None-meal was eaten at 12 o'clock. My reasons for this opinion may be thus stated:

1. Even in Anglo-Saxon times the time of the 2nd meal was varying. The examples from the *Benedictine Rule* and the *Concordia*, given under *None as a Meal-time*, show this.

2. The Canonical Hour, Nones, retained its meaning of 9th Hour long after None had been applied to Midday. To sustain this by example: Layamon, v. 31733 (Madden, 1847, III, 276), indicates a "ninth hour" meaning:

> "þa hit wes uppen non
> þa sunne gan to nipen."

Id., II, 163, v. 14039 (Bradley-Stratmann); II, 291, 17063 B.-S. are not determinative. "At midday and at none" of *Old English Miscellany*, p. 50 B.-S., and of the Parable of Vineyard, Böddeker (MS. Harl. 2253), 185, 1, shows a retention of the old signification. In the *Lives of the Saints* (c. 1300), 56, 217, 232 (Horstmann), the Canonical Nones retains its position: "& siþþe also prime and underne siþþe and middai and afterwardes non." Such is the case in the "York Hours of the Cross" (c. 1300) (*Lay Folks Mass Book*, E. E. T. Soc., 71, 86, 54):

> "At the tyme of none Jesus gun cry
> He wytte his saul to his fader."

And William of Shoreham (Wright, 1849, p. 86) connects the Hour with the death of Christ. Wycliffe always assigns to None the meaning of 9th Hour: *Rule of St. Francis*, p. 41 (*supra*); Matt., XX, 3, sixte hour and nynethe; Mark, XV, 33, til in to the nynthe hour, that is noon; Luke, XXIII, 44, to the nynthe hour (Variants, or none); Acts, III, 1, at the nynthe our of preying; Acts, X, 3, nynthe hour or noon. Noon is applied to Midday early in the 14th Century, but Nones, the time of holy worship, is still the 9th hour in the Roman Breviary and the Anglican Hymnal.

3. When None is applied to Midday it still remains the meal-hour. I trace rapidly its history. Very often None is a mere expletive: *Guy of Warwick* (*E. E. T. Soc.*, Extr. Ser., 25–26), l. 3342, till none; 5928, longe or none; *Generydes*, Wright, 180 (E. E. T. Soc., 55, 6), er it be none; Athelstan, *Reliq. Antiq.*, II, 90, or it be none; II, 95, or none. In King Horn, however, None is the dinner-hour (l. 358):

"Go nu quaþ heo sone
And send him *after none*
* * * *
l. 368, Horn in halle fond he þo
Before þe kyng on benche
[Red] wyn for to schenche
Horn quaþ he so hende
To bure nu þu wende
After mete stille
With Rymenhild to dwelle."

We find in *Concordia*, l. 484, þæne non na fylige scence; and the very expression None-chence is used as the name of donations to drink for workmen, Letter Book G., fol. IV (1354), Riley's *Memorials of London*, 265, Note 7 (cited Skeat's Note to *Piers Plowman*, IX, 158, Nuncheon). Another citation from Horn (l. 801):

"þe King him makede a feste
wiþ his knigtes beste
þer cam in at non."

At the end of the 13th Century, the very time of the introduction of clocks, None suffered change. The earliest undoubted example of a midday-meaning that I have discovered is from Horstmann, *Lives of the Saints* (1285–1300), 45, 402, 311:

"For þat is evene above þin heved rigt atþe nones stounde
Onunder þine fet evene it (the sun) is at midnigt onder þe grounde . . .
And noon it is benethen us! whane it is here midnigt."

Cf. Id., 27, 1469, 148; 39, 137, 264: Morris is wrong, however, in assigning such a meaning to *Specimens*, I, 3a, 81;

6a, b 255, etc. Ritson, *Metrical Romances*, II, 251, 73, points to a midday-meaning:

"And lete him slepe tyl after none
That the under-tyde was agane."

(Yet under-tyd may be postmesimbria). *Cursor Mundi*, 16764:

"Be þis it was þe dai sun gane
þat comen was to none."

The allusion is to Christ's death and the Canonical meaning is kept; but it is significant that in those texts (*Cursor Mundi* and Wycliffe), where Undern becomes Midday, None is the 9th Hour.

The 12 o'clock None is still the dining hour; *Piers Plowman*, C. 7, 429; 9, 146, Nones, the noon meal; 9, 290, None; 3, 100, before None. Skeat (Id., E. E. T. Soc., 67) shows in his Note, p. 165, to 9, 146, "that the hour named None is what we now call noon, viz., 12 o'clock," and that we are to understand the "anchorites and hermites as having but one meal a day and that at Midday?" In Chaucer the midday-meaning is fixed, *Astrolabe*, Part II, 4, 18: "I mene from XI of the clokke biforn the hour of noon til on of the clok next folwyng." Yet in the pseudo-Chaucerian *Tale of Beryn*, C. Series, II, 17, 169, the pilgrims dine at this hour:

"And sith þey drouȝ to dynerward, as it drouȝ to noon."[1]

Undermele and aftermete (*supra*) bespeak a Midday dinner, and the Glosses tell the same story: *Reliquiae Antiquae*, I, 6, "Liber Festivalis," non-mete, merenda; *Promptorium Parvulorum*, p. 360, nun-mete, merenda, anticinium, receives a copious note from Way (Id., 360, IV, 3). The word "Nooning" that he cites is in itself a strong argument for the close connection between Noon and the Middle English meal-time

[1] Although Wright, *Homes of Other Days*, p. 405, quotes largely from the *Tale of Beryn*, he does not mention this very important line. It would perhaps interfere with his theory (p. 261) of an early breakfast, a 9 o'clock dinner, and a 5 p. m. supper.

(Way s. v. Bever; Hampson, *M. A. Kalendarium*, s. v.). The change in meaning is therefore to be looked for in the shifting of Nooning and Nuncheon to Midday.[1]

Æfen.

A good definition of the time of Æfen is found in *Allit. Poems*, A. 512 (*E. E. T. Soc.*, 64):

"At the day of date of even-songe
An oure byfore the sonne go doun."

This allows for the change of the Artificial Day, and corresponds exactly to the definition of Durand, *Rationale*, v, ii, 138,

[1] Noon or 12 o'clock was undoubtedly the meal-hour in 1475, according to "MS. Harl. 5086, fol. 86–90," *The Babees Book*, 129 (*E. E. T. Soc.*, vol. 32 (1868), p. 5):

"At none
Whenne that ye se youre lorde to mete shall go."

The Ballads furnish the same evidence; compare Gest of Robyn Hode, Second Fytte, stanza 143 (Gummere, *Old English Ballads*, 1894, p. 21):

"So longe abode Robyn fastinge
Thre houres after the none."

Id., stanza 156:

"Therefore he was fastinge
Til it was past the none."

Now what relation did the French Nonne bear to the English None, and what influence did the French hours exert upon those that we have been studying? Almost none. Godefroy's Dictionnaire (1888) s. v. Nonne, and the Indexes in the Publications of the Société des Anciens Textes Français show that Nonne had originally the meaning of "ninth hour," but that it appears, in the sense of Midday, in late 15th Century texts. No French critic has as yet fixed the times of Froissart's hours; but they furnish no difficulty. I mention them with the determining references: Prime or 6 o'clock (*Chroniques*, i, lxxxvii; i, ccii); Tiers or 9 o'clock (*Chron.*, i, xl, et le quart jour jusques à heure de tierce; i, lvii; i, cclxx); Midi or Midday (i, cclxxxi, Jusques à heure de midi); Grand Midi or Fully (Lat. plena) 12 o'clock (i, xciii, jusques à grand midi; cf. Chaucer's "Prime large," Brae's essay); Petite Nonne immediately follows Grand Midi (i, xciii); Haute Nonne or L'heure de Nonne, 2–3 o'clock (i, clxxv,

vesperae vero representant undecimam; V, III, 139, item in vespera, quia tunc incipit dies finire."[1]

Many examples of the use of Æfen present themselves: *Benedictine Rule*, Gloss, XV, 45, 17, æftersang (mistake for æfensang) = vespera; XVI, 46, 14; XVIII, 50, 5, æfensanc = vespera; XVII, 47, 15, æfentidsanc = vespertina synaxis; XVIII, 50, 18, sealmsanga æfensanga = psalmorum vespertinorum; XLI, 73, 5, to æfenne = ad seram; compare XXIV, 56, 14; XLI, 74, 1 (twice); XLII, 74, 6; XLVIII, 82, 2; Id., Translation, XIII, 38, 15, æfensang = vespertina; XVII, 41, 19, þæs æfensanges lof = vespertina synaxis; XVIII, 43, 7, se æfensang = vespera; XVIII, 43, 18, "Winteney," 57, 19, to þam æfendreame = in vespera (cf. Grein, *Sprachschatz*, s. v. "dream"); XXIV, 49, 8, on æfen; XXXIX, 63, 16–17, to þam æfengifle = cenaturi; *Concordia*, 488, 500, 534, 592, 662, 675,

La commenca grand assaut qui dura jusques à haute nonne (jusques après midi); environ heure de nonne; I, XXXIX, entour heure de nonne; I, CCCVI, et commenca la bataille (a long battle) environ heure de tierce et dura jusques à haute nonne; III, LVIII, à un heure après nonne); Basses Vespres or Before Vespers; Vespers or Evening (I, XXXV; I, XXXIX, à basses vespres; I, XLIX, sur l'heure de souper; I, CCXXXI, jusques aux vespres; I, XXXVI, après nonne sur les vespres; I, CCLIX, de vespres jusques à la nuit). Minuit, Point de jour, and Haut jour are mentioned frequently. Buchon (*Chroniques de Froissart*, 1835) puts Nonne at Midday, and Scheler (*Oeuvres de Froissart*, Brussels, 1870–1874, Glossaire, s. v. Nonne) doubts this but leaves the question undecided. As I have shown above the passages themselves settle the matter. In the *Buke of John Mandeville*, Roxburgh Club, 1889, p. 81, where the French text, MS. Harl. 4383, reads, "de tierce du jour jusques à basse none," the English translator (Egerton MS. 1982) gives, "fra undren of þe day to it be passed none;" again, *Id.*, p. 149, "du tierz de jour jusques à noune" is rendered by "fra undrun of þe day til efter noone." The French Haute Nonne is not the original of High Noon (*Holy Rood*, 44, 308). Heah Undern is found in an Anglo-Saxon text (*Ben. Rule*, Transl., XLVIII, 74, 11) as the translation of Tercia Plena; and again, the French hour changed its meaning after the English.

[1] How changed was the meaning of Evening in Shakspere's day, a rather unquotable passage from Romeo and Juliet (II, IV, 98 sq.; cf. Notes, *Variorum Ed.*) proves. To give point to Mercutio's waggery, Evening must begin at noon-tide. As the *Century Dictionary* has shown, Evening retains this meaning until to-day in England and the Southern United States.

930, 1017, æfen = vespera; 388, 450, 711, 964, æfensanc = vespera; 1035, æfenlof = laus vespertinalis; 400, 405, 723, 828 (MS., æfterræding), æfenræding = collatio.

This hour of the day appears frequently in non-canonical usage: Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, I, XVIII, 92, 13; III, I, 156, 25; IV, III, 270, 35; IV, XXV, 346, 28; V, XXII, 476, 9, on æfenne; I, XVI, 84, 27, ær æfenne; III, VIII, 180, 21, in æfentiid; IV, XXV, 346, 28, on æfenne þære neahte; V, VI, 402, 2, oð æfen . . . . ða hit æfen wæs; I, I, 26, 2, swa þæt oft on middre nihte geflit cymeð þam behealdendum, hwæðer hit si þe æfenglommung ðe on morgen deagung = Giles, I, I, Vol. II, 30, 29, utrum crepusculum adhuc permaneat vespertinum an jam advenerit matutinum (cf. Guthlac, 1265, fram æfenglome); *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, D. E. F., 979, on æfentide; E. 1106, 1110, on æfen; E. 1106, ælce æfen . . . . sumne æfen; E. 1118, ænes æfenes; "Confessionale Ecgberti," XXX, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 355, to æfenes; *Epistola Alexandri*, Baskerville, *Anglia*, IV, l. 294, an tid to æfenes; 523, on æfen; 534–5, mid þy hit æfenne neahlehte; 537, on þone æfen; *Anglo-Saxon Gospels*, Matt., VIII, 16, þa hit æfen wæs = vespere autem facto; Matt., XIV, 15, þa hit wæs æfen = vespere autem facto; Matt., XVI, 2; Mark, XIII, 35, on æfen; Mark, XXV, 20, on þam æfenne; XXVIII, 1, þam reste dæges æfenne; Mark, IV, 35, þonne æfen bið; XV, 42, ða æfen wæs geworden; Luke, XXIV, 29, æfenlæcð = advesperascit; *Old Testament*, Gen., I, 5, 8, 13, 19, 23, 31, and wæs geworden æfen and mergen; Ex., XII, 6; XII, 18 (twice); XVI, 13; XXIX, 38, 41; Deut., XXVIII, 67, on æfen; Gen., XIX, 1; Joshua, II, 5, on æfnunge; Ex., XVI, 12, to æfen; Deut., XXVIII, 67, æfenes; *Blickling Homilies*, 241, 27; 47, 18; 93, 3; 91, 34, æfen; 245, 10, on æfenne; Ælfric's *Homilies*, I, 216, 25–26, ær æfenne; I, 452; II, 242, 22; II, 334, 34; II, 348, 18; II, 266, on æfnunge; II, 350, 4, on þam æfenne; II, 370, 1, þisne æfen (Eve of Festival); Ælfric's *Lives of the Saints*, III, 259; XXIII, 440, 472, on æfen; III, 583, oð æfen; XI, 43, 153, on æfnunge; XIX, 87, oð æfnunge; XV, 58, on

æfentiman; XIII, 27, oð þæt hit æfnode; XXIII, 245, mid þe þe hit æfnian wolde and seo sunne sah to setle; XXIII, 449, to æfen; XXIII, 533, gyrstan æfen; Assmann, *Pseudo Matthaei Evangelium* (Grein, *Bibl. der A.-S. Prosa*, III, III, p. 123), Chap. X, l. 225, oð ðæt æfen wæs; III, 196; XVIII, 24–25, ænes æfenes; Wulfstan, *Homilies*, XXX (26), p. 151, 16, forðam we us nyton witoð lif æt æfen, ne we nyton þonne we to ure reste goð hwæðer we moton eft dæges gebidan; *Leechdoms*, I, 256; II, 356; II, 28, 5, on æfen; I, 386, ælce æfen; II, 190, 3, æfter æfen geweorc; II, 190, 18, þonne he slapan wille on æfen; II, 26, 22, on æfenne; III, 106, 10, twegen sticcan fulle a æfen, twegen a morgen (à æsnung, Schröer, *Ben. Reg.*, 80, 5, should be read à æfnunge); III, 188, 22 [oð] æfen; III, 196, 17, oð æfen.

The reasons for observing Evensong are many, we are informed by the *Benedictine Service*, Bouterwek, *Cædmon*, CXC, CCXVIII:

"On æfen we sculon God herian. On þone timan man offrode on þære ealdan æ and mid recelsreocan on þam temple þæt weofod georne weorðode Gode to lofe, and on æfen-timan ure dryhten offrode æt his æfengereorde, and dælde his discipulum, þurh halig geryne, hlaf and win for his sylfes lichaman and for his agen blod. And on æfen-timan hit wæs þæt Joseph Cristes lichaman of rode alinode.

In the Evening the moon was created, and ever since in the Evening renews its age (Bede,[2] *Leechdoms*, III, 264, 25; Byrhtferð, 75, *Anglia*, VIII, 309, 15). For example of Æfen and its compounds in Anglo-Saxon Poetry, compare Grein, *Sprachschatz*, and Bosworth Toller.

Æfen as a Meal-time.

The Glosses give good evidence that the third meal-time of the Anglo-Saxons was the 11th hour: Wright-Wülker, *Vocabularies*, 147, 29, æfengereord = cena; 281, 31, æfenmete = cena; *Benedictine Rule*, Gloss, XXXIX, 71, 1, æfen-

þenunge = cenae; 71, 3, on æfenþenungum = coenaturis; XLI, 74, 4, æfenþenunge = cene (distinction made between Cena and Refectio); XLII, 74, 10, fram æfenþenunge = a cena; Id., Translation, XLI, 66, 7, æt þam gereorde; XLII, 66, 15, seo tid æfengereordes = tempus cenae; XXXIX, 63, 16–17, to þam æfengifle = cenaturis; *Concordia*, 1030, æfengereord = cenaturi (?); 1034, æfengereord = cena; 1030, æfenþenung = cena = vesperum officium (823).

Wright in *Homes of Other Days*, 34, regards the time of the evening-meal as uncertain. *Benedictine Rule*, Chap. XLI, however, declares that it must end before dark, and very much the same rule was enjoined by the *Concordia* (cf. Fosbroke, *British Monachism*, p. 30). The supper-hour of the laity was doubtless at the same hour.

Other texts mention this meal: Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, III, VIII, 184, 23, æfter his æfengereorde; *Pastoral Care*, XLIV, 322, 19, underngiefl oþþe æfengiefl = prandium aut coenam (*supra* sub Undern); *Blickling Homilies*, 67, 26; 99, 22, æfengereordu; 73, 5; 142, 6, æt þæm æfengereordum (N. H. G. abendmahl).

In the early illuminated MSS. dinner scenes are not uncommon. Ælfric's Version of Genesis, MS. Cotton Claudius, B. IV, fol. 36 (Wright's *Homes*, 34, Cut 14), represents Abraham's feast on the birth of his child. MS. Cotton Cleopatra, C. VIII, fol. 15 (Id., 36, Cut 16), pictures "Psychomachia prudentius;" underneath the cut is written, "seo Galnes to hire æfengereordum sitt." Compare MS. Cott. Tiberius, C. IV, fol. 5 (Id., 35, Cut 15).

In strict fasts only one meal a day was eaten; compare *Lives of the Saints*, XX, 41:

> "Be hire (St. Æthelthrytha) is awryten þæt heo wel drohtnode
> To anum mæle fæstnende butan hit freolsdæg wære."

Not only the examples of Saints but ecclesiastical institutes limited good churchmen to a single repast on fast-days; and this repast was at Vesper-tide, *Eccl. Inst.*, XXXVIII, Thorpe,

A. L., 486: Đæt lengten fæsten man sceal mid swiþe healicre gymene healdan swa þæt þær nan dæg ne sy butan sunnandagum anum þæt ænig man æniges metes bruce ær þære teoðan tide oððe þære twelfte." Compare *Eccl. Inst.*, XXXIX–XL, *A. L.*, 486 (Sub None).

Compline.

The numerous examples of the word in the *Century* and the *Oxford* Dictionaries place beyond question the time of the last service of the day. That Compline fell an hour after Evensong in the 13th Century we know from the testimony of Durand (*Rationale*, 164, V, X, 12): "Restat ultima hora ad quam pertinet completorium quod notat hymnus." Three centuries before this the "ultima hora canonica" of *Concordia*, 413, had been translated "on ytemystre tide riht gesetre."

The canonical texts all agree in their rendering of Completorium: *Benedictine Rule*, Gloss, XVI, 46, 6, nihtsanges = completoriique; XVII, 48, 15, nihtsang = completorium; XLII, 67, 9, nihtsang singan (compleant); XVIII, 44, 5; XLII, 67, 11, nihtsanc = completorium; *Concordia*, 407, 408, 409, 440, 448, 662, 677, 828, 865, 925, 986, 1024, completorium = nihtsang. Wright-Wülker, 207, 44, completorium = gefylling-tide should be compared with *Ben. Rule*, Gloss, XLII, 75, 5, compleant = gefyllan.

Completorium had, however, other Anglo-Saxon equivalents: Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, II, IX, 126, 31, þa ecde he to his inne þær he hine restan wolde—wæs foreweard niht; V, XIII, 422, 28, In forewearde neaht; Ælfric, *Homilies*, II, 184, 26, oð forð nihtes; *Leechdoms*, I, 88, On forannihte; *Blickling Homilies*, 47, 19, completorium = sixtan siþe on niht ær he ræste; *Benedictine Service*, Bouterwek, CCXVIII, forannihtsang = completorium; compare XVI, 46, 14; XVIII, 51, 2; XLII, 75, 6; Id., Translation, XVII, 41, 14, nihtsang, de completorio: "On foranniht we sculon God herian ær we to bedde gan and gemunan þæt Crist on byrgene neah forannihte bebyrged weard" (cf. Mark, XV, 42, "et jam sero facto, etc." In Wright-Wülker,

175, sero = bed-tid). When the young monk is asked (Wright-Wülker, 102), "hwænne wylle ge syngan æfen oððe nihtsang (completorium)?" he does not help us much by his answer, "þonne hit tyma bið."

The examples in the last paragraph indicate that the Anglo-Saxons retired at Completorium. That this was the procedure of the monks, *Ben. Rule*, XLII, indicates. Bouterwek, in his note on the word (*Cædmon*, CXCIII), shows that Compline was said in the dormitory and cites *Chrodegang's Rule*, XXIII, to prove that after it the greatest silence was to be observed. In the full description of the service, in the *Concordia*, we have further evidence that the friars sang the Compline before dark, and went early to their beds.

Conticinium and Intempesta Nox.

Although Conticinium and Intempesta Nox are not Canonical Hours, no study of the Anglo-Saxon Day can be complete without an understanding of their position and meaning.

Conticinium held a definite position as one of the divisions of the night. It is the time of the first Hancred (*supra* s. v.), the hour, "þonne ealle þing sweowiað on hyra reste" (Bede,[2] *Leechdoms*, III, 240), and the period of the "first sleep:" *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, E. 1131, æt þe forme slæp; *Daniel*, 108, on frumslæpe; compare Du Cange, *Glossarium* and Godefroy s. v. Primsomne.[1]

Conticinium falls near the times mentioned in the *Epistola Alexandri* (Baskerville): l. 312, Ða wæs seo þridde tid þære nihte þa wolde we us gerestan; 333, þa hit wæs seo fifte tid þære niht þa mynton we us gerestan.

The glosses furnish us with translations of Conticinium:

Wright-Wülker, 117, 9, Conticinium = { Cwyltid / or / Gebedgiht.

[1] This recalls Shelley's, "the first sweet sleep of night" (Lines to an Indian Air).

Wright-Wülker, 211, 41, Conticinium = Cwyldtid vel Swegnes.

Mone B. (*Q. F.*) 3747, Conticinium = Cwylseten.
" " " 3748, Conticinio = Cwylsetene.
" " " 4677, Galli Cantu = Cwyldsetene.

New Aldhelm Glosses (Logeman, *Anglia*, XIII, 35), 205 } Conticinio = Cwyldsene (cf. Note).

Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology* (Stallybrass), II, 739 notes: "Old Norse and Anglo-Saxon distinguish between two periods of the evening, an earlier, 'aptan,' 'æfen,' 'vespera' and a later, 'queld,' 'cwild,' 'conticinium.'" Grimm derives "cwild" from "cwellan" and explains it rightly by the falling or felling of the day or still better by a deadlike hush of night. His translation of "cwildrofu eodon on laðra last" (*Cædmon*, l. 151) by "(belluae) vesperi famosae ibant in vestigia malorum" seems however a little forced.

The best definition or translation of the word is in the words of Byrhtferð, 124, *Anglia*, VIII, 319: "Conticinium ys switima oððe salnyssa timan" (*supra*).

Bede,[2] Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, III, 240, puts Intempesta Nox as the fourth division of the night; it is glossed by Midniht, Wright-Wülker, 175, and Byrhtferð, 124, *Anglia*, VIII, 319, calls it "unworelic tima." It might also be characterized by an expression found in Bede's *Eccl. Hist.*, II, VI, 114, 16, þære deahlan neahte = secretae noctis. The period is well described by Bede, *De Orthographia* (Giles, VI, 17): "Intempesta nox est media nox, quando quiescendum hinc utique dicta quia inopportuna est actioni vigilantium."

Midnight holds an interesting place in Anglo-Saxon creeds; compare Byrhtferð, *Anglia*, VIII, 307, 10:

"Eac he cwæð þæt middaneard wære gesceapen on middere niht, þæt he eft sceal beon on middere niht toworpen and we gelyfaþ þæt hit swa mæg beon forðam cwyde þe god ælmihtig cwæð on middere niht wæs mycel hream geworden. Nu cymð se brydguma, þæt ys Crist, to dome."

I give a few examples of the word in the prose texts: Bede's *Eccl. Hist.*, II, IX, 128, 15, on midre niht (Giles, II, 224, 10, intempestae noctis silentio); III, I, 156, 30, æt middre neahte; IV, X, 286, 12, on midde neaht; IV, XXV, 346, 34, ofer midde neahte; *Anglo-Saxon Gospels*, Matt., XXV, 6, to middere niht; Mark, XIII, 35, on midre nihte; *Old Testament*, Ex. XI, 4, to middre nihte = media nocte; Ex. XII, 29, to middre nihte = in noctis medio; Judges, XVI, 3, to midre nihte = ad medium noctis; Ælfric's *Homilies*, I, 226, 28; II, 568, 3, 16, 17, 20, on midre niht; I, 246, 33; II, 518, 24, on middere niht; II, 336, 2, on þære þriddan nihte middan; *Lives of the Saints*, V, 469; XI, 120; XV, 60, on middere niht; VIII, 131, on middre niht; XI, 44, oð midde niht.[1]

Chapter II.

The Rubrics to the Anglo-Saxon Gospels.

þa þe se hring ealles geares in weorðunge symbeldaga abædde eac swilce stafum awrat and on bec gesette (Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, IV, XX, 314, 22).

As I have already said in my general introduction, my aim in this chapter is to present in Calendar form the Rubrics of the Anglo-Saxon Gospels, and to trace, by a comparative study of other liturgies, the connection between text and date from the early days of the Church until our own time.

The study is so attractive that I feared anticipation from the "inevitable German;" and my apprehensions were in part

[1] The other hours have been mentioned for the most part in connection with the Hours of the Canons; yet a few occurrences remain to be noted: *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, D. E. 800, on þære oðre tid on niht; F. 809, on angynne ðare fifte tide ðas dagas; A. B. D. 879, C. 880, ane tid dæges; *Eccl. Hist.*, III, XIX, 240, 22, ymb þa teogðan tid dæges (Giles, II, 380, 13, hora circiter decima diei; G. translates wrongly, "about 10 o'clock in the morning"); IV, XXXIII, 382, 34, seo aftere tid dæges; *Epistola Alexandri*, Baskerville, 223, 269, seo eahtoðe tid dæges; 253, 254, 488, 489, sio endlefte tid dæges.

realized. In this case, however, the disturber of hopes was a scholar of the first half of the last century. When my work was in its present form, I discovered that a Calendar of Rubrics had been made with admirable correctness by Schilter (*Thesaurus Antiquitatum Teutonicarum*, Ulmae, 1728, Vol. I, Part II, 63–69) from Marshall's Edition of the Gospels. As his work is accessible only to a few, and as his Tables do not trace the history of the Rubrics, the value of an independent tabulation is, however, not diminished.

Hampson has printed (*Medii Aevi Kalendarium*, I) a number of Anglo-Saxon Calendars and has discussed them at length, while Piper (*Kalendarien*; see Bibliography) has studied the same subject most carefully. Marshall in his Notes to the Rubrics (*Gospels*, 1684, pp. 508–538) and Bouterwek in *Calendewide* (Bibliography) have collected much valuable material. In my Notes I have gathered a few "screadunga," hitherto overlooked. Of these crumbs I need say no more, as the work of the annotator is explanatory of itself.

To speak now of details. The Rubrics are contained in the Cambridge MS., Ii 2, 11, of the Gospels (A), which Skeat (Preface to Mark, VII) assigns to the locality of Exeter and dates about 1050 A. D. Into an older MS. (B) the Bodley NE. F., 3, 15 (now Bodley 441), a number of the A. Rubrics were inserted during the time of Archbishop Parker (Skeat, l. c.). A few both of A. and of B. Rubrics were omitted by Marshall—although he used both MSS.—and, therefore, have no place in Schilter's Calendar. The tables of lessons in the Lindisfarne MS. (Nero D. 4)—i. e., the prefatory Capitula—are "left obscure owing to the lack of prefixed numbers" (Skeat); text and date are never connected. These have been drawn upon in my Notes, when they can furnish help. Bouterwek printed this material in his *Screadunga* (1858), 1–4.

Now, the key to the information furnished by my Tables. I explain first the abbreviations: C. = Liber Comitis of St. Jerome (Hieronymus), 420 A. D. (M. *P. L.*, 30, 503–

548);[1] G. = Homilies of Gregory, 590 A. D. (M. *P. L.*, 76); B. = Homilies of Bede (Giles, *Works of Bede*, Vol. v); A. = Homilies of Ælfric (Thorpe, 2 vols.); Bl. Hom. = Blickling Homilies (Morris); K. = Old Kentish Sermons (*E. E. T. Soc.*, 49 (1872), 26 ff.); W. = Sermons of Wycliffe (Thomas Arnold, Oxford, 1869, 3 vols.); O. G. = Old German Sermons (Wackernagel, Basel, 1876); S. Y. H. = Salisbury, York, and Hereford Usage (*Sarum Missal in English*, London, 1868, Appendix B, p. 605, cited Blunt, *Annotated Prayer Book*); P. E. = Protestant Episcopal; R. = Roman; E. = Eastern; L. = Lutheran. The numbers to the right of G, B, O. G, W, above the line, indicate the number of the Homily or Sermon; A. and Bl. Hom. are cited usually by number of Homily, sometimes by page; in other cases the dates furnish sufficient reference.

When no text follows the letters cited, let it be understood that the text is that of the Anglo-Saxon Rubric. For the sake of clearness I explain in full two of the dates. Under January 1 the letters C; B^{22}; A., I, VI; etc., show that the text for New Year's Day in all of those liturgies is that of our Anglo-Saxon Rubric, Luke, II, 21; here the Luke, II, 15–21 of the P. E. service, as indicated in the Table, proves an exception. Again, under February 11, all liturgies have for Quadragesima Sunday the text of the Anglo-Saxon Halgan Dæg, Matt., IV, 1. A slight lack of correspondence is often indicated in the Table.

It will thus be seen that my purpose is a far-reaching one: to show, by clear tabulation, the vitality of the Evangelarium, and the persistence of many of the earliest of Church lessons; to explain how, after centuries of life, certain Gospels disappeared from the services of Feast and Fast; and finally to give the proper historical value to Anglo-Saxon Rubric and to Modern text. If my statistics succeed in this, they will

[1] This is very important, as it contains the first arrangement of Gospels; but it is hard to compare, as it reckons by fixed fasts, particularly after June 29th.

seem to me an Ἰχθύς, full of a suggestiveness far transcending its literal meaning.

Rubrics to the Anglo-Saxon Gospels.[1]

Dec. 24.—Midwinter Mass-even, Matt., I, 18. C; B[50]; W[89]; E (Christmas Day).

Dec. 25.—Midwinter Mass-night for the first Mass, Luke, II, 1. C; G[8]; B[44], In Galli Cantu Nat. Dom; B[45], In Aurora, Luke, II, 15; B[46], Ad summam missam, John, I, 21; A., I, II; W[90]; R, Midnight; L.

Dec. 26.—St. Stephen's Mass-day, Matt., XXIII, 34. C; W[91]; P. E; R.

Dec. 27.—St. John the Evangelist's Mass-day, John, XXI, 19. C; B[35]; W[92], John, XXI, 15; E; P. E; R.

Dec. 28.—Cilda Mæsse-dæg, Matt., II, 13. C; B[36]; A., I, V, Matt., II, 1–15; E; P. E; R.

Dec. 31.—Mass-day of St. Sylvester and other Confessors, Matt., XXV, 14. C; G[9], Matt., XXV, 14–30.

Dec. 31.—Sunday between Midwinter's Mass-day and 12th Day, Luke, II, 33. W[94], 6th day after Christmas; R; L.

Jan. 1.—8th Mass-day to Midwinter, Luke, II, 21. C; B[22]; A., I, VI; W[95], New Year's Day; E; R; P. E, Luke, II, 15–21; L.

Jan. 5.—12th Even, Matt., II, 19. C; W[46], Vigil of Epiphany.

Jan. 6.—12th Day, Matt., II, 1. C; G[10]; B[37] (John, I, 29; Matt., III, 13; Mark, I, 9; Luke, III, 21); A., I, VII; K; W[97]; O. G[xv]; P. E; R; L;

Jan. 10.—Wednesday after 12th Day, Matt., III, 13. S. and H, Octave of Epiphany.

Jan. 12.—Friday after 12th Day, Matt., IV, 12. Y; H.

Jan. 12.—Friday, 1st Week after Epiphania Domini, John, VI, 27.

[1] Easter has been placed at March 25.

Jan. 13.—Ðys gebyraŏ on þone VIII dæg Godes Ætywednysse, John, I, 29. C; B[23] (John, I, 29; Matt., III, 13; Mark, I, 9; Luke, III, 21); W[30], Sunday in Octaves of Epiphany.

Jan. 14.—Sunday, 2nd Week after Epiphany, John, II, 1. C; B[18]; A., II, IV; K; W[33]; P. E; R; L.

Jan. 21.—3rd Sunday after Epiphany, Matt., VII, 28. C, A., I, VIII, W[34], K, P. E, R, and L = Matt., VIII.

Jan. 21.—St. Agnes's Mass, Matt., XIII, 44. G[11-12], Matt., XIII, 41–52, XXV, 1.

Jan. 21.—Ðys sceal on þone Sunnandæg þe man belycŏ Alleluia, Matt., XX, 1. Septuagesima Sunday, C; G[19]; A., II, V; W[37]; P. E; R; L.

Jan. 26.—Friday, 3rd Week after 12th Day, Matt., IV, 23. W[137]; S, 3rd Friday after Oct. Ep.

Jan. 28.—4th Sunday after 12th Day, Matt., VIII, 23. C; W[35]; K; P. E; R; L.

Jan. 28.—Ðis sceal on þære wucan æfter þam þe man belycŏ Alleluia, Mark, IV, 3. C; A., II, VI. G[15], W[38], P. E, R and L, Luke, VIII, 4. All, Sexagesima Sunday.

Jan. 31.—Wednesday, 4th Week after 12th Day, Matt., VIII, 19. W[138] and S, Luke, IX, 57.

Feb. 2.—After the days of "Purgatio Mariae" are complete, Luke, II, 22. C; A., I, IX; B[24]; W[99], Candlemasday; E; P. E; R.

Feb. 4.—Sunnandæg ær Halgan Dæge, Mark, X, 46. A., I, X, Mark, X, 46. C, G, Bl. Hom, 15, W[39], P. E, R, and L = Luke, XVIII, 31–44. All, Quinquagesima Sunday.

Feb. 7.—To "Caput Jejunii" on Wednesday, Matt., VI, 16. C; W[145]; P. E; R; L.

Feb. 9.—Friday in "Cys-wucan," Matt., V, 43. C and W[46], Friday in Quinquagesima.

Feb. 10.—Saturday before "Halgan Dæg," Mark, VI, 45. C, Mark, VI, 47; W[147].

Feb. 11.—Halgan Dæg, Matt., IV, 1. Quadragesimia Sunday, C; G[16]; A., I, XV; Bl. Hom, 27; W[40]; P. E; R; L.

Feb. 12.—Monandæg on forman fæstendæg, Matt., XXV, 31. C; W[148]; B[53], John, II, 12.

Feb. 14.—Wednesday, 1st Lenten Week, Matt., XII, 38. C; W[150].

Feb. 15.—1st Thursday in Lent, Matt., XV, 21.

Feb. 16.—Friday, 1st Lenten Week, John, V, 1. C; B[54]; W[152].

Feb. 17.—Saturday, 1st Lenten Week, Matt., XVI, 28. C, Matt., XVII, 1; W[153], Matt., XVI, 1.

Feb. 17.—Sæterndæg on þære forman fæsten wucan, Mark, IX, 2.

Feb. 19.—Monday, 2nd Lenten Week, John, VIII, 21. C; W[154].

Feb. 21.—Wednesday, 2nd Lenten Week, Matt., XX, 17. W[156].

Feb. 22.—Thursday, 2nd Lenten Week, John, V, 30. C; W[157].

Feb. 23.—Friday, 2nd Lenten Week, Matt., XXI, 33. C; W[158].

Feb. 24.—Saturday, 2nd Lenten Week, Luke, XV, 11. C; W[159].

Feb. 25.—3rd Sunday in Lent, Luke, XI, 14; Matt., XII, 22. C, W[42], P. E, R, L = Luke, XI, 14; B[19] (Luke, XI, 14; Matt., IX, 32; Mark, III, 22); B[52], John, VIII, 1.

Feb. 27.—Tuesday, 3rd Lenten Week, Matt., XVIII, 15. W[161].

Feb. 28.—3rd Wednesday in Lent, Matt., XV, 1. C; W[162].

Feb. 28.—Wednesday, 3rd Lenten Week, Mark, VII, 1.

Mar. 1.—3rd Thursday in Lent (and to Pentecost on Saturday), Luke, IV, 38. C and W[163], John, VI, 27.

Mar. 2.—Friday, 3rd Lenten Week, John, IV, 6. C, John, IV, 6; W[164], John, IV, 4.

Mar. 3.—One day before Myd-fæsten, John, VIII, 1. W[165].

Mar. 4.—Mid-lenten Sunday, John, VI, 1. C; B[20]; A., I, XII; W[43]; P. E; R; L.

Mar. 5.—Monday, 4th Lenten Week, John, II, 12. C; W[166].

Mar. 6.—Tuesday, Mid-lenten Week, John, VII, 14. C; W[167].

Mar. 7.—Wednesday, "Myd-fæstene wucan," John, IX, 1. C; W[168].

Mar. 8.—Thursday, 4th Lenten Week, John, V, 17. C; W[169].

Mar. 9.—Friday, "Myd-fæstene wucan," John, XI, 1. C; W[170].

Mar. 10.—Saturday, "Myd-fæstene wucan," John, VIII, 12. C; W[171].

Mar. 11.—Sunday, 5th Week in Lent, John, VIII, 46. C; G[16], Dominica in Passione; W[44]; P. E; R; L.

Mar. 12.—Monday, 5th Week in Lent, John, VII, 32. C; W[172].

Mar. 12.—St. Gregory's Mass-day, Luke, XIX, 12.

Mar. 13.—Tuesday, 5th Week in Lent, John, VII, 1. C; W[173].

Mar. 14.—Wednesday, 5th Lenten Week and "to Cyric-halgungum," John, X, 22. First date, C, W[174]. Dedicatio Ecclesiae, B[42] (Luke, VI, 42; Matt., VII, 18); W[133], Luke, XIX, 1.

Mar. 15.—Thursday, 5th Lenten Week, John, VII, 40. W[175].

Mar. 16.—Two days before Palm Sunday, John, XI, 47. C; W[176]; Assmann, III, 67.

Mar. 17.—One day before Palm Sunday, John, VI, 53. C; W[177].

Mar. 18.—Palm Sunday, Matt., XXVI, 2. C, Matt., XXVI, 2; W[45], Matt., XXVII, 62; P. E, Matt., XXVII, 1–54; R, Matt., XXVII, XXVIII.

Mar. 18.—(4 weeks before Midwinter) and Palm Sunday, Luke, XIX, 29. A., I, XIV; II, XIV.

Mar. 19.—Monday, Palm Week, John, xii, 1. C; B[43]; W[178], J., xii, 4; S; Y; H; R; L; P. E, Mark, xiv, 1–72.

Mar. 20.—Tuesday, Palm Week, Mark, xv, 1; John, xii, 24. First text, R, P. E; second text, C, L.

Mar. 21.—(St. Paul's Mass-day) and St. Benedict's, Matt., xix, 27. B[25] (Matt., xix, 27; Mark, viii, 27; Luke, ix, 18).

Mar. 21.—Wednesday, Palm Week, Luke, xxii, 1. C; P. E; R; L, Luke, xxii, 1–xxiii, 42.

Mar. 22.—Thursday before Easter, John, xiii, 1. C; B[59], In Cena Domini; Assmann, iii, xiii; O. G[xviii]; R; L; W[179], John, xviii, 1; P. E, Luke, xxiii, 1–49.

Mar. 23.—Ðis Passio gebyraþ on Langa Frige-dæg, John, xviii, 1. C, R, and L = John, xviii, 1–xix, 42; W[180], J., xviii ult. and xix; P. E, John, xix, 1–37.

Mar. 24.—Easter Even, Matt., xxviii, 1. C; B[4] (Matt., xxviii, 1; Luke, xxiv, 1; John, xx, 1); W[181]; R; E; P. E, Matt., xxvii, 57–66.

Mar. 25.—Easter Day, Mark, xv, 47, xvi. C; G[21], Matt., xvi, 1–17; A., i, xv, Matt., xxvi, 62 sq.; W[46], Matt., xxviii, 1; R and L, Mark, xvi, 1–7; P. E, John, xx, 1–10.

Mar. 26.—2nd Easter Day, Luke, xxiv, 13. C; G[23]; A., ii, xvi; W[182]; P. E; R; L.

Mar. 27.—3rd Easter Day, Luke, xxiv, 36. C; P. E; R; B[5] (Luke, xxiv, 36; John, xx, 19).

Mar. 28.—Wednesday, Easter Week, John, xxi, 1. C; G[24]; A., ii, xvii; W[184].

Mar. 29.—Thursday, Easter Week, John, xx, 11. C; G[25]; W[185].

Mar. 30.—Friday, Easter Week, Matt., xxviii, 16. C; B[6]; W[186].

Mar. 31.—Saturday, Easter Week, John, xx, 1. G[22]; W[187].

April 1.—Seven nights after Easter, John, xx, 19. C, Saturday, Easter Week; G[26], In Octavis Paschae; A., I, xvi; W[47]; P. E; R; L.

April 4.—Wednesday, 2nd Easter Week, Matt., ix, 14; Matt., xxviii, 8. First text, W[191]; second text, C, S, Y, H.

April 8.—Sunday, two weeks after Easter, John, xvi, 16. C, Dom. ii post Oct. Pas.; B[1].

April 8.—Sunday, fourteen nights after (uppan) Easter, John, x, 11. C; G[14], John, x, 11–16; A., I, xvii; W[48]; P. E; R; L.

April 18.—Wednesday, 3rd week after Easter, John, iii, 25.

April 22.—Sunday, 4th week after Easter, John, xvi, 5. C, Dom. iii post Oct. Pasch.; B[2], 3rd Sunday after Easter; W[50]; P. E; R; L.

April 22.—4th Sunday after Easter, John, xvi, 23. B[3]; W[51], P. E, R, and L = 5th Sunday after Easter.

April 25.—Wednesday, 4th week after Easter, John, xvii, 11. W[194]; S; Y; H.

April 27.—Friday, 4th week after Easter, John, xiii, 33. S; Y; H.

April 28.—Mass of St. Vitalis, John, xv, 1.

May 1.—Mass of Philip and James, John, xiv, 1. A., ii, xiii (no part Gospel); W[103]; P. E; R.

April 30–May 2.—To Gangdagon, Matt., vii, 7.

April 30–May 1.—To Gangdagon þæge twegen dagas, Luke, xi, 5. B[7], In Letania Majore et Minore (Luke, xi, 5; Matt., vii); B[56], In Let. Maj., Luke, xi, 9; A., I, xix, Tuesday, Let. Maj., Luke, xi, 2; compare A., ii, xxi, xxii, xxiii, no text; S.

May 2.—On Wodnesdæg on þære Gang-wucan to þam vigilian, John, xvii, 1. C; A., ii, xxv; W[197].

May 3.—Thursday within Gang-week, Mark, xvi, 14. C; G[29], In Ascensio Domini; B[57], Luke, xxiv, 44; O. G[lxv], John, iii, 16; W[104]; P. E; R; L.

May 6.—Sunday after "Ascensio Domini," John, xv, 26. C; W[52]; P. E; R; L.

May 9.—Wednesday after "Ascensio Domini," John, xv, 7.

May 12.—Pentecost Mass-even, John, xiv, 15. C; B[9], In festo S. Pent.; P. E, Whit-sunday, John, xiv, 15–31; W[199], Vigil of Whit-sunday.

May 13.—Pentecost Mass-day, John, xiv, 23. C; G[30]; W[53]; R; L.

May 14.—2nd Mass-day in Pentecost, John, iii, 16. C; W[200]; P. E; R.

May 15.—Tuesday, Pentecost Week, John, x, 1. C; W[201]; P. E; R.

May 16.—Wednesday, Pentecost Week "to þam ymbrene," Luke, ix, 12; John, vi, 44. Second text, C, W[202].

May 17.—Thursday, Pentecost Week, Luke, ix, 1. C; W[203].

May 18.—Friday, Pentecost Week, Luke, v, 17. C; W[204].

May 18.—Friday, Pentecost Week "to þam ymbrene," Luke, xviii, 40.

May 19.—Saturday, Pentecost Week "to þam ymbrene," Matt., xx, 19.

May 19.—(3rd Thursday in Lent) and to Pentecost on Saturday, Luke, iv, 38. C and W[205], Trinity Eve.

May 20.—(Over Easter "be þære rode") and 1st Sunday after Pentecost, John, iii, 1. C; W[54]; P. E; L; R, Matt., xxviii, 18; all but C, Trinity Sunday.

May 23.—Wednesday after Pentecost, Luke, xx, 27.

May 25.—Friday after Pentecost, Luke, xii, 11. C.

May 27.—2nd Sunday after Pentecost, Luke, xvi, 19. G[40]; C; A., i, xxiii; W[1]; P. E; L; G[36] and R, Luke, xiv, 16–24.

May 30.—2nd Wednesday after Pentecost, Matt., v, 17. C; W[207], 1st Wednesday after Corpus Christi; S, Y and H, Wednesday after Trinity.

June 1.—2nd Friday after Pentecost, Luke, xvii, 1. Y.

June 3.—3rd Sunday after Pentecost, Luke, xiv, 16. G[34] and R, Luke, xv, 1–10; A., ii, xxvi; W[2]; P. E; L.

June 6.—Wednesday, 3rd Week after Pentecost, Matt., v, 25. W[209], 3rd Wednesday after Corpus Christi.

June 10.—4th Sunday after Pentecost, Matt., v, 20; VII, 1; Luke, XV, 1. C; A., I, XXIV; W[3]; P. E; R; L. All, Luke, XV, 1.

June 15.—4th Friday after Pentecost, Mark, XI, 11. Y.

June 17.—5th Sunday after Pentecost, Luke, XVI, 36. C; W[4]; P. E; L; A., II, XXIX, Luke, VIII, 1; R, Matt., V, 20.

June 20.—Wednesday, 5th Week after Pentecost, Matt., XXI, 23. W[211], 5th Wednesday after Trinity, Luke, VIII, 22.

June 22.—Friday, 5th Week after Pentecost, Matt., XVII, 10. S, 4th Wednesday after Trinity.

June 23.—Midsummer Mass-even, Luke, I, 1. C, Vigil of St. John Baptist, Luke, I, 5; B[39], W[105], Bl. Hom., XIV, A., I, XXV = Nativity of St. John Baptist.

June 24.—Midsummer Mass-day, Luke, I, 57. C, VIII Kal. Jul; B[29] (Matt., XIV, 1; Mark, XVI, 14; Luke, IX, 7); B[32]; W[106]; E; P. E; R.

June 24.—6th Sunday after Pentecost, Luke, V, 1. C; B[10]; W[5]; P. E; L; R, Mark, VIII, 1.

June 27.—Wednesday, 6th Week after Pentecost, Matt., XI, 25. W[212], Mark, X, 17.

June 29.—Friday, 6th Week after Pentecost, Matt., X, 13.

June 28.—St. Peter's Mass-even, John, XXI, 15. C, B[26], and W[107], Vigils of Peter and Paul.

June 29.—St. Peter's Mass-day, Mark, VIII, 27; Matt., XVI, 13. C, A., I, XXVI, E, P. E, and R, Matt., XVI, 13; B[27] (Matt., XVI, 13; Mark, VIII, 27; Luke, IX, 8).

June 30 (29).—St. Paul's Mass-day (and St. Benedict's), Matt., XIX, 27. A., I, XXVII.

July 1.—7th Week after Pentecost, Matt., V, 20. W[6]; P. E; R, Matt., VII, 15.

July 4.—Wednesday, 7th Week after Pentecost, Mark, x, 17. S; Y; H; W[213], Matt., xii.

July 6.—Friday, 7th Week after Pentecost, Mark, v, 1. Y; H.

July 6.—In Octavas Petri et Pauli, Matt., xiv, 22. W[110].

July 8.—8th Week after Pentecost, Matt., xv, 32; Mark, viii, 1. Both texts, B[11]; second text, W[7], P. E, and L.

July 11.—Wednesday, 8th Week after Pentecost, Matt., xvi, 1. Y, 7th Wednesday after Trinity.

July 13.—Friday, 8th Week after Pentecost, Matt., xii, 1. Y; H.

July 15.—9th Week after Pentecost, Matt., vii, 15. A., ii, xxx; W[8]; P. E; L.

July 18.—Wednesday, 9th Week after Pentecost, Mark, ix, 38. S; Y; H; W[214], 8th Wednesday after Trinity.

July 20.—Friday, 9th Week after Pentecost, Matt., xxiii, 13. Y; H.

July 22.—10th Week after Pentecost, Luke, xvi, 10. W[215], S, Y, and H, 9th Wednesday after Trinity.

July 27.—Friday, 10th Week after Pentecost, Luke, xi, 37.

July 29.—11th Week after Pentecost, Luke, xviii, 10; xix, 41. First text, O. G[xxxviii]; second text, A., i, xxviii, W[10], P. E, and L; R, Mark, vii, 31.

Aug. 1.—Wednesday, 11th Week after Pentecost, Luke, xxi, 20. Y; H.

Aug. 3.—Friday, 11th Week after Pentecost, Luke, xxi, 34. Y; H.

Aug. 8.—Wednesday, 12th Week after Pentecost, Matt., xii, 30. H.

Aug. 10.—Friday, 12th Week after Pentecost, Mark, xii, 28.

Aug. 10.—St. Lawrence's Massday, Matt., xvi, 24.

Aug. 12.—13th Week after Pentecost, Mark, vii, 31. C, 2nd Sunday after St. Lawrence; B[38]; W[12]; P. E; L; R, Luke, xvii, 11.

Aug. 15.—Assumption of Virgin Mary (and Saturdays "be Maria"), Luke, x, 38. C; A., II, XXXIV; W[114]; O. G.[VIII]; R.

Aug. 19.—14th Week after Pentecost, Luke, x, 23. C, 3rd Sunday after St. Lawrence; O. G.[XIX]; W[13]; P. E; L; B[12], Matt., XV; R, Matt., VI, 24–33.

Aug. 22.—Wednesday, 14th Week after Pentecost, Matt., XII, 14. W[218], 13th Wednesday after Trinity; S; Y; H.

Aug. 28.—Mass of St. Augustine and St. Hermes, Luke, XIV, 25.

Aug. 29.—"Innan hærfeste" at St. John's Mass, Mark, VI, 17. W[116], Beheading of St. John Baptist.

Aug. 29.—Wednesday, 15th Week after Pentecost, Mark, I, 40.

Sept. 2.—16th Week after Pentecost, Luke, XVII, 11. A., II, XXXVI.

Sept. 2.—16th Sunday after Pentecost, Matt., VI, 24. W[15]; P. E; L; R, Luke, XIV, 1–11.

Sept. 5.—Wednesday, 16th Week after Pentecost (and Friday in "Cys-wucan"), Matt., V, 31, 43.

Sept. 9.—17th Sunday after Pentecost, Luke, VII, 11. B[14]; A., I, XXXIII; W[16]; P. E; L; R, Matt., XXII, 35.

Sept. 12.—Wednesday at the Fast before Harvest Equinox, Matt., XVII, 14.

Sept. 12.—To the Embers within Harvest on Wednesday, Mark, IX, 17. W[230].

Sept. 14.—To the Embers within Harvest on Friday, Luke, VII, 36. G[33], W[231].

Sept. 15.—To the Embers within Harvest on Saturday, Luke, XIII, 6. G[31]; W[232].

Sept. 20.—St. Matthew's Mass-even, Matt., IX, 9. B[30] (Matt., IX, 9; Mark, II, 14; Luke, V, 27), A., II, XXXVII; W[119], Vigil, Luke, V, 27; W[120], Mass-day; E; P. E; R.

Sept. 23.—19th Week after Pentecost, Luke, XIV, 1. P. E; W[15] and L, Matt., XXII, 34–46; R, Matt., XXII, 1–14.

Sept. 29.—St. Michael's Mass-day, Matt., XVIII, 1. A., I, XXXIV, p. 510; W[121]; P. E; R.

Sept. 30.—Sunday, 20th Week after Pentecost, Matt., IX, 1. W[19]; P. E; L; R, John, IV, 46.

Oct. 7.—After Pentecost on 21st Week on Sunday, John, IV, 46. A., I, XXXV, W[20], P. E, and L, Matt., XXII, 1; R, Matt., XVIII, 23–35.

Oct. 19.—Friday, 22nd Week after Pentecost, Matt., VIII, 14. Y.

Oct. 21.—23rd Week after Pentecost, Matt., XVIII, 23; XXII, 15. W[22], P. E, and L, Matt., XVIII, 23; R, Matt., IX, 18–26.

Nov. 1.—All Saints' Mass, Matt., V, 1. A., I, XXXVI, p. 548; W[123]; P. E; R.

Nov. 4.—Sunday, 25th Week after Pentecost, Matt., IX, 18. W[24]; P. E; L.

Nov. 25.—Four weeks before Midwinter (and Palm Sunday), Luke, XIX, 29.

Nov. 25.—Four weeks before Midwinter, Mark, XI, 1; Matt., XXI, 1. W[26], S, Y, and P. E, 1st Sunday in Advent, Matt., XXI, 1; O. G.[LXIX], R, and L, Luke, XXI, 25.

Nov. 29.—St. Andrew's Mass-even, John, I, 35. W[86], John, I, 29.

Nov. 30.—St. Andrew's Mass-day, Matt., IV, 18. G[5]; A., I, XXXVIII; W[87]; R; P. E; B[34], John, I, 29.

Dec. 5.—Wednesday, 3rd Week before Midwinter, Matt., III, 1. Y and H, Wednesday before Christmas; W[125], 1st Friday in Advent.

Dec. 7.—Three weeks before Midwinter on Friday, John, I, 15. B[49]; S; Y; W[127], 2nd Friday in Advent.

Dec. 16.—Week before Midwinter, Matt., XI, 2. G[6], P. E, and L, 3rd Sunday in Advent.

Dec. 19.—Wednesday to the Embers before Midwinter, Luke, I, 26. W[128], 3rd Wednesday in Advent, Luke, I, 39.

Dec. 21.—Friday to the same Fast, Luke, I, 39.

Dec. 22.—Þis gebyraþ on Sæterndæg to æwfæstene ær myddan-wintra, Luke, III, 1. G[20], Sabbato Quat. Temp. ante Nat. Christi.

Dec. 23.—Sunday before Midwinter, John, I, 19. C, Week before Nat. Domini; G[7], W[29], P. E, and L, 4th Sunday in Advent; R, Luke, III, 1–6.

General Rubrics.

——. Mass of one Apostle, Luke, X, 1. A., II, XL, no text; Durham Ritual, 81, Vigils, no text.

——. Apostles' Mass-days, John, XV, 12. A., II, XLI, In Natale Plurimorum Apostolorum, Luke, X, 1.

——. A Confessor's Mass-day, Matt., X, 26. A., II, XLIII, In Natale unius Confessoris, no text; D. R, 188, 15, no text.

——. Mass-day of Many Confessors, Luke, XII, 35; Matt., XXIV, 42. First text, W[82].

——. A Martyr's Mass-day, Matt., X, 37. D. R, 84, "In vigilia unius Martyris."

——. Mass-day of Many Martyrs, Matt., X, 16. A., II, XLII; D. R, 92–162, no text.

——. Women Saints' Mass-day, Matt., XXV, 1. A., II, XLIV, In Natale SS. Virginum, no text.

Midwinter.

I have followed Bouterwek (*Cælendcwide*) in beginning my Notes to the Rubrics at Midwinter, because that was regarded by many of the Anglo-Saxons as the proper beginning of the year, and because it serves to introduce other dates,—8th Mass-day to Midwinter, 12th Even, 12th Day, etc.—that would not otherwise be understood.

Bede, *De Temporum Ratione*, XV (M. *P. L.*, 90, 356; Giles, VI, 178), tells us: "Incipiebant (i. e., antiqui Anglorum populi) autem annum ab octavo Calendarum Januariarum die ubi nunc Natale Domini celebramus. Et ipsam noctem nunc nobis sacrosanctam, tunc gentili vocabulo Modranicht, id est, matrum noctem appellabant ob causam, ut suspicamur, ceremoniarum quas in eo pervigiles agebant."

This has caused much discussion. Hickes, *Antiquae Litt. Septent., etc.*, I, 309, would explain Moedrenicht or Modrenicht as "parens aliarum noctium." Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology* (Stallybrass), I, 753, accepts Bede's explanation, but suggests in a note that "modre nicht" may be "muntere nacht," watchful night. Bouterwek (*Cædmon*, Glossary s. v. Niht) shares Hickes' view that the night received its name, because with it the nights (days) of the New Year began. Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, s. v. "Weihen" renders it "der Mütter Nächte;" and Mogk, "Mythologie," § 84, Paul's *Grundriss*, I, 1126, says of the word: "Ein Wort das auf die Verehrung der Matronae römisch-germanischer Inschriften der altn. dísar hinweist: es sind die Nächte die den weiblichen Schutzgeistern den Seelen Verstorbener geweiht sind." Elton, *Origins of English History* (1890), 257, 272, cites many references to the Germanic "Mothers" myth, but thinks that Modrenicht was so called because the women took part in a nocturnal watch. This is on a par with Turner's suggestion, *History of Anglo-Saxons* (1836), I, 233, that the night received its name from the worship of the Sun as a female divinity. The list of etymologies is full enough. I shall only call to mind, in this connection, the mysterious "Mothers" of Goethe's *Faust* (II, 5) and their classical origin (Taylor, Ed., 1890, II, 350).

I shall consider the beginnings of the Anglo-Saxon Year under 8th Mass-day to Midwinter.

The name Midwinter cannot properly be understood without a discussion of the dates that marked the beginning of the seasons. *Cælendcwide, The Martyr Book* (*Shrine;* Wanley's

Catalogue, 105–109), and Byrhtferð, *Anglia*, VIII, 312, divide them thus:

7th of	February.	Beginning of	Spring.
9th "	May.	"	" Summer.
7th "	August.	"	" Autumn.
7th "	November.	"	" Winter.

Elene, 1226, does not intend a different date:

"Wæs þa lencten agan
Butan VI nihtum. ær Sumeres cyme
On Maias Kalendas."

This apparent discrepancy is easily explained. Kalendae is used broadly ("Penitentiale Ecgberti," Add. 21, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 391) and implies here V Nonas (*Cælendcwide*, 84).

Kal. Cod. Cott. Titus, D. XXVII, and Vitellius, E. XVII (cited by Piper, *Kalendarien*, p. 74) prove, by the two dates given for the beginning of the seasons, that the Spanish method (Isidor, *De Natura Rerum*, c. 7, § 5) and the Julian one were both well known. Durand, *Rationale*, VIII, 3, 21, p. 311, is a witness to the Spanish use in his day:

"Festum Clementis (Nov. 25) Hyems caput est Orientis
Cedit Hyems retro, cathedrato sermone Petri (Feb. 22),
Perfugat Urbanus (May 25), aestate Symphorianus (Aug. 25)."

For discussion of the Calendars, compare Piper, Id., 84.

A few words now upon the times of Solstices and Equinoxes. Midwinter (Dec. 25) and Midsummer (June 24) were regarded by many as the Solstices; by these followers of Roman custom the Equinoxes were placed at March 25th and September 24th. Ælfric adheres to this, in his Homily on St. John the Baptist's Day (June 24), Thorpe, I, 356, translated directly from the 287th Homily of St. Augustine (Förster, *Anglia*, XVI, has overlooked this connection): "Nis butan getacnunge þæt þæs bydeles acennednys on ðære tide wæs gefremod ðe se woroldlica dæg wanigende bið and on Dryhtnes gebyrd-tide weaxende bið." The *Book of Martyrs*

(*Shrine*, 95, 22; Wanley's *Catalogue*, 107) gives under June 24th "solstitia ðæt is on ure geðeode, sungihte." Bouterwek, *Cælendcwide*, 37, shows that "solstitium hiemale secundum quosdam" is mentioned in the Ephemeris of Bede under December 24th; compare Bede, *De Temporibus*, VII (M. *P. L.*, 90, 283; Giles, VI, 126): "Solstitia et Aequinoctia bina putantur VIII Kalendas Januarii et Julii, Aprelisque et Octobris." Bede², *Leechdoms*, III, 257, tells us, however, "upon the authority of Easterns and Egyptians and all men best acquainted with Arithmetic, that the Lenten Equinox is upon XII Kal. Aprilis, St. Benedict's Mass-day, and that the other three tides are adjusted by this." Byrhtferth, *Anglia*, VIII, 299, 15; 311, 28, and the Horologium (*supra*) follow the modern method (cf., however, Byrhtferð, 84, *Anglia*, VIII, 311, 8). Piper, *Kalendarien*, 83, shows how much other Calendars and Menologies varied in this respect.

Solstices and Equinoxes subdivided each season into two divisions: *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 895, A. on foran winter, B. C. on forewerdne winter; 913, B. C. on foreweardne sumor, on ufeweardne hærfest. Ðæs oþre geare on ufan midne winter and þy ilcan geare foran to middan wintra; 923, A. on ufan hærfest.

Length of Midwinter. — Passages from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* show that this was a period of some duration: C. 1016, Innan þære midwintres tide . . . . þa æfter þat tide; D. 1053, Hit wæs se micla wind on Thomes mæsse niht and eac [eall] þa midewinter. It closed legally on 12th Day: Ælfred, V, 43, Schmid, 96, Eallum friðum mannum ðas dagas sien forgiefene butan þeowum mannum and esne wyrhtum XII dagas on Gehhol; *Leechdoms*, III, 164, her seȝð ymb drihtnes ȝebyrd, ymb þa XII niht of his tide. But the Christmas Season seems to have lasted twenty days: *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 878, on midne winter ofer twelftan niht; Ælfric's *Canons*, XXXVI, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 450, and fæste ælce man twelf monaðˇ ælcne Frigedæg buton fram Eastron oð Pentecosten, and eft fram middan wintra oð seofon niht ofer twelftan dæg; Canute, I,

16, 1, Schmid, 264, "and ne þearf man na fæsten . . . . of middan wintra oð octabas Epiphaniae, þæt is seofon niht ofer twelftan mæsse-dæg; compare Æthelred, v, 18, Schmid, 224; vi, 25, Schmid, 230.

Joannes Belethus, writing at Paris in 1160 (Durand, p. 338, c. 56), calls the time between Christmas and the Octaves of Epiphany "tempus gaudii, tempus regressionis." The Anglo-Saxons could have used fittingly the same expression. The Midwinter time could, however, be confined to a week. Æthelred, v, 98, where Schmid's text (p. 224) reads, "oð octabas Epiphanie," D, MS. C. C. 201 has, "xiiii niht ofer midde wintres tide." All difficulty is removed if we suppose Midwinter to end at the close of Yule-week.

Yule and Yule Feast.

In Anglo-Saxon texts Geol or Gehhol is often used for the date of the Nativity: *Shrine*, 29, 26, ærestan Geoheldæig; 82, 11, ær Geolum; 47, 13, on þone eahteþan Geoheldæig; 144, 14, se ærysta dæg in natale domini, þæt is ærysta Geohheldæg; Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, iv, xxi (19), 318, 17, þy twelftan dege ofer Geochol (Giles, iii, p. 84, 28, Epiphaniae); Laws of Ælfred, v, 5, Th., *A. L.*, 29, Schmid, 74, Gêhhol (Cod. B, C. C. 383 (19, 2), H, Textus Roffensis, Geol, but on margin of H, Geohhol); Id., v, 43, Th., *A. L.*, 40, Schmid, 96, Gehhol (H. Gehhel). *The Century Dictionary* s. v. Yule is wrong in regarding the variants of Geol as mere blunders.

The etymology of Geol has never been definitely settled. Of the dozen etymologies, varying in degrees of improbability, I name the most important. Miss Elstob (*Homily on Gregory*, p. 29, Appendix) "follows the best antiquarians of her time in deriving it from ol(ale). I in Iol, Iul (Cimbri) as ge and gi in Gehol are premised to make it emphatic." She might have added that i or ge will serve as an ale-multiplicative. Hazlitt, *Popular Antiquities*, i, 156, cites several of the old explanations of the word, all of them on a par with

that given by Spelman, *Glossary* s. v. Gula. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, 617–624, 702, although he regarded Gothic Iiuleis as a cognate, was inclined to connect Gehhol with Gehweol (wheel), it being long the custom to roll a wheel at the time of the Summer Solstice to signify that the Sun had reached the highest place of his circle (Durand, *Rationale*, VII, 14; Belethus, p. 365, c. 17). This is to be compared with an explanation of the Saxons themselves; Bede, *De Temporum Ratione*, XV (M. *P. L.*, 90, 356; Giles, VI, 178): "Menses Giuli a conversione solis in auctum diei, quia unus eorum præcedit, alius subsequitur, nomina accipiunt" (compare *Shrine*, 153, 23–26; *Cœlendcwide*, 220–221, Bouterwek's Notes). Fick, *Indogermanisches Wörterbuch*, VII, 245, connects Yule with A.-S. gylan, Icelandic yla, Germanic jolen, johlen; the Gothic jiuleis seems to me to be the crux here, but it is not, like the other etymologies, an absurdity and is quoted with approval by Kluge, *Nominale Stammbildung*, § 74, p. 35, and by Skeat, *Etymological Dictionary* s. v. Yule. Yet another etymology has been recently discussed by Mogk, *Paul's Grundriss*, I, 1125: "Altn. jol, urnord, jul, hängt vielmehr sprachlich zusammen mid Ags. geohhol (Kluge, *Englische Studien*, IX, 311) das auf urgerm. jehwela zurückgeht und dasselbe wie lat. joculus ist (Bugge, *Ark. f. n. Fil.*, IV, 135)."

Descriptions of Midwinter festivities among the heathen Saxons will be found: Atkinson's *Glossary of Cleveland Dialect*, 1868, s. v. Yule Cake; Hazlitt's *Popular Antiquities*, l. c.; Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, 15, 215, 702, 1240; Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, 402; Cleasby-Vigfusson, *Icelandic Dictionary*, s. v. Jol; *Century Dictionary*, s. v. Yule; Mogk, l. c. Mogk points out that to the early Germans "every day of Yule was full of importance for weather and fate, every dream was fulfilled:" traces of this superstition are found among the Anglo-Saxons, *Leechdoms*, III, 162, 24, 166, 16. *Concordia*, 490, gives at some length the Midwinter monkish observances; and the Anglo-Saxon Laws show the layman's regard for Christmas-tide (Schmid's Index).

It is not necessary to add any examples of Midwinter or of its synonyms, Christmas and the Nativity, to those cited by Bouterwek, *Cœlendcwide*, 38.

On Cylda Mœsse-dœg.

Marshall's Note to the Rubric (*Gospels*, p. 522) is grammatical: "Hic obiter notent Grammatici Cild in hoc versiculo usurpari pluraliter pro Pueros." I may supplement this, and call attention to MS. Cotton, Tiberius A., III, fol. 30b (*Leechdoms*, III, 185), where the natural gender of "cild" is so clearly masculine, that the word is opposed to "mæden" in about thirty cases: "Mona se oðer on eallum þingum to nytlic ys bycgan . . . . cild acenned wis, milde, ȝeap, ȝesælig; mæden eallswa." In *Ben. Rule*, Gloss, 115, 14; 106, 11, Cildra = Pueri; compare Bosworth-Toller, s. v. Cild.

The day is mentioned elsewhere in Anglo-Saxon: *Durham Ritual*, p. 47, In Natale Innocentium; Ælfric's *Homilies*, I, V; *Concordia*, 521, betwyx cilda-mæsse-dæge (innocentium festivitatem et Octabas Domini); *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, A. 963, on Cildamæssedæg; C. D. 1065, E. 1066, on Cildamæssedæig.

Eighth Mass-day to Midwinter.

Apart from its importance as the Octaves of the Nativity and the time of the Circumcision of the Lord, this date is worthy of consideration as the proper beginning of the Anglo-Saxon Civil Year.

The Anglo-Saxon Year had no less than five acknowledged beginnings:

I. Advent.
II. Christmas.
III. 8th Mass-day to Midwinter.
IV. Vernal Equinox (March 21st).
V. Easter—Beginning of Lunar Year.

I.

Although the beginning of the Church Year was not placed definitely at the opening of Advent until after the Conquest (Piper, *Kalendarien*, 89), Ælfric (*Homilies*, I, 98) can speak of the season thus (Thorpe's Translation): "Some of our service-books begin at the Lord's Advent, but not on that account is that the beginning of the year, nor is it with any reason placed on this day; though our calendars, in this place, repeat it."

II.

According to Bede (cited *supra*) the heathen English began their year at Mid-winter; and their Christian descendants followed their example; compare *Shrine*, 29, 26, on þone forman dæig in geare, ðæt is on ðone ærestan geoheldæig, eall Cristes folc wurðiað Cristes acennednesse. The Anglo-Saxon Horology (*supra*) begins at Christmas, and Ælfric's *Homilies* open with the Nativity.

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* often begins the year at Christmas. In the case of many of the Annals, it is extremely difficult to decide when their year opens, but the following years show, both by context and order of the entries, unmistakable signs of a midwinter beginning: A°. 763, 827, 878, 891 (change of hands in A makes this Annal doubtful), 913 B. C. (Ðæs oðre geare on ufan midne winter and þy ilcan geare foran to middan wintra), 963 A., 1009–1010 (doubtful, but point to Easter beginning), 1012 D. E. F., 1014 C. D. E. F., 1039 E., 1043–1053 (the most confused place in the *Chronicle*, but C. differs from other MSS. in beginning at Easter), 1045–1048 (D. E. F.), 1053 D., 1063 D., 1066 E., 1078 D., 1070–1090 E. (these "Wulfstan Annals" open at Easter), E. 1091, 1094–1096 (January 1st is here called "gearesdæg"), 1097 sq. (all Peterborough Annals (E.) begin at Christmas). The above represents more definite results than have before been obtained, but the chronology of the Annals has been discussed in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica* (1848), by Sir T. D. Hardy, "Chapter on the Chronology

of Mediæval Historians;" by the anonymous author of the *Dissection of the Saxon Chronicle*, 1830, who drew largely from St. Allais' *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates* (Paris, 1818); and by Earle in the Introduction to his Edition of the *Chronicle*. In his excellent essay Hardy notices—though this was done a century earlier in the MS. Notes of Waterland—that Florence of Worcester, William of Malmesbury, and Henry of Huntingdon all employ a Christmas year-beginning.

III.

Cœlendcwide begins the year on January 1st (l. 3–7):

"On þy eahteoþan dæg
Hælend gehaten heofonrices weard.
Swa ða sylfan tiid sîde herigeas
folc unmæte, habbað foreweard gear
forðy se kalend us cymeð geþincged," etc.

January 1st is recognized once in the *Chronicle* as the beginning of the year (1096); and its right to that place is elsewhere firmly established: *Shrine*, 47, 10, "On ðone eahteðan ȝeohhel dæg bið þæs monðes fruma þe man nemneð januarius þæt is on ure ȝeðeode se æftera ȝeola þæt bið se æresta ȝeares monað mid romwarum and mid us;" Byrhtferð, *Anglia*, VIII, 305, 28: "Ærest we willað fon on Januarium forðon he ys heafodhebba and eac þæs geares geendung. Swa be him cwæð sum geþungen wita, 'Januarius dictus est quod limes et janua anni'" (this remarkable etymology is found in Bede's *De Temporum Ratione*, XII, M. *P. L.*, 90, 331, doubtless Byrhtferð's source). As the first day of the year, January 1st was the time of prognostications; compare "Prophezeiung aus dem 1 Januar für das Jahr," *Anglia*, XI, 369 (Vespasian D. 14, fol. 75 b), "Ðonne forme geares[1] dæig byð Sunendæg," etc.

A devout Churchman like Ælfric acknowledges under protest this beginning of the year (*Homilies*, I, 98): "We have

[1] Cf. Horstman, *Lives of Saints*, E. E. T. Soc., 87, p. 177, § 28, l. 5:
"The furste feste þat in the gere comeȝ we cleopieȝ ȝeres dai
Ase ore loverd was circumciset," etc.
Cf. Orm, 4154, 4220, cited by Bouterwek, *Cœlendcwide*, 18.

often heard that men call this day the day of the year (ȝearesdæg), as if this day were first in the circuit of the year; but we find no explanation in Christian books why this day is accounted the beginning of the year. . . . Now our calendar begins, according to the Roman institution on this day, not for any religious reason, but from old custom." As an example of the same feeling to-day, I quote from the *Annotated Prayer Book*, p. 257; the Saxon Homilist of the 10th and the Anglican Prelate of the 19th Century use almost the same words: "January 1st was never in any way connected with the opening of the Christian year, and the religious observance of the day has never received any sanction from the Church except as the Octave of Christmas and the Feast of the Circumcision" (see Waterland's MS.).

Severe penalties were inflicted upon those who celebrated this day (Theodore, "Penitentiale" (673), XXVII, 19, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 293); yet as Byrthferð said (*Anglia*, VIII, 305, 31): "De Januario. Se forma dæg and eall se monð ys gehalgod mid Cristes gebyrd-tide."

IV.

Ælfric tells us (*Homilies*, I, 98): "þa ealdan Romani on hæðenum dagum ongunnon þæs geares ymbryne on ðysum dæge (January 1st); and ða Ebreiscan leoda on lenctenlicere emnihte; ða Greciscan on sumerlicum sunstede; and þa Egyptiscan ðeoda ongunnon heora geares getel on hærfeste. . . . Rihtlicost bið geðuht þæt þæs geares anginn on ðam dæge sy gehæfd, þe se Ælmihtiga scyppend sunnan and monan and steorran and ealra tida anginn gesette; þæt is on þam dæge þe þæt Ebreisc folc heora geares getel onginnað." Ælfric is here drawing directly from Beda, *De Temporibus*, IX, M. *P. L.*, 90, 284, and *De Temporum Ratione*, VI, M. *P. L.*, 90, 317; compare Bede[2], IV, *Leechdoms*, III, 246 (Förster, *Anglia*, XVI, 30).

In MS. Cotton, Caligula A., XV, fol. 126b, *Leechdoms*, III, 153, the physician commences his series "on the month of March which men call Hlyda, since it is the beginning, after

right reckoning, of all the year and the Almighty God on that month created all creation." Ember days were reckoned from March ("Dialogus" of Ecgbert, XVI, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 324); November is glossed by "þæs nygeþan monþes" (*Ben. Rule*, Gloss, x, 39, 10); and Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, IV, V (5), 278, 5, places Easter "æfter þæm feowerteogðan monan þæs ærestan monþes (mensis primi)."

Other Anglo-Saxon writers mention the Equinox in connection with the Creation; compare Byrhtferð, *Anglia*, VIII, 309, 40; 310, 5; *Shrine*, 62–64; *Hexameron* (Norman), 8, 12; Bouterwek, *Cælendcwide*, 22, and *Cædmon*, LVIII, LX.[1] Durand, *Rationale*, VIII, 32, p. 309, speaks of the honor paid by certain moderns to "primus dies seculi" (March 18th), and Chaucer refers to the belief in "Nonne Preestes Tale," B. 367:

> "Whan that the month in which the world bigan
> That highte March whan God first maked man
> Was complet," etc.

Some of the *Chronicle* Annals begin at Easter (*supra*), but the annalist may have in mind the Vernal Equinox. Waterland, MS. Notes, Earle and the Dissector of the *Chronicle* make the mistake of mentioning Lady Day (March 25th) as the beginning of the year. This had no such honor until the end of the 13th Century (compare Durand, *Rationale*, VIII, 32, p. 309; St. Allais, *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*, I, 17); and

[1]Anglo-Saxon poetry uses the Spring-beginning; compare Beowulf, 1133:

> "winter yðe beleac
> is-gebinde, oð ðat oðer com
> gear in geardas, swa nu gyt deð
> þa þe syngales sele bewitiað
> wuldor-torhtan weder. þa wæs winter scacen
> fæger foldan bearm."

The passage has occasioned much grammatical discussion. I differ with Heyne (Heyne-Socin Ed.) and regard "weder" as nominative and "sele" as objective; but, in any case, the year is represented as beginning in the Spring. Again, the cuckoo, called "sumeres weard" (Seefahrer, 53), "announces the year" (Guthlac, 716). It is needless to say that cuckoos do not sing in January, any more than English nightingales in July.

its new importance was doubtless due to the increased reverence for the Virgin so striking at that time (Waterton's *Pietas Mariana Britannica* (1879), 13, 130).

V.

Many of the Annals in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* begin at Easter (*supra*). The annalist may have had in mind the Vernal Equinox, but it was more probably on account of Easter's position as first day of the lunar year. A few references will show Easter's importance in this regard: Bede, *De Temporum Ratione*, XI, M. *P. L.*, 90, 341; Byrhtferð, *Anglia*, VIII, 309, 32; 322, 37; 329, 40; 330, 18, Easter dæg wæs se forman dæg on þære ealdan æ; Bede[2], *Leechdoms*, III, 248, 21, on sumum ȝeare bið se mona twelf siðon genigwod fram þære halgan eastertide oð eft eastron and on sumum geare he bið þreottyne siðon geedniwod.[1] See Hampson, *M. A. Kal.*, II, 417.

12th Day.

There is little to be added to the Notes of Marshall and Bouterwek. The Feast of the Epiphany had many names in the Anglo-Saxon Church: *Shrine*, 48, 4, þone halgan dæg æt drihtnes ætywnesse þæt is se drihtnes halga twelfta dæg, drihtnes fullwihtes dæg; *Cœlendcwide*, 11, fulwihttid, twelfta dæg; Ælfric, *Homilies*, I, 104; II, 36, swutelung-dæg; *Concordia*, 531, Epiphania is glossed by ætywincge; *Durham Ritual*, p. 2, bæddæg; *A.-S. Chronicle*, E. 1118, on þære

[1] Bede, *De Temporum Ratione*, XV, M. *P. L.*, 90, 336, tells us of Embolismus or year of 13 months. When this occurred, an extra or Intercalary month, Thrilidi, was assigned to the summer. This has been discussed by Hickes, *Ling. Vett. Sept.*, I, 216. A representation of the signs of the 13 Anglo-Saxon months on the porch of St. Margaret's Church, York, is described at length by Fowler, *Archæologia*, XLIV (1871), 146 sq. We have doubtless a reference to this year in the difficult passage, *Percy Folio MS.*, Hales' Ed., I, 26:

> "But how many merry monthes be in the yeere,
> There are 13 in May (I say?),
> The Midsummer Moone (Thrilidi?) is the Merryest of all,
> Next to the merry month of May."

wucan Theophanie. The honor done to Epiphany by the noble saint Etheldreda shows its importance in the Anglo-Saxon Church (Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, IV, XXI, 318, 15): "And seldom in hatum baðum heo baðian wolde butan þam hyhstan symbelnessum and tidum æt Eastran, and æt Pentecosten and þy twelftan dege ofer Geochol." Truly, days of rejoicing! Compare Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology* (Epiphania, Bethphania, Perchentag); Piper, *Kalendarien*, 93; Hazlitt, *Popular Antiquities*, I, 13–19; Hampson, *M. A. K.*, Glossary, s. v.; *Ann. Prayer Book*, 257.

Septuagesima and Sexagesima.

R. Matt., XX, 1. On þone Sunnandæg þe man belycð Alleluia.

R. Mark, IV, 3. On þære wucan æfter þam þe man belycð Alleluia.

These Rubrics do not appear in Marshall, and therefore are not discussed by him, nor given by Schilter. They present, however, no difficulty.

In his Homily upon Septuagesima (II, 84 sq.), Ælfric tells us, upon the authority of Amalarius (*De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, M. *P. L.*, 90, 993; compare *Anglia*, XVI, 48), "why the holy congregation omits in God's Church, 'Hallelujah' and 'Gloria in Excelsis Deo,' from this present day (Septuagesima) until the holy Easter-tide." Over the interminable "whys" we need not linger.

Two Cotton MSS., Titus D. 27, IV, and Caligula A., XV, fol. 126, give rules "De Alleluia die invenienda." These were mentioned by Wanley, *Catalogue*, 248, 234; remarked by Hampson, *Kalendarium*, s. v. Septuagesima; and the second has been printed by Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, III, 227: "On Kl.' Jan. ofer XVI Kl. Febr. loca hwær þu hæbbe X nihta eald monan, ofer þæt þone sunnan-dæg beluc Alleluia." Cockayne's translation, "Observe the Sunday. Hallelujah!" shows how completely he missed the point. By subjecting

the rule to proof we obtain January 21st, the Septuagesima of our year (see Tables). Byrhtferð's rules for finding Septuagesima (*Anglia*, VIII, 324, 31; 329, 2) are very similar.

Durand, *Rationale*, V, 6, 7, p. 165, tells us: "Alleluia was sung from Octaves of Epiphany to Septuagesima, and omitted until Pascha; from Pascha (Easter) to Pentecost Duplex Alleluia was chanted. It was included in the services from Pentecost to Advent and, like the Gloria in Excelsis, was omitted during the Advent season" (compare *Rationale*, V, 4, 4–6, p. 152; VI, 24, 18–19, p. 192; VI, 85, 4, p. 243; VI, 95, 1, p. 255; VI, 97, 5, p. 257; Belethus, p. 345; Kurtz, *Church History* (1861), I, Chap. 56, p. 219). In *Benedictine Rule*, XV, Alleluia is omitted only from Quadragesimal services; and nothing is said of this chant in the enumeration of Septuagesimal offices, *Concordia*, IV, l. 557. The custom indicated by the Rubrics persisted, however, in the English Church; Horstman, *Lives of the Saints*, 63, 411, p. 443: "From þat men loke Alleluia; for to com Ester-day;" compare Morris, *Old English Homilies*, X (*E. E. T. Soc.*, 53, p. 53). A Septuagesima ceremony of the Mediæval Church was the "burial of Alleluia" (Hone's *Everyday Book*, I, 100).

The correspondences between the Anglo-Saxon Rubrics for the days under discussion and the Gospels for Septuagesima and Sexagesima in other Churches are striking (Tables). A passage from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, E. 1127, Thorpe, p. 378, is interesting in this connection: "þæt wæs þes Sunendaies þæt man singað 'Exurge quare o D.'" The chant mentioned is the Introit for Sexagesima Sunday (*Sarum Missal*, 1868, p. 49; Nicolas, *Chronology of History*, 1833, p. 115).

During the Septuagesimal season, all oaths and ordeals were forbidden among the Anglo-Saxons: Canute, 16, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 158; Wulfstan, *Homilies*, XLIII, p. 208. Marriages were included in the interdict: Æthelred, VI, 25, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 137, Schmid, 230; V, 18, Schmid, 224.

Postquam impleti sunt dies Purgationis Mariae
(R. Luke, II, 1).

"And þæs embe ane niht
ðæt we Marian mæssan healdað
cyninges modor, forðam heo Crist on þam dæge
bearn wealdendes brohte to temple."
(*Cælendcwide*, 19.)

A few references to this day (Candlemas) may be useful. In *Concordia*, l. 542, the services at this feast are described in detail; compare Id. 484, oþ ciricgange sca. marian (usque ad purificationem sancte Marie). The day is mentioned often in the *Chronicle*,—I supplement Bouterwek's examples: C. D. E. 1014, to Candelmæssan; B. 1043 (C. 1044), x nihtum ær Candelmæssan; D. 1078; E. 1091, 1094, 1101, 1116, 1121, 1123, 1124–1127, 1140. It is found in the Laws: Æthelred, VIII, 12, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 146, Schmid, 244, leoht-scot gelæste man to Candelmæssan; Anhang, III, 4 pr., Schmid, 374, of Candel-mæsse oð Eastran (3 days work of Gebur); Canute, I, 12, Schmid, 263, Leoht-gesceot . . . . to þæm Sanctam Mariam clænsung (Codex Colbertinus reads, in vigilia S. Mariae in Augusto, i. e. Ascension of Mary on August 15th); compare Schmid, Glossary s. v. Lêoht-gescêot.

To Caput Jejunii on Wodnes-dæg.

This is the Rubric to Matt., VI, 16; and the day is mentioned often in canonical texts: *Benedictine Rule*, Gloss., XV, 45, 12; XLVIII, 82, 8, anginn læncten fæsten (caput quadragesime); XLI, 73, 15, oð andgiu fæstenes (capud quadragesimae); Id., Translation, XV, 39, 16; XLI, 66, 14, oð lenctenes anginne (in caput quadragesime); XLVIII, 74, 3, oð lencten-fæsten = "Winteney," oð lenten (ad caput quadragesime); XLVIII, 74, 17, onforan lencten = "Winteney," 99, 25, on forme lentenes deige (in capite quadragesime); *Concordia*, 440, in heafod lencten fæstenes (in caput quadragesimae);

540, oþ heafud lenctenes; 564, 566, 597, fram heafde fæstenes on þam feorða weorcdæge; 1030, heafde on lencten. From these examples, one can see how completely Bosworth-Toller is mistaken when it mentions, "heafod-lencten-fæsten-es. n, the chief Lent-fast." The word is, of course, a literal translation of Caput Jejunii; and the form cited is to be regarded as a "crude form," to adopt Logeman nomenclature (*Ben. Rule*, Introduction, XXXIX); cf. angin læncten-fæsten (*supra*).

Ælfric, *Lives of Saints*, XII, p. 260, gives us interesting information in regard to the Anglo-Saxon Ash-Wednesday:

> "þis spel gebyraþ seofon niht ær lenctene
> On ðysse wucan on Wodnesdæg swa swa ge sylfe witon
> Is Caput Jejunii þæt is on Englisc heafod lenctenes-fæstenes. . . .
> Nu ne beoð na feowertig daga
> On urum lenctenlicum fæstene gefylled
> Buton we fæston þærforan to þas feower dagas
> Wodnesdæg and þunres-dæg and frige-dæg and sæternes-dæg.
> Swa swa hit gefyrn geset, wæs þeah ðe we hit eow nu secgan.
> On þone Wodnes-dæg, wide geond eorðan
> Sacerdas bletsiaþ, swa swa hit geset is
> Clæne axan on cyrcan."

Lent proper, therefore, began with Quadragesima Sunday.

A few other references present themselves: *Canons of Edgar*, I, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 405, on þone wodnesdæg þe we hataþ caput jejunii; Wulfstan, *Homilies*, XVII (22), 104, 9, on wodnesdæg þe byð caput jejunii; *Eccl. Inst.*, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 310, capite jejunii, capite quadragesime; *Durham Ritual*, 5, 6, 8. Compare Kurtz, *Church History*, I, § 36, p. 219; *Annotated Prayer Book*, p. 266.

Friday in the "Cys-wucan."

The gospel for the day corresponds to the gospel for Friday in Quinquagesima in the *Liber Comitis* of Jerome and in the Sermons of Wycliffe. Marshall (Notes, p. 523) has given correctly the meaning of the Rubric, "die Veneris illo, qui statim sequitur diem Cinerum;" but from his citations of Spelman's *Concilia*, he omits *Eccl. Inst.*, XL (Spelman, 610;

Johnson, 476, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 486–487), which seems much to the point: "At this tide there should be abstinence from all delicacies, and soberly and chastely we should live. If any at this holy tide can forego *cheese* and eggs and fish and wine, it is a strict fast," etc., etc. Joannes Belethus, p. 360, tells us that, in his day (1147), eggs, *cheese* and milk were prohibited, but that (as in Saxon times) the enjoyment of these was permitted by St. Benedict. Compare here Bosworth-Toller's Note s. v. "Cys-wucan."

Butter-week in the early Church (Kurtz, *Church History*, I, 359, Par. 56, § 7) was the precursor of the Anglo-Saxon Cheese-week—the last week that cheese could be eaten before Lent began.

Halgan Dœg.

Halgan Dæg is Quadragesima Sunday.

(1). Marshall (p. 522) makes this general statement: "In citeriorum seculorum Rubricis quas vidi omnibus Evangelii paragraphus assignatur Dominicae primae Quadragesimali." Quadragesima is in fact the only day to which this reading, Matt., IV, 1, could with propriety be assigned, and a reference to my Tables will prove the truth of Marshall's observation.

(2). Marshall cites Spelman's *Concilia*, p. 610 (Thorpe, *A. L.*, 484), "on þære nihstan wucan ær halgan niht." The context shows that "halgan niht" is Quadragesima Sunday. Marshall's arguments from example may be supplemented.

(3). Halgan Dæg appears as a variant of Quadragesima. The MSS. (Wulfstan, *Homilies*, XXIII (47), 117, 14) differ widely: B. (C. C. C. C. S. 14) we forbeodaþ ordal and aþas . . . . fram Septuagesima oþ fiftene niht ofer Eastran; K. (Cott. Tib. A., III) and for feowertinum nihtum ær haligan dæge; C. (C. C. C. C. S. 18) fram ær halgan dæge, etc. Like so much of Wulfstan, this passage is taken directly from the Laws (Canute, Schmid, I, 264), and fram Septuagesima oþ XV nihton ofer Eastron.

(4). Wanley, *Catalogue*, 234, mentions a rule, "De Inveniendo die Sancto" (Caligula A., xv, fol. 127); and again, p. 284, "Regula ad inveniendum diem qui dicitur Alleluia, sicut et Diem Sanctum et Diem Paschatis" (Titus D., 27, iv). The first of these has been printed, Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, iii, 227: "On Februarius ofer vii id febr. loca hwær þu finde tweigra nihta ealde monan; ofer þæt on þone sunnan-dæg bið halga dæg." Cockayne renders this wrongly, "the next Sunday will be a holy day." If the rule is applied, the date discovered, February 11th, will be found to correspond to the Quadragesima Sunday of our arbitrary year (Tables). The rule given by Byrhtferð (*Anglia*, viii, 329, 13) for finding the First Sunday in Lent should be compared with the one that I have cited.

The Anglo-Saxon Lent.

Ælfric discusses in his Homily on Quadragesima (i, 178) the Lenten "tithing days"—he is translating from Gregory's 16th Homily (M. *P. L.*, 76, 1137, par. 1494): "Why is this fast computed for forty days? In every year there are reckoned three hundred and sixty-five days; now, if we tithe these yearly days, then will there be six and thirty tithing days (teoðing-dagas), and from this day to the holy Easter-day are two and forty days: take then the six Sundays from that number, then there will be six and thirty days of the year's tithing-days reckoned for our abstinence." Compare *Blickling Homilies*, 35, 17; *Lives of the Saints*, xii, 1; Wulfstan, *Homilies*, xvii (22), "Sermo in xl," p. 102, 19; lv (1a), 283, 28.

The addition of four days to the Lenten fast was made after the death of Gregory or, as some say, by Gregory himself (M. *P. L.*, 78, 307, "In Greg. *Lib. Sac.* Notae," 316; *Annotated Prayer Book*, 266), and is described by Ælfric, *Lives of the Saints*, xii (cited *supra*). Benedict (c. 530 A. D.) understood, therefore, by Caput Quadragesimae, Quadragesima Sunday; his 10th Century glossator and translator would

regard it as the day of Ashes. Ælfric, always orthodoxy itself, seems hardly to have regarded these four additional days as a part of Lent proper, but to have placed Quinquagesima Sunday "seofon niht ær lenctene." Since "lengtene" begins, therefore, on Quadragesima Sunday (Byrhtferð, 147, *Anglia*, VIII, 324, 32), and since Sunday is not a fast-day, R. Matt., XXV, 31, Monandæg se forman fæstendæg is perfectly correct (compare "Capitula secundum Lucam," Lindisfarne MS., Cott., Nero D., 4, fol. 129b, col. 1, Skeat, 1, "xlgisima feria II"); otherwise we must suppose with Marshall that the Rubric is used in a broad sense like R. Mark, IX, 2, on sæterndæg on þære forman fæstenwucan.

Lent is mentioned frequently in Anglo-Saxon texts: Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, III, VI, 172, 6, þæt feowertiglecan fæstan ær Eastrum; III, XVII, 230, 9, "alle tid þæs feowertiglecan fæstenes ær Eastrum; *Ben. Rule*, Translation, XLI, 66, 5, over eallencten = in quadragesima; XLII, 67, 3, on fæstendagas = dies jejunii; XLVIII, 74, 10, on lenctenfæsten = in quadragesime diebus; 74, 12, on þam fæstendagum = in quibus diebus quadragesime; XLIX, 76, 5, on lencten fæstenne = istis diebus quadragesime; *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, E. 1048, on lengtene and þæs sylfan lentenes; D. 1071 (E. 1070), on lengten; E. 1088, innan þam lengtene; 1092, to þam længtene; 1106, onforan længtene .... on þære forman længten wucan; 1110, to foran længtene; 1122, 1127, on þone lenten tyde; 1127, eall þæt lenten tid; Wulfstan, *Homilies*, LVIII, 305, 21; XVII (22), "Sermo in XL," 102, 12; Assmann, Grein's *Bibl. der A.-S. Prosa*, III, XL, 140 (Ermahnung zu Christlichem Leben —Larspell S. Dominica, III in XL). Marshall's Note on "Clean Lent" may be reinforced by examples: Wulfstan, *Homilies*, LV (1a), 284, 18, M. þ. l. eow eallum is cuð þæt þes gearlica ymbrene us gebringð efne nu þa clænan tid lenctenlices fæstenes; 284, 29, mid clænum fæstene and mid clænum geþance; 285, 31, on þisum clænum timan; compare *Blickling Homilies*, 39, 1; Hampson, *M. A. Kalendarium* s. v. "Clean Lent."

The Anglo-Saxon Lenten Laws were very strict. Lent-breech (lencten-bryce) of any sort must be doubly atoned (Ælfred, 5, § 5, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 29, Schmid, 74; Id., 40, Th., 39, Schm., 93–94; Canute, 48, Th., 173, Sch., 298); anyone who in Lent gave out holy law to the people without leave must pay a "bot" of CXX shillings (l. c.); and ordeals and oaths were not permitted at this time (Canute, I, 17, Th., 158, Schm., 264). Church canons were equally severe: "Excerptions" of Ecgbert, CVIII, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 335, "qui in Quadragesima ante Pascha, I annum poeniteat, nupserit" (the scribe inserts not without humor, "cum propria conjuge"); *Eccl. Inst.*, XXIII, Th., 487, contains another such injunction; Id., XXXVII, Th., 486, XLI, Th., 487, treat particularly of the details of the fast (cf. Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, III, XVII, 238, 29; III, XX, 246, 34; V, II, 388, 8); Id., XXXVI, Th., 484, prescribes the time of confession (the Lent Shrift is given in MSS., Royal 2 B. V., and Cott., Tib. A., III, fol. 52ro, printed by H. Logeman, "Anglo-Saxonica Minora," *Anglia*, XII, 513); Id., XLI, XLIV, Th., 487, direct frequent communion at this season.

Myd-fœstene.

The perfect sequence of the Myd-fæstene and Myd-lentene Rubrics proves the identity of the two seasons. The generic name (fæsten) is here, as elsewhere, adapted to the greatest of yearly fasts; compare German Mittfasten.

Homilies, "In Media Quadragesima," are cited frequently by Wanley; and Ælfric, *Homilies*, I, XII, and *Lives of the Saints*, XIII, are devoted to this Sunday. The day is mentioned, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, E. 1047, Her on þisum geare wæs mycel gemot on Lundene to mid-festene = C. 1050, to mid-lencten; E. 1055, VII nihton ær midlenctene (Witena gemot); E. 1093, to midlengtene. Mid-lenten was sometimes called "Laetare Hierusalem" (Spelman, *Glossary* s. v.); sometimes "Dominica Refectionis" or "Refreshment Sunday"

(Hazlitt, *Popular Antiquities*, I, 65); and, in the French Church, Mî Carême (*Ann. Prayer Book*, 272).

Sunday, 5th Week in Lent.

In his Homily upon this Sunday (*Homilies*, II, XIII, 224), Ælfric tells us: "This tide from this present day until the holy Easter-tide is called CHRIST'S PASSION TIDE (CRISTES ÐROWUNG-TID), and all God's ministers in the holy church with their church-services honor and in remembrance hold his passion, through which we were all redeemed. Our books also say, that we should hold these fourteen days with great earnestness, on account of the approach of the holy passion and honorable resurrection of our Saviour. On these days we omit in our responses 'Gloria Patri' on account of our lament for the holy passion, unless some high festival-day occur during them."

St. Gregory's Mass-day.

Bouterwek's Note to *Cælendcwide*, 37, needs but little supplement. Gregory's day appears in Ælfric's *Homilies*, II, IX (cf. Elstob's *English Saxon Homily*), in Bede's *Latin Poetical Calendar*, and in Cod. Cot. Tit. D., XXVII, but is omitted in Bede's *Homilies*, and in Ælfric's *Lives of the Saints* (Piper, *Kalendarien*, 71–75).

Thursday before Easter.

This day was greatly honored as the time of the Lord's Supper: *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, E. 1106, on þa niht þe on morgen was Cena Domini, þæt is se þunres-dæg toforan Eastran; *Concordia*, 597, oþ to gereorde drihtnes = usque ad cenam domini; 633, on þam fiftan dæge se þe eac gereord drihtnes ys gecweden; 563, 667. On Cena Domini penitents were received again into the fold of the Church and com-

munion was administered (Wulfstan, *Homilies*, XVII (22), 104, 12; XXXII (28), 153, 6; LVI (42), 289, 24).

At this time began the "three silent days:" Ælfric, *Homilies*, I, 219, Circlice ðeawas forbeodað to secgenne ænig spel on þam þrym swig-dagum; II, 262, Ne mot nan man secgan spel on þam þrym swig-dagum; compare Ælfric's Homily, "In Cena Domini et V Feria et Sabbato Sancto" (Thorpe, *A. L.*, X, 464; Soames, *Anglo-Saxon Church*, 1835, 310).

The "silent days" have been discussed by Bouterwek (*Cædmon*, CLVIII, CLIX); but one or two other references are useful in this connection. Stillness and due silence during the three days before Easter are enjoined by the *Concordia*, 630 sq.—at this place Zupitza's L. Fragment (*Herrig's Archiv*, LXXXIV) reads "swig-uhtan." In *Old English Homilies*, 2nd Ser., XVII (Morris, *E. E. T. Soc.*, 53, 101; cf. Morris's *Specimens*, I, IV, 11), 12th Century popular etymology—there so luxuriant—explains the purport of this "silence:" "Bitwenen his þrowenge and his ariste he lai on his sepulcre and swiede and for þat ben þe þre dage biforen estre cleped swidages." Id., XVI, p. 96 (*Specimens*, VI, b. 84), swimesse means a "mass without music." Id., XVI, 98, tells the befitting duties on the three days, "A sherеðursdai[1] to absoluciun. a lange-fridai to holi cruche. an ester even to procession [abuten þe fanstone]."

Langa Frige-dæg.

Marshall institutes an interesting comparison between the names given by different nations to this day: Germ., Karfreitag, Gute Freitag, Still Freitag; French, Le grand Vendredi, Vendredi sanct or oré; English, Good Friday. The Scandi-

[1] Sherethursday long kept its name in the English Church: Horstmann's *Lives of the Saints*, 36, 360; 39, 220, 223, 244; 60, 25, On schere þores-day; Sir T. Malory (Caxton Reprint), 719, 32, On sherthursdaye. From the command contained in John XIII, 34, the Gospel for the day ("mandatum novum"), another name of the day, Maundy Thursday, was derived (Skeat, *Etym. Dict.* s. v.; Hazlitt, *Popular Antiquities*, I, 83–85).

navian nations still speak of Langfredag (*Danish-English Dictionary*, Ferrall and Repp, Copenhagen, 1845).

Langa Frige-dæg is not a hapaxlegomenon in Anglo-Saxon: *Canons* of Ælfric, 36, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 449, "Man ne mot halgian husel on langa frige-dæg forþan þe Crist þrowode on þone dæg for us" (cf. Notes of Johnson and Baron, p. 407); *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, E. 1137, "On his time þe Judeiss of Norwic bohtonan Cristenan cild beforen Eastren and pinidon him alle þe ilce pining þe ure Drihten was pined and on langfridai him on rode hengen," etc.; *Concordia*, 633, langunfrige (MS.) dæges þrowunge = excepta Parasceve passione; 734, No gloss to In die Parasceve (cf. L. Fragment). The word persisted for a short time in Middle English: Morris, *O. E. Homilies*, 2nd Ser., 95, 9, on lange fridai; Id., 99, 28–29, a lange fridai (*supra*).

Marshall derives the name from the longa oratio or lang gebed—a very probable etymology: Following the very unsafe guidance of the "swig-dagum" etymologist, one would conjecture that "langa" referred to the weary hours of the Crucifixion (compare Horstmann, *Lives of the Saints*, 36, 366, p. 229, A gode-friday al þe longue day).

In the *Shrine* Good Friday is placed on the same day as the Annunciation of Mary (March 25th),—a date often chosen for the day in Anglo-Saxon Calendars (Piper, *Kalendarien*, 71). The martyrologist had in mind the supposed duration of Christ's life (*Shrine*, 67), "þa æfter twa and ðritigum ȝeara and æfter ðrym monðum wæs Crist ahangen on rode on þone ylcan dæg," etc. See the excellent note on Good Friday, *Ann. Prayer Book*, 284; Hampson, *M. A. Kal.* s. v.

Easter Even.

The day was an important one in the Anglo-Saxon Church and is mentioned often in their writings: *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, E. 1047, on Easter æfen; E. 1097, oð ðet Easter æfen; Canute, *Laws*, 1, 12, Schmid, 262, and leoht-gesceot þriwa on geare, ærest on Easter æfen; Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, v, vii, 404, 27,

wæs þy halgan dæge þæs Easterlican reste-dæges. The Latin name for the day was Sabbatum Sanctum. Aldred's glosses in the *Lindisfarne Gospels* and the *Durham Ritual* are interesting: Cap. sec. Marcum, Skeat, 5, Sabbato Sancto mane = se seternes dæg halig arlig;[1] *Durham Ritual*, p. 29, Sabbato Sancto mane = ðe sæternes dæg halig arlig; compare *Concordia*, 833, Sabbato Sancto = on reste haligum.

Under this Rubric, the Harrowing of Hell tradition must be mentioned. The account in the *Martyr Book* sub March 26 (*Shrine*, 68), does not verge from the beaten track. In his note to this passage, Cockayne says that the Harrowing of Hell is a very ancient expansion of the text of Matt., XXVIII, 52, and cites Chrysostom, "Hom. II in Pascha;" Augustine, *Sermons*, XXXIX, 5 (2nd Easter Sunday), etc. The best Anglo-Saxon Version of the Legend is naturally the *Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus* (Thwaites, *Heptateuchus, etc.*, 1698; Bright, *A.-S. Reader*, 129, Selection, XIX, Notes, p. 219). Compare *Ann. Prayer Book*, 287.

Easter Day.

The Menologist (*Cælendcwide*, 56) ushers in Easter thus:

"Aprelis monaþ on þam oftust cymð
seo mære tid mannum to frofre
Drihtnes ærist ðænne dream gerist
wel wide gehwær swa se witega sang."

The movable character of the feast is then poetized. Bouterwek's Note upon this is very short and leaves much to be said.

So much has been written about the different times of Easter that I shall consider this but briefly. For a scientific discussion of the Easter question, see Butcher's *Ecclesiastical Calendar*, London, 1871; for references useful in the Anglo-Saxon

[1] This date can have no reference to "Sæternes dæg ær halgan dæg," R. Mark, VI, 45, as Skeat intimates, Mark, Introd., XXIII. It is noteworthy, however, that none of the Mark lessons are assigned to Sabbatum Sanctum (Easter Æfen) in the other versions of the Gospels or, for that matter, in any other Rubrics that I have seen (compare Tables).

field, compare Bede's *Eccl. Hist.* (often); Bede's *De Temporibus*, XIII–XV, M. *P. L.*, 90, 286–287, Giles, VI, 129; Theodore, "Penitentiale," XXX, 4, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 295; Synodus Pharensis (Whitby, 664), Spelman, *Concilia*, 144; Lingard's *Anglo-Saxon Church* (1845), I, 50. The definite Easter rules, appearing in Anglo-Saxon texts, have, however, been rarely cited. I may mention a few of these: MS. Cott., Caligula A., XV, fol. 126a, *Leechdoms*, III, 226: "On Marti ofer XII, Kl. Aprl. loca hwær þu finde XIII nihta ealdne monan ofer þæt se niesta sunnandæg bið eastor dæg;" MS. Cott., Titus D., XXVII, fol. 54b, cited by Hampson, *M. A. Kal.*, I, 101; *Hexameron* (Norman), VII, p. 12, "And ne beoð næfre Eastron ær se dæg cume ðæt ðæt leoht hæbbe ða ðeostru oferswiðed, ðæt is ðæt se dæg beo lengra ðonne seo niht." Compare Byrhtferð, *Anglia*, VIII, 309, 37; 310, 40; 322, 30; 324, 34.

Bouterwek, *Cædmon*, XCV, has discussed at length the connection between Easter and Eastre, a heathen Goddess, mentioned by Bede, *De Temporum Ratione*, Chap. XV. In *O. E. Homilies* (Morris), 2nd Ser., 97, 99, the popular etymologist, to whose mind consistency was never a bugbear, tells us: "þis dai is cleped estrene dai þat is aristes dai;" "þis dai is cleped estre dai, þat is estene dai and te este (dainty) is husel" ("hu-sel = how good"). For a safer etymology, compare Skeat, *Etym. Dict.* s. v. "Easter;" Kluge, *Etym. Wörtb.* s. v. "Ostern."

Bouterwek, l. c., has mentioned Gospel examples of the word. A number from other sources may be useful: Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, II, II (2), 98, 19, ne woldon Eastron healdan in heora tid; II, II (2), 102, 11, rihte Eastron; II, III (4), 106, 31, þa symbelnesse Eastrana and þone dæg þære drihtenlican æriste; II, III (4), 108, 3, in gehealde rihtra Eastrana; II, VIII (9), 122, 14, þy ærestan Eastordæge; II, VIII (9), 122, 26, þære ilcan neahte þære halgan Eastrena; III, IV, 164, 129; III, XIV, 206, 1; 206, 20, 22, on þara Eastra mærsunge; III, XVIII (26), 240, 4, in þære Easterlican symbelnesse; compare III, XX, 246, 34; V, VI (7), 404, 27; V, XVI, 446, 25;

v, xvi, 454, 24; v, xvii, 456, 21; v, xix, 468–470; v, xx, 472, 8; v, xx, 474, 1; *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 627, 641, 878 (C. 879), 1053, on Eastron; E. 639, Ercenbriht ærest Engliscra cininga, he gesette Eastor fæsten; 853, 872, A. 917 (B. C. D. 914), C. 979, C. D. E. 1010, ofer Eastron; A. 716, þæt hie Eastron on ryht healdan = D. E. on rihtum Eastrum; D. E. 774, on Eastertid; A. D. E. 878 (C. 879), C. 1053, on Eastran; A. C. 892 (B. 891), ofer Eastran ymbe gang-dagas oþþe ær; A. 921, foran to Eastron; C. D. E. 1012; C. D. E. 1016, toforan þam Eastron; C. 1012, wæs Easter dæg on ðam datarum Idus Aprilis = F. þa wæran Eastran Id. April; C. D. 1016, on ðone sunnan efen Octab. Pasce þa wæs xiii Kl. Mai; C. D. 1043 (E. F. 1042), on forman Easter daeig . . . . C. E. þa wæron Eastron on iii Non. April; E. 1061, innan þære Easter wucan on xiiii Kal. Mai; C. D. 1066, to þam Eastron—þa wæron efter þam middanwinter and wæron þa Eastran on þone dæg xvi Kal. Mai; E. 1086, 1087, 1096, to þam Eastron; D. 1067, on þisan Eastron, þa wæron Eastren on x Kal. April; E. 1095, on þisum geare wæron Eastron on viii Kal. April., and þa uppan Eastron; 1097, þa togeanes Eastron; 1116, æfter Eastron; 1122, on Pasches; 1123, eall Eastren-tyde; 1125, on Eastran daei; 1127, an to Eastren; 1130, æfter Easterne; 1100, 1104, 1105, 1107, 1109, 1110, 1111, 1113, 1116, to Eastron (the plural in these examples is the ordinary Anglo-Saxon use; cf. Bouterwek, *Id.*, xcvi); *Benedict. Rule*, Gloss, viii, 37, 5; xli, 73, 16, oð Eastran = usque in Pascha; viii, 37, 10; xv, 45, 18, fram Eastran = a Pascha; xv, 45, 10; xli, 73, 4, fram þære haligan Eastran = a sancto Pascha; Id., Translation, vii, 32, 10, oþ Eastron ("Winteney," fort Eastron); vii, 32, 19; x, 34, 7; xv, 39, 14, 21, 22; xlviii, 73, 8, from Eastron = a Pascha; xli, 65, 13, fram þam halgan Eastrun oð pentecosten; xlix, 77, 11, þara Eastrona ("Winteney," 103, 3, þa Eastre tid); *Blickling Homilies*, 35, 31, Easterlican; 35, 34, Easterdagas; 67, 24; 71, 24, Eastrum; 83, 7, Eastorlic; Ælfric, *Homilies*, i, 178, 23, oð ðone

halgan Easter dæg; I, 182, 3, seo halige Easter-tid; I, 216, 33, on þone Easterlican sunnan-dæg; I, 296, 20, fram ðære halgan Easter-tide; I, 310, 22, fram ðam halgan Easterlican dæge; II, 30, 5; 40, 11; 156, 14, on Easter-tide; II, 30, 33; 84, 29, ær Eastron; II, 32, 14, on þam ðriddan Easterlicum dæge (Easter Tuesday); II, 30, 36, on þam Easter dæge; II, 84, 21, oð þa halgan Easter-tide; II, 84, 30, on þam saternes-dages þære Easterlican wucan; II, 88, 5, his heofonlican Easter-tide; II, 278, 17, Crist is ure Easter-tide; II, 156, 14; 242, 21; 252, 10; 260, 6; 278, 13; 282, 31; 380, 28; Ælfric, "Homily upon John, XI, 47–54," Assmann, Grein, *Bibl. der A.-S. Prosa*, III, p. 67, l. 60, Hyt wæs þa gehende heora Easter-tide, and hi woldon habban þone halgan Easter-dæg geblodegodne welhreowlice mid þæs hælendes blod; Assmann, *Id.*, 152, 13, ær ðam symbeldæge þæra Eastrona. The verb, "beon ge-eastrode" (Wulfstan, *Homilies*, XXIII, 117, 14, K (Tib. A., III)), has not been noticed by Bosworth-Toller.

The Passover of the Old Dispensation and the Easter of the New were closely related in the eyes of Anglo-Saxon Churchmen. Pascha is glossed by Easter; "it was their Easter," Ælfric tells us in his Homily upon John, XI, 47 sq. (*supra*). In his *Homilies*, II, 282 (cited by Bouterwek, *Cœlendcwide*, p. 23), he calls Pascha Faereld; compare Id., I, 310; II, 266, 18. Byrhtferð, 134, *Anglia*, VIII, 322, 1, says, "Pascha is ebreisc nama ȝ he getacnað ofer færeld," and, after giving a description of the Paschal feast, concludes, "Id est transitus Domini, hyt is witodlice Godes færeld." It is interesting to compare Old Testament passages: Ex., XII, 21, offriað Phase þæt ys færeld; Ex., XI, 27, hit ys Godes færeldes offrung = victima transitus Domini est; Lev., XXIII, 5, on þam feowerteoðan dæge þæs forman monðes (March) on æfen bið drihtnes færeld (Phase Domini est); Joshua, V, 5, 10.

The regard paid to Easter in Anglo-Saxon times is evinced by *Concordia*, V, 832–892, where the Easter-service is given in full; by Ælfric's *Homilies*, I, XV, II, XV, and by *Blickling*

Homilies, VII; by the *Durham Ritual*, pp. 24, 177; by Byrhtferð, *Anglia*, VIII, 323, 330, 8; and by the *Martyr Book*, *Shrine*, p. 67. For the many civil and ecclesiastical Easter laws, compare the Indexes of Thorpe and Schmid, and Andrews's excellent Monograph, *The Old English Manor*.

Ofer Eastron be þære rode.

Marshall quotes from Æthelwold's *De Consuetudine Monachorum* (*Englische Studien*, IX, 296): "Singan hi þone antemp be þære halgan rode and þær æfter ænne be sancta Mariam." This will be found in the original[1] of the *De Cons. Mon.*, the *Concordia*, l. 240. A passage from *Concordia*, 348, is even more to the point: "Post sextam eant ad mensam hoc semper attendendum ut sexta feria de Cruce, Sabbato de Sancta Maria, nisi festiva aliqua die evenerit, missa celebretur principalis" ("On syxtan worcdage be þære rode, on saternes dæg be Sca. Marian"). This explains also R. Luke, X, 38, "Sæterndagum be Maria."[2]

Turner, *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, 1828, III, Book X, p. 500, and Lingard, *History of Anglo-Saxon Church*, 1845, I, 422, Notes, have debated the idolatry of cross-worship in the Anglo-Saxon Church, and Bouterwek, *Cædmon*, CLXV sq., has discussed it at some length. Space does not permit me to consider the question; but a few references, not as yet mentioned, may aid future students of Rood-worship: *Concordia*, l. 766

[1] This has been discussed by me, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, June, 1893.

[2] *Sarum Missal*, Appendix E, p. 614: "The reasons assigned at the beginning of this Mass (p. 521) for the origin of Saturday in commemoration of our Lady are: 1st. That at Constantinople the veil before her image was drawn aside every Friday evening at Vespers, and replaced at the same hour the following night; 2nd. That, when all the disciples forsook our Lord and fled, she only who had borne him without pain and knew that he was God, remained; 3rd. Because the Sabbath is a day of rest and she is the door of Heaven; 4th. Because the Feast of the Mother should follow that of the Son; 5th. For that on the day our Lord rested from labor the Service should be more joyous." For other references to "The Saturday," see Waterton, *Pietas Mariana Britannica*, 1879, p. 141.

sq., the full service described (cf. Durand, *Rationale*, VI, 77, 21, p. 229); 182, 242, 284 sq., 385, 665, 735, 833, 870, 895; *Durham Ritual*, p. 93, ad crucem salutandam; p. 150, Antifo' ad crucem; Ælfric's *Homilies*, I, 588, 16; 610, 10; II, 240, 23; 306, 21 (discussed by Bouterwek, l. c.); *Blickling Homilies*, 97, 10, "forþon we sceolan weorðian þæt halige sigetacen Cristes rode and æfter fylgeon and biddon ure synna forgifnessa ealle æt somne;" 27, 27; 33, 11; 47, 11–16; 90, 21; 191, 5; Assmann, *Homilies*, XIV, Grein, III, 164, "forþam we sculan weorðian Cristes rode and biddan ure synna forgifnessa ealle æt somne;" XV, 175, l. 169; 197, 214; XVII, 194, 34; Wulfstan, *Homilies*, 227, 8; *Shrine*, p. 67; *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 885, "He (Marinus) sende him (Ælfred) micla gifa and þære rode dæl þe Crist on þrowode"= B. 883, Marinus sende lignum Domini Ælfredi cinge;" E. 1070, "ac hi (the outlaws of Hereward) rohton na þing gedon into þe mynstre clumben upp to þe halge rode namen þa þe kynehelm of ure Drihtnes heafod."

Gang-days.

The Gang-days Rubrics (see Tables) present some difficulties. Neither Marshall (Notes, 525) nor Bouterwek (Note to *Cœlendcwide*, 71–75) makes clear the connection existing between the Gang-days and the Major and Minor Litanies; but Piper's Table of Calendars is helpful. My purpose is threefold:—I. To trace briefly the early history of the Major and Minor Litanies. II. To show that the Major Litany, contrary to the Roman custom, was placed on the Gang-days by the Anglo-Saxons of the 10th Century. III. To prove, contra Bouterwek, that the Gang-days always fell in the week of the Ascension.

I.

Durand, *Rationale*, VI, 102, 8, describes, upon the authority of Paul the Deacon (*De Gestis Langobardorum*, III, 24, M. *P. L.*, 95), the institution of the Major Litany: "The Major is in the feast of St. Mark (April 25th), and was created by the

blessed Gregory after a plague, the groin swelling." Durand then explains the three names of the Litany, the Gregorian, Cruces Nigrae and Septiform (*Concordia*, 847, includes in its service the Letanie Septene). Compare Notes to Gregory's *Liber Sacramentorum*, 393, M. *P. L.*, 78, 385; "In Ordinem Romanum Commentarius," XCVII, Id., 908; CXV, Id., 916; Glossaries of Spelman and Du Cange, s. v. "The Minor Litany," says Durand, *Rationale*, VI, 102, 4, "which is called also Rogations and Processions, was made for the three days before Ascension by Mamertus, Bishop of Vienna, who, on account of the plague of wolves and wild animals and the severe earthquakes, declared a three days fast and instituted Litanies. It is called Minor because it was established by a minor person, a simple bishop, in a minor place, Vienna. The other is called Major because it was established at a greater place, Rome, by a greater man, Gregory, and for a great and severe sickness." Compare the copious references, given by Du Cange s. v. "Rogationes," and by Spelman s. v. "Perambulatio."

That the Major and Minor Litanies early came into conflict in England is shown by the 16th Canon of the Council of Clovesho (747), Spelman, *Concilia*, 249. This is given by Bouterwek in his *Cœlendcwide* Note, and is discussed by Piper, *Kalendarien*, p. 42; but I insert a part of it, as necessary to my subsequent discussion: "Ut Letaniae, i. e. Rogationes a clero omnique populo his diebus cum magna reverentia agantur, i. e. die septimo Kalendarum Maiarum (April 25th) juxta ritum Romanae ecclesiae, quae et Letania Major apud eam vocatur. Et item quoque secundum morem priorum nostrorum tres dies ante Ascensionem Domini in caelos . . . . venerentur." Du Cange's references s. v. "Letania Romania" and "Letania Gallicana" show how correct the Canon was in its distinction between the uses of the two churches.

II.

The question now arises. Was the Letania Romana or the Letania Gallicana of Mamertus the major prayer-service

among the Anglo-Saxons? In Bede's *Homilies* and in his *Poetical Calendar* (Piper, 72, 76) the Major Litany is placed, in strict accordance with Roman custom, upon St. Mark's Day (April 25)—and these were written many years before Clovesho. Yet the Gallic custom ("secundum morem priorum nostrorum") of observing the Major Litany in Gang-week was certainly dominant in the time of Ælfric. Feria Secunda Litania Majore (Rubric, *Homilies*, II, XXI, p. 314), In Litania Majore Feria Tertia (Rubric, II, XXII, p. 332), In Letania Majore Feria Quarta (Rubr., II, XXV, p. 360) indicate the three days before Ascension. Ælfric tells us in the last mentioned Homily, that "to-day (Wednesday, Greater Litany) is the vigil of the great festival, which will be to-morrow (cf. R. John, XVII, 1, Wodnesdæg, Gang-wucan to þam Vigilian), because on that day Jesus, after his resurrection, ascended to his Heavenly Father." In *Homilies*, I, XVIII, p. 244, he attributes to Mamertus the establishment of the Greater Litany, and again, when, in his Homily on St. Gregory (Thorpe, II, IX; Elstob's *English-Saxon Homily*, 26–27; Bright, *Anglo-Saxon Reader*, 90), he describes (p. 126) the establishment of the sevenfold Litany, he links it with no service in his own church. Hampson remarked (*M. A. Kalendarium*, I, 227) this peculiar usage.

Wanley cites in his *Catalogue* (see Index) many Major Litany Homilies on the Gang-days. An extract from one of these shows the close allegiance to Gallic usage (S. 5, XXXIX, 422, "Sermo in Letania Majore," Wanley, p. 119): "M. þ. l. cwæð se halga lareow hwæt we gemunan maȝon þæt we oft gehyrdon secgan þæt wise men ðurh haliges Gastes gyfe gesetton us þas halgan Gang-dagas, þry to fæstenne and on to gangenne ure sawle to þearfe." Another piece of evidence to the close connection between Litania Major and Gang-days is that MS. S. 14, XLV, 219, Wanley, 135, gives "Alius sermo Feria III in Rogationibus" as the Rubric of a sermon, which is elsewhere (S. 5, XXXVIII, 412, Wanley, 119) assigned to "Major Letania, Feria III." *Blickling Homily*, IX (p. 104),

which has the Rubric, "Crist se Goldbloma," is found with Rubric, "In Letania Majore, Feria Tertia" in MS. CCC. S. 9, h. 33 (Morris, Introduction to *Blickling Homilies*, p. xii). The Gang-day Homilies of the Vercelli MS. (Wülker, *Grundriss*, p. 489) show the same usage; but no clue to date is given by Ælfric's *Lives of the Saints*, Rubric to xvii, Sermo in Laetania Majore. Byrhtferð, Ælfric's contemporary, has doubtless the Major Litany in mind when he says (172, *Anglia*, viii, 329, 21): "On morgen byð se forman gang-dæg. þa dagas synt gehaten Letaniarum dies on grecisc and on lyden rogacionum and on englisc ben-dagas."

The Roman observance was by no means uncommon; with the exception of the 10th Century, it was the prevailing usage in the Saxon Church. We are told in *Cœlendcwide*, l. 70:

"ðæt embe nihtgontyne niht[gerimes]
ðæs ðe Easter-monað to us cymeð
ðæt man reliquias ræran onginneð
halig[ra] gehyrste þæt is healic dæg
ben-tiid bremu."

The dates in these lines have proved a crux to scholars (see Grein, *Germania*, x, 422; *Paul u. Braune Beitraege*, x, 517; Holthausen, *Mittheilungen* (*Anglia*, December, 1892), iii, viii, 239). Bouterwek makes a happy reference to *Durham Ritual*, p. 36, "Hi sunt capitulae in Letania Majore þæt is on fif dagas," but his inference that the "five days" (April 20–25) were Gang-days is not warranted (*infra*).

The *Martyr Book*, which, as Cockayne claims (*Shrine*, p. 44) and Wülker is inclined to think (*Grundriss*, p. 451), is of the age of Ælfred, shows the Roman custom (*Shrine*, 74): "On þone fif and twentezðan dæg ðæs monðes (April 25th) bið seo tid on Rome and on eallum zodes ciricum, seo is nemned Laetania Majora, þæt is þonne micelra bena dæg," etc. The Minor Litany also is recognized, *Shrine*, 79 (May 3rd): "hwilum ær hwilum æfter beoð þa þry dagas on þæm godes ciricum, and cristes folc mærsiað Letanias." These quotations from the *Shrine* were translated by Hampson (*M. A. Kalendarium*, i, 227) directly from MS. Julius A., x, fol. 86b.

In the *Calendar* in MS. Cott., Titus D., XXVII (Piper, 76; Hampson, I, 438), composed certainly after 1012 A. D., as it contains under April 19th the name of St. Alphegius, who died in that year, Letania Major is placed on April 25th. This is the case in later *Chronicle* entries: A°. 1066 (Th., 336), on þone æfen Letania Majore þe is VIII Kalendas Mai; E. 1109, and wæs se forma Easter dæg on Letania Major (a fixed date). Compare Hampson, Glossary s. v. Litania; Piper, *Kalendarien*, p. 90; Hazlitt, *Popular Antiquities*, I, 109.

III.

I have already noted the error of Bouterwek's belief (*Cœlendcwide*, p. 24) that the Gang-week immediately preceded St. Mark's day. Byrhtferð's words (147, *Anglia*, VIII, 324, 35) apply perfectly to the days before the Ascension. "Se mona in gangdagum ne mæg beon jungra þonne an and twentig ne yldra þonne nigon and twentig . . . Gangdagas ne magon næfre beon ær v Kl. Mai ne æfter pridie IX Kal. Junii." The *Martyr Book*, *Shrine*, 79, sub May 3rd, keeps the Gang-days perfectly distinct from its Litania Major of April 25; and "þa fif dagas" of the *Durham Ritual* (*supra*) has nothing to do with the Gang-days. "To Gangdagon þæge[1] twegen dagas" (R. Luke, XI, 5) refer to Monday and Tuesday of Ascension week. Gang-days are mentioned in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle:* A°. 913, 921, 922, 1016, 1063, ðа gangdagas (cited by Bouterwek); A. 913, 922, betweox gangdagum and middan sumera; 1016, to þam gangdagum after middan sumera (a mistake, Thorpe, p. 280). Compare Indexes in Thorpe, *A. L.* and in Schmid, *Gesetze*, and *Annotated Prayer Book*, 296–298.

Ascension.

In connection with this day the Rubrics, "On Wednesday in Gang-week at the Vigils" (R. John, XVII, 1) and "Thursday in Gang-week" (R. Mark, XVI, 4) must be mentioned.

[1] "þæge" is a rare but legitimate form (cf. John XII, 14, where the Hatton MS. reads "þa"). See Kluge, *Paul's Grundriss* I, 902, § 122.

The *Durham Ritual*, p. 127, mentions the Service, "De Ascensione;" the *Martyr Book, Shrine*, 80, places under May 5th. "se dæg þe ure Dryhten to heofonum astag;" and Ælfric writes a Homily for the day (I, XXI, p. 294). Ascension Day was sometimes known as Holy Thursday: Ælfred, V, 5, Schmid, *Gesetze*, 74, "se þe stalaŏ on Sunnan-niht oŏŏe on Gehhol oŏŏe on Eastron oŏŏe on þone Halgan Þunresdæg . . . twybote swa on Lencten fæsten." In *Blickling Homilies*, XI, 155, the Rubric, "On þa Halgan Þunresdæg" is written in a later hand.

Pentecost.

Byrhtferð gives definite rules for finding Pentecost: 147, *Anglia*, VIII, 324, 36, "Se mona on pentecosten ne mæg beon jungra þon fif nihta ne yldra þon endlufon. pentecosten ne mæg beon ær VI Id. Mai ne æfter Idus Junii." Cf. Id., 84, *Anglia*, VIII, 311, 15; 172–173, Id., 329, 26. MS. Cott., Titus D., XXVII (Hampson, I, 439; Piper, p. 76), assigns the "Prima Pentecostes" to May 15th and "Ultima Pentecostes" to June 13th—an error, of course, as Pentecost can fall upon May 10th. The *Martyr Book* (*Shrine*, 85, 3; Wanley, *Catalogue*, 107) places "se micla dæg ŏe is nemned Pentecosten" under May 15th.

Ælfric, *Homilies*, I, 310, draws from Beda's Pentecost Homily (*Anglia*, XVI, 20) an explanation of the significance of the day in the Old and New Dispensations. Compare *Blickling Homilies*, 133, 11.

The day is often mentioned in the *Chronicle:* A. B. C. E., 626, on þone halgan æfen Pentecostes; A. 972, on Pentecostenes mæsse-dæg; D. 1067, on Hwitan Sunnan-dæg;[1] E.

[1] In an excellent article on "Lok Sounday," *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, 1892, pp. 88–108, Professor John M. Manly has discussed exhaustively the Saxon Whitsunday. Id., Note 4, page 107, may be supplemented by a reference to the Mark Capitula in the "Lindisfarne MS.," Skeat, *Gospel acc. to St. Mark*, 5, "Post Pentecosten in jejunium feria, III . . . feria VI de albas Paschae" = æfter fifteig dæg fæstern wodnes-dæge . . . frige-dæg of ŏæm hwitum eostres." See Baron, *Guardian*, Aug. 17th, 1859; Earle, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Note to page 347.

1086, to þam Pentecosten; E. 1087, on Pentecosten; 1099, 1100, 1102, on Pentecosten mæssan wucan; 1104, ðises geares wæs se forma Pentecostes dæg on Nonas Jun. 1107, 1108, 1109, 1110, 1111, 1113, 1121, 1123, ofer Pentecoste wuce. For service at Pentecost, compare *Concordia*, VIII, *Durham Ritual*, 127; for Pentecost laws, Edgar, II, 3, Schmid, 186; Æthelred, V, 11, Schmid, 222; VI, 17, Schmid, 230; VIII, 9, Schm., 244; Canute, I, 8, Schm., 258; I, 16, § 1, Schm., 264.

Ember Days.

Baron (Johnson's *Laws and Canons*, 173–180) has made a careful study of these periods of fasting in the Anglo-Saxon Church. The etymology of "Ember" has long since been made clear (compare *Century* and *New English Dictionaries*); but Lingard, *Anglo-Saxon Church*, 1845, I, 427, believed that "ymbren" denoted some part of the service of the day, probably the circuit or public procession made at that time. Ymbren, however, often occurs in the sense of "year's course" (Ælfric, *Homilies*, I, 104, 18, eft ymbe geara ymbrynum; II, 84, 24; 98, 20; 182, 26, etc.; compare Marshall, p. 528); and we are told of the Quatuor Tempora by Leo (442 A. D.), cited by Baron, *Id.*, 176: "ita per totius anni circulum distributa sunt."

The position of the Ember Days changed within Anglo-Saxon times. According to the "Penitentiale" of Ecgbert, Add. 21, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 391, "þa riht ymbren dagas" fell "on Kl. Martii on þære forman wucan and Kal. Julii on þære afteran wucan and on Kal. Septembri on þære þriddan wucan and on Kal. Decembri on þa nehstan wucan ær Cristes mæssan." This was the Gregorian arrangement, *Liber Sacramentorum*, 106, 400, M. *P. L.*, 78, 118, 391 (cf. Æthelred, VI, 23, and ymbren and fæsten swa swa Scs. Gregorius Angelcynne sylf hit gedihte). This arrangement was adhered to by Calendar Cott. Vitellius E. XVIII of the 11th Century (Hampson, *M. A. Kal.*, I, 422 sq., Glossary, s. v. Ember Days). In the "Dialogus" of Ecgbert (Baron, *Id.*, 180) and in our Rubrics,

the Ember Weeks were the First Week in Lent, Pentecost Week, the Week before Harvest Equinox, and the Week before Midwinter. They were established at their present position by the Council of Placentia (1095 A. D.) (*N. E. Dict.* s. v.; *Ann. Prayer Book*, 236, 248, 270, 673). The Ember Days were always on Wednesdays, Fridays and Saturdays; compare Byrhtferð, 88, *Anglia*, VIII, 311, 38; 90, *Id.*, 312, 13. The *Concordia*, 584, 1036, gives the service at these times; and the Laws direct, on the Ember Days, fasting (Canute, I, 16, Schmid, 262), forbid oaths and ordeals (Æthelred, V, 18, Schm., 224; VI, 25, Schm., 230; Canute, I, 17, Schm., 264), and make the four Wednesdays prominent among the days of rejoicing for "theow-men" and freemen (Ælfred, 43, Schm., 96).

Midsummer.

"Đænne wuldres ðegn
ymb ðreotyne þeodnes dyrling
Johannes in geardagan wearð acenned
tyn nihtum eac we ða tide healdað
on midne sumor." (*Cœlendcwide*, l. 115).

Bouterwek's long note to this passage renders mine short. Hickes, *Ant. Lit. Sept.*, I, 219, cites from the *Martyr Book* this passage (*Shrine*, 95, 4): "On þone feower and twentez þan dæg þæs monþes bið Sce. Johannes acennes þæs fulweres, se wæs acenned sex monðum ær Crist and Gabriel se heah engel bodade acennesse and sægde his fæder his noman ær þon he acenned wære." St. Augustine's pretty symbolism in Ælfric's Homily upon this day (I, XXV, p. 356) has already been noted.

Midsummer is mentioned frequently in the *Chronicle:* A. 898, ær middum sumera; B. C. 916, A. 920, 922, foran to middan sumera; B. 918, XII nihtum ær middan sumera (C. inserts pridie Id Junii); A. 922, XII nihtum ær middan sumera; C. D. E. 1006, ofer þone midne sumor; C. D. E. 1016, æfter middan sumera; C. D. 1040, foran to middan

sumera (E. 1039, VII nihtum ær middan sumera); C. 1056, VIII nihton (D. ehtan nihte) ær middan sumera; E. 1131, and þær wunode eall to mid sumer daei and þes oðer daies æfter, S. Johannis messedai; D. 1068; E. 1097, 1101, 1114.

For discussions of Midsummer, compare Belethus, Chap. 137, p. 365; Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, 617–624, 757; Hazlitt, *Popular Antiquities*, I, 169–187; Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, p. 402; *Annotated Prayer Book*, St. John Baptist's Day.

St. Michael's Mass Day.

For a list of MSS. containing homilies for this day, compare Morris, *Blickling Homilies*, Introduction, XV. Just as Rome-penny was exacted at Peter's Mass (Andrews's *Old English Manor*), so "pecunia eleemosinae" was exacted in this time (Æthelred, VII, 7, Schm., 241; Anhang, III, § 4, Schm., 374).[1] A three days fast was also enjoined (Æthelred, VII, 7, Schm., 240).

All Saints' Mass.

"And þy ylcan dæge ealra we healdaþ
Sancta symbel ðara ðe siþ oððe ær
Worhtan in worulde willan drihtnes."
(*Cælendcwide*, l. 199).

Compare Bede, *Latin Poetical Calendar* (Piper); *Martyr Book* (*Shrine*, 144; Wanley, *Catalogue*, p. 108), ealra halgena tid; Ælfric, *Homilies*, I, 359; *Leechdoms*, III, 155, All Hallows an unfavorable time for blood-letting; *Laws*, Schmid, Index.

Advent.

The "Before Midwinter" Rubrics will fall, of course, under this head. A rule for determining the beginning of Advent is given in MS. Cott., Cal. A., XV, fol. 126a, *Leechdoms*, III, 226:

[1] The enumeration of Church Dues, MS. Tiberius A. III, fol. 89a., has been printed by Cockayne, *Shrine*, p. 208.

"Ælce ȝeare þonne þu scyle witan hwylce dæge man scyle weorðian, and healdan þone halgan sunnan dæg, adventum domini, warna þe þanne þæt þu hit naht ær v, Kal. Decemb' (Nov. 27) ne naht æfter III, Nonas þises sylfes monðes (Dec. 3) ne healde; ac on þison seofan dagum þu scealt healdan butan ælcere tweonunge þone dæg and þone tokyme mid ealre arwurðnesse."

Ælfric says of the season (*Homilies*, I, 600): "þeos tid oð midne winter is gecweden, ADVENTUS DOMINI, þæt is DRIHTNES TO-CYME. His to-cyme is his menniscnys. . . . Nu stent se gewuna on Godes gelaðunge, þæt ealle Godes ðeowan on cyrclicum ðenungum, ægðer ge on halgum raedingum ge on gedremum lofsangum, ðære witegena gyddunga singallice on þyssere tide reccað." At this time the Laws forbid ordeals and oaths (Æthelred, v, 18, Schmid, 224; Wulfstan, XXIII (47), 117, 15), and "wifunga" (Æthelred, VI, 25, Schm., 230; Canute, I, 17, Schm., 264). Compare *Durham Ritual*, 127, "De Adventu Domini;" *Concordia*, 487, on to-cyme Drihtnes = In Adventu Domini; Capitula in Lindisfarne MS.; *Ann. Prayer Book*, 116, 245–249, 592.

On Sætern-dæg to Æw-fæstene ær Middan-wintra, R. Luke, III, 1.

Marshall's translation (p. 532), "Sabbato Quatuor Temporum Adventus" is not strictly correct and his note shows how much the Rubric perplexed him: "Æw Saxonibus nostris significabat jejunium-nuptias. . . . An vero haec feria esurialis dicta fuerit Æw-fæsten quod fortasse seculis illis remotioribus aeque ac quibusdam citerioribus prohibitum fuisset majoribus nostris celebrare nuptias sub hanc Jejunii solemnitatem, definiant alii quibus copia librorum otiumque eos versandi suppetunt." Blessed with the "greater supply of books," Bosworth explains "æw-fæsten" as "a fixed or legal fast" (*Gospels*, p. 578; Bosworth-Toller, s. v.).

Are Æw-fæsten and Æ-fæsten identical? Æ means both "law" and "marriage" (Bosworth-Toller, s. v.); and Æw

appears with the meaning "law," Ine, Proæmium, 1 (Thorpe, *A. L.*, 45). In the place cited other MSS. read æwe and æ (cf. O. Frs., â, ê, êwe; O. H. G., êwa, êha, êa). Schmid, Glossar, s. v. Æwe regards Æw as a plural form of Æ. In any case, it is clear that we may regard Æw-fæsten as a variant of Æ-fæsten and not as a "jejunium-nuptiae."

The Æ-festene are thus described by Ecgbert, "Confessionale," 37, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 358: "Ðreo *æ-fæstenu* (legitima jejunia) syndon on geare; an ofer eall folc, swa þæt XL nihta foran to Eastron, þonne we þone teoðan sceat þæs geares lysað; *and þæt XL nihta ær ȝeolum*, þonne gebiddeð hine eall þæt werod fore, and orationes rædað, and þæt XL nihta ofer Pentecosten." Another description will be found, "Capitula" of Theodore, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 309. These fasts are elsewhere referred to: "Penitentiale" of Ecgbert, Add. 21, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 391, fæste XL daga, butan þam æ-fæstenum (exceptis legitimis jejuniis) and lengten fæsten; "Confessionale" of Ecgbert, XXIX, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 355, gif wif dry-cræft and galdor and unlibban wyrce, fæste XII monað oððe III æ-fæstenu oððe XL nihta; *Id.*, XXX. The word Æ-fæsten is used with a broader meaning, "Penitentiale" of Ecgbert, Add., I, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 390, and aa hwile þe he lifige, fæste Wodnesdagum and Frige-dagum and þa þreo *oðre* æ-fæstenu forga flæsc. In the Notes to Gregory's *Liber Sacramentorum*, M. *P. L.*, 78, § 445, p. 433, the three Quadragesimas or "legitima jejunia" are discussed at length, and their observance among the Gauls of the Sixth Century proved. Bede mentions them, *Eccl. Hist.*, III, XIX, 244, 22; IV, XXXI, 376, 9.

If Æw-fæstene is the Winter Quadragesima, to what Saturday in the fast does our Rubric apply? Without doubt, to the Saturday immediately before Midwinter. (1). In *Calendar*, Cott. Vitellius, E. XVIII, printed by Hampson, *M. A. Kal.*, I, 433, "Mense December in proximo Sabbato ante vigilia Natale Domini celebratio." (2). Of all the Ember Days in the year, this alone has received no gospel. (3). The gospel for the Saturday of Æw-fæstene before Midwinter corresponds to the

text of Gregory's Homily "In Sabbato Quat. Temp. ante Nat. Christi" (Tables).

To Cyric-halgungum. R. John, x, 22.

Marshall, p. 533 and Piper, *Kalendarien*, 107, show that each cloister had its Wake day. Church-hallowings are mentioned frequently in Anglo-Saxon writings: Æthelwold, "De Consuetudine Monachorum," *Engl. Stud.*, IX, 296, singan hi be þære cyric-halgung; *Concordia*, 546, 620; Ælfric, *Homilies*, II, 574; *Martyr Book* (*Shrine*, 136, 4; Wanley, *Catalogue*, 109), on þone XXVIIII dæg þæs monðes (September) bið Sce. Michael Cirican gehalgung; *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 1065 (Thorpe, 332), and Edward Kinge com to Westmynstre to þam middanwintre and seo Cyrc-halgung was on Cilda-mæssedæg and he forðferde on Twelftan Æfen; Wright-Wülker, *Vocabularies*, 484, 13, Scenophegia, tabernaculorum dedicatio; 484, 16, Encenie, nove dedicationis (compare Belethus, c. 134, p. 364, Scenophegia, ante fixionem tabernaculorum in Septembri; Encenia, dedicatio in Decembri).

Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, III, XVII, 232, 3, tells us of Cedd: "He said it was the habit of those from whom he learnt the rule of monastic discipline, to hallow first to the Lord, by prayer and fasting, the new sites which they received for the erection of monastery or church." Wulfstan, *Homilies*, LIV, 277, 10, thus addresses his flock: "Leofan men ic wille eow nu cyðan ymbe cyric mærsunge þæt ge þe geornor understandan magan hu man cirican weorþian scyle þe gode sylfum to lofe and to wurðmynte gehalgod bið." Such advice was necessary, to judge from Ælfric, *Lives of the Saints*, XXI, 313:

> "Sume men eac drincað æt deadra manna lice
> Ofer ealle þa niht swiðe unrihtlice
> And gremiað god mid heora gegaf-spræce
> þonne nan gebeorscipe, ne gebyrað æt lice
> Ac halige gebedu þær gebyriað swiðor."

This must have been equally true of Church-wakes to make necessary *Canons* of Edgar, 28, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 397, "and we læraŏ þæt man æt ciric-wæccan swiŏe gedreoh si, and georne gebidde and ænig gedrince and ænig unnit þar ne dreoge."

Useful references are: Spelman, *Glossary*, s. v. Wak, "Haec eadem sunt quae apud Ethnicos Paganalia dicuntur;" Hampson, *M. A. Kal.*, I, 351 sq.; Glossary, s. v. Wake; Bouterwek, *Cœlendcwide* s. "Michaheles;" Hazlitt, *Popular Antiquities*, II, 1. A stanza from a song of the German Steiermärker (*Chronik der Zeit* (1892), Heft. XVII) will show how such an anniversary is celebrated in our own day:

"Und kimmt halt der Kirta
Da geh'n wir zum Tanz
Da wixt sie sich z'samma.
Recht nett auf'n Glanz."

Note.—With the exception of a few recent references, my work has been in its present form since May, 1893; but publication has been delayed by unavoidable circumstances.

FREDERICK TUPPER, JR.

V.—A PARALLEL BETWEEN THE MIDDLE ENGLISH POEM *PATIENCE* AND AN EARLY LATIN POEM ATTRIBUTED TO TERTULLIAN.

The Middle English poem *Patience*, it will be remembered, is in the main a paraphrase of the book of Jonah. In the main also, the medieval writer has followed the biblical narrative, as he has in *Clannesse* when narrating the fall of the angels, the flood, the destruction of Sodom, and the capture of Babylon. But just as in these latter stories the English poet has taken considerable freedom with the biblical account, both in vividness at the expense of a literal rendering and in the use of medieval scripture interpretation, so in recounting the life of Jonah there are passages which have no close connection with the book of the prophet. The most remarkable of these is the extension of two sentences in the book of Jonah into some thirty-nine lines, describing vividly and picturesquely the storm at sea which overtook Jonah and his companions. Of this striking extension, and of certain additions which also occur in it, no source has ever been pointed out so far as I am aware. Nor has attention been called to a close parallelism between this portion of *Patience*, and a similar extension of the same story in the poem *De Jona et Nineve*,[1] formerly attributed to Tertullian.

The likeness between the two poems may be traced in general and in particular as follows. *Patience* consists of 531 lines, of which, after an introduction of 60 lines, a paraphrase of Chapter I of the book of Jonah occupies lines 61 to 302. The remaining 228 lines of the poem relate the story of the remaining chapters of Jonah. The Latin poem, a fragment of 103 hexameter lines, is based on Chapter I of

[1] The poem may be found in *Collectio Pisaurensis Poetarum Latinorum*, v, 15, and in Migne, *Patrologiæ*, ii, 1107–1114. A translation occurs in the *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, xviii, 278.

the scripture story. The remarkable resemblance between the two poems is largely in the account of the storm, based on Chapter I, verse 4 and part of 5. These two sentences as stated above are expanded to 27 lines in the Latin poem, or from line 28 to 55, and to 39 lines in *Patience*, that is from line 129 to 168. Beyond this marked resemblance in the two poems there are some other points of similarity, which help to establish in most particulars the parallel suggested.

It is only when we trace the likeness in particular, however, that the significance of the parallelism fully appears. Yet in tracing more minute resemblances between two passages, there is naturally great danger in overestimating general agreement, in this case, for example, points that might occur in any poetical description of a storm. Even such points are important, however, when they are numerous and occur in the same order. It is for this latter reason therefore, that some particulars will be mentioned, which taken out of their connection would not be noteworthy. It should be said also that the poet of *Patience*, as every reader knows, needed no model in describing the sea. Of this the admirable description of the ark tossed upon the waves (*Clannesse*, 413–424), and the setting sail from Joppa (*Patience*, 101–108) are conclusive proof. Notwithstanding, the number of minute resemblances, as well as some for which mere coincidence is not a plausible explanation, indicate conclusively, it seems to me, that the poet of *Patience* had in mind the medieval Latin poem and that it suggested to him certain extensions of the scripture story.

In noting the points of resemblance, we may for convenience call *Patience* A. and the pseudo-Tertullian poem B. The scripture sentences which suggested the storm are as follows in the St. James version: "But the Lord sent out a great wind into the sea, and there was a mighty tempest in the sea, so that the ship was like to be broken. Then the mariners were afraid, and cried every man unto his God, and cast forth the wares that were in the ship into the sea to lighten it of them." The description in both poems begins with a similar reference to

the clouds and the lightning (A. l. 139, B. l. 28); to the darkening of the water in the storm (A. 141, B. 32), and to the meeting of sea and sky (A. 145, B. 33). Next follows in the same relative position in both poems a significant reference to Jonah's plight (A. 147, B. 36), after which are related the reeling of the ship under the beating of the waves (A. 147, B. 38); the breaking of the rigging and the loss of the mast (A. 148–150, B. 38–41); the cry of the sailors in their peril (A. 152, B. 42), and the bailing of the ship (A. 154–155, B. 46). Within the same few lines, although not in exactly the same order, occurs a reference to the struggle for life itself (A. 156, B. 43). But for the order of this line in *Patience*, the casting out of the cargo (A. 157–159, B. 48) would immediately follow the bailing of the ship in both poems. The reason for the overthrow of the cargo is also somewhat similarly stated in both poems (A. 160, B. 48), though slightly differing from the Bible account in both. Then comes the call of the sailors on their gods (A. 164, B. 50). The point of importance in this is that in both poems the call on the gods follows, while in the scripture it precedes, the casting overboard of the cargo.

While the parallel between the poems is more exact in respect to the description of the storm, there are some other remarkable points of resemblance. Each poem adds to the scripture narrative a reason for Jonah's refusal to perform his mission, though the reasons differ somewhat in the two poems. Both poems refer to Jonah as snoring loudly as he sleeps in the hold of the ship (A. 186, B. 54). Besides, in each poem the first question of the shipmaster is how Jonah can sleep in such straits (A. 191–192, B. 58–59). But it should be remarked that the English poet, instead of following the scripture narrative in other particulars as does the Latin writer, puts the suggestion of casting lots, more naturally, before the attempt to find Jonah in the hold of the ship. It is not strange, perhaps, that both poets should enlarge upon the biblical account of the whale, and there are in these enlargements some similarities of expression. None

are so important as those connected with the storm, but mention may be made of the description of the whale rising from the depths (A. 248, B. 83); the seizure of the prey as it leaves the ship (A. 251, B. 86–87); the whale sinking again to the depths (A. 253, B. 97); the unsavory odors in Jonah's craft (A. 274, B. 98), and Jonah's sailing along untouched by the waves without (A. 301–302, B. 99).

This latter likeness of the English to the Latin poem depends on a corrected reading of lines 299–302, which I trust will commend itself. Fortunately the new reading requires nothing more serious than cutting in two one word and repunctuating the lines. By the older reading the second word of line 301 is *assayled*, MnE. *assailed*, and the first half of this line has been connected with the preceding. I propose to read instead of *assayled* the two words *as sayled*, MnE. *as sailed*, and connect the first half of this line with what follows rather than with what precedes. The word *borne* in line 302 means "stream," as representing OE. *burna* or *burne*, and not "man," the rendering of Morris, as if for OE. *beorn*. *Borne* corresponds to the ordinary form of OE. *burna*, *burne*, in the so-called alliterative poems, OE. *beorn* on the other hand commonly appearing as *burne* or *bourne*. I suggest also that a comma be put after, rather than before, *hym wyth* in line 300, and a semicolon instead of the comma at the end of the line. The lines would then read:

> For þat mote in his mawe mad hym, I trowe,
> þaȝ hit lyttel were hym wyth, to wamel at his hert;
> And as sayled þe segge, ay sykerly he herde
> þe bygge borne on his bak & bete on his sydes.

To resume, the parallelism between the poem formerly attributed to Tertullian and that of the Middle English poet is so complete in a number of significant particulars, that without doubt the latter knew the Latin poem, and that it suggested to him some things in *Patience*. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that there is, so far as I can find,

no intervening paraphrase of the book of Jonah—either in Old French or Old English for example—which could have furnished the details of the story peculiar to both these poems.

It is natural to inquire whether the works of Tertullian present any other possible connection with the writings of our English poet. An examination shows, at least, that Tertullian wrote a treatise *De Patientia*. This alone, however, could hardly be regarded as important, were it not that in the treatise "Of Patience" the beatitudes are introduced in a manner quite similar to that at the beginning of the poem *Patience*. Near the beginning of the latter are these lines praising the virtue celebrated by the poet:

> For quo-so suffer cowþe syt, sele wolde folȝe;
> . . . . . .
> Þen is better to abyde þe bur vmbestoundes,
> Þen ay þrow forth my þro, þaȝ me þynk ylle.

The beatitudes are then quoted as exemplifying the rewards of patient endurance. With this may be compared a portion of Chapter XI in Tertullian's treatise.

"Of that duty [patience] great is the reward—happiness, namely. For whom but the patient has the Lord called happy in saying, 'Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of the heavens?' No one assuredly is 'poor in spirit,' except he be humble. Well, who is humble except he be patient? For no one can abase himself without patience, in the first instance, to bear the act of abasement. 'Blessed,' saith He, 'are the weepers and mourners.' Who, without patience, is tolerant of such unhappinesses? And so to such, 'consolation' and 'laughter' are promised. 'Blessed are the gentle:' under this term surely the impatient cannot possibly be classed. Again when he marks 'the peacemakers' with the same title of felicity, and names them 'sons of God,' pray have the impatient any affinity with 'peace?' Even a fool may perceive that. When however he says, 'Rejoice and exult as often as they shall curse and persecute you, for very great is your reward in heaven,' of

course it is not to the impatience of exultation that he makes that promise; because no one will 'exult' in adversities unless he have first learnt to contemn them; no one will contemn them unless he have learnt to practise patience."[1]

No reference to Jonah occurs in the treatise *De Patientia*. But in Tertullian's treatise *De Modestia* is an allusion to the prophet which may explain what might not otherwise be clear to a modern reader—the reason why Jonah is used as an example of patience. Most of us would no doubt regard him as an example of disobedience bringing upon itself just retribution. But in Chapter X of the treatise mentioned above, Tertullian questions whether the prophet did not "well nigh perish for the sake of a profane city not yet possessed of a knowledge of God, and still sinning in ignorance;" "unless," he adds, "he suffered as a typical example of the Lord's passion, which was to redeem repenting heathen as well as others."[2] Such a statement as this may possibly have suggested the English poet's use of the Jonah story, or at least it may serve to explain that use.

It has not been thought worth while to mention especially that among the poems sometimes attributed to Tertullian are two others which might be thought to have some connection with our poet's works, one relating the creation and fall of man, and one the destruction of Sodom. Descriptions of both the fall of man and the destruction of Sodom are also included in *Clannesse*, but there seems to be no connection with the Latin poems except in name. Still Tertullian, like most of the early fathers, made much of what the English poet calls the "filth of the flesh;" so that if the latter used the *De Jona* in writing *Patience*, it may possibly be that he also received some hints from Tertullian for the poem called *Clannesse*. No stress, however, can be laid upon this point without the other.

It is unnecessary to advance any argument to prove that the poet of *Patience* may have known the works of Tertullian.

[1] *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, "Tertullian," Vol. I, p. 223.
[2] *Ibid.*, III, p. 81; translation slightly revised.

The latter was one of the best known of the Latin fathers during the Middle Ages. For example, Chaucer refers to him so explicitly in the *Prologue* to the *Wife of Bath's Tale*, that Professor Lounsbury thinks we may reasonably conclude the poet had in mind one or more treatises with which he was personally acquainted. It is even much more probable from his works, that the poet of *Patience* knew the Church fathers.

In conclusion, let me refer to a comparison sometimes made between the descriptions of the storm at sea in *Patience* and those in the *Destruction of Troy*. The similarity was first noted by Morris in his edition of the *Alliterative Poems*. I have nothing now to do with his suggestion that *Destruction of Troy* was written by the author of *Patience*. But it may be said, in support of what has here been advanced, that while there is some resemblance between the latter poems, the likeness is by no means so close or so conclusive of imitation as that between the *De Jona* and *Patience*, to which attention is here called.

OLIVER FARRAR EMERSON.

VI.—ELIZABETHAN TRANSLATIONS FROM THE ITALIAN: THE TITLES OF SUCH WORKS NOW FIRST COLLECTED AND ARRANGED, WITH ANNOTATIONS.

Introduction.

All readers of the Elizabethan drama must have noticed the profound influence of the Italian literature of the Renaissance upon the poets of that time. Some of the playwrights, like Greene and Munday, were men of travel, "Italianated" Englishmen, who returned home with their heads full of the ideas and culture of the South. Ford and Marston do not hesitate to introduce Italian dialogue into their plays, for many of the dramatists were University men, and the Italian language was studied at Oxford and Cambridge along with Latin and Greek. The scholarly Ascham, inveighing against the Italian leanings of his countrymen, in *The Schoolmaster*, yet confesses,—"not because I do contemne either the knowledge of strange and diverse tonges, and namelie the Italian tonge, which nexte the Greeke and Latin tonge I like and love above all others."

Spenser, in his Dedicatory Epistle to Sir Walter Raleigh, prefixed to *The Faery Queene*, ranks the Italian poets Ariosto and Tasso with Homer and Vergil. Marlowe was remembered, even by Shakspere, not as the author of *Faustus* or of *Edward II.*, but of *Hero and Leander*, a poem written in the most perfervid Italian manner. Shakspere's own *Venus and Adonis* was more popular in its day and generation than *Hamlet*, if we may judge by the evidence of editions. It was printed six times during the poet's life, while *Hamlet* only reached four editions. *I. Henry IV.*, apparently the most popular Shakspereau play on the Elizabethan stage, came to five editions in the same time.

Greene's novels were all modelled on the Italian, and they had such vogue that Nash says of them, "glad was that printer that might bee so blest to pay him deare for the very dregs of his wit." Sometimes, as in *Perimides* and *Philomela*, the imitation of Boccaccio is so close as to amount practically to translation. Boccaccio, by Greene's time, had become so familiar to the Elizabethans, through translations, that we even hear of Archbishop Whitgift permitting an Italian edition of the *Decameron*, in 1587. The *novelle* of Bandello and Ser Giovanni Fiorentino were almost as well known. Indeed, just as in Italy the *Decameron* was followed by scores of imitations, from every important Italian press, so from the Englishmen of Elizabeth's time, alive to new impressions of all sorts, and eager for stories, like children, the demand for novels was excessive.

The short story in prose, which was one of the earliest literary forms to develop in Romance literature, had never been properly acclimatized in England during the Middle Ages. Here then was a large body of literature ripe for exploitation, a whole new intellectual world to be possessed, and the bright young men coming up to London from the Universities, year by year, to try their fortunes in literature, were not slow to avail themselves of this treasure-trove. Translation after translation from the Italian and French poured forth from the busy presses. Ascham says they were "sold in every shop in London," and deplores their effect in the marring of manners. Stephen Gosson, writing a Puritan tract against the stage, *Plays Confuted in Five Actions*, takes yet stronger ground.—"Therefore, the devil not contented with the number he hath corrupted with reading Italian baudery, because all cannot read, presenteth us comedies cut by the same pattern."

In reading the Elizabethan drama, my attention has been more and more directed towards this literary movement, and about a year ago I began to jot down in my note-book various facts that I met with, especially such as related to the trans-

lations from the Italian and the plays founded directly or indirectly upon them. I know of no systematic study of this subject and it has occurred to me that other students might be glad to make use of my results. I have, therefore, arranged my notes for publication, and in this and the following papers I shall hope to present at least a preliminary view of a field of English literature that is comparatively little known. My first sketch was two papers, one on the translations and one on the plays, but the material has so grown upon me that it has seemed best to classify the subject-matter more in detail.

I have collected more than one hundred and sixty translations from the Italian, made by ninety or more translators, including nearly every well known Elizabethan author, except Shakspere and Bacon. Of these, translations of the *novelle*, the story-telling literature, whether prose, poetry, or history, easily occupy the first place. So I have grouped the books into three classes,—

I. Romances.

II. Poetry, plays, and metrical romances.

III. Miscellaneous books, including histories, the popular collections of apothegms and proverbs of the time, grammars, dictionaries, and scientific works of various kinds.

As to the plays, I discover that about one-third of the extant Elizabethan dramas can be traced to Italian influences in one way or another. The dramas separate themselves naturally into those whose plots are taken wholly, or in part, from Italian novels; and those, like the first cast of *Every Man in His Humour*, that are thoroughly English in character, but yet have an Italian setting, as though the author had judged that his play would please the audience of the Globe or the Blackfriars better, if its scene were laid upon the Rialto of Venice, or amid the stirring life of Florence.

Another interesting aspect of the subject is that of the *Stationers' Registers*, which reveal even more Italian books licensed during the period than printed. Some of these licenses I have already traced to continental publications, and I have

no doubt but that further research will throw light upon many more obscurities of this sort. The material of the Registers of the Company of Stationers, however, is so abundant, and so important for a complete understanding of the Italian Renaissance in England, that I have reserved it for a separate paper.

The present paper brings together some of the popular old romances, either prose translations, or imitations, of Italian *novelle*. It is not intended to be a complete list of all such translations between the years 1550 and 1660, the Elizabethan age, but only of those that I have met with up to this time.

It is based on Warton's chapter on *Translation of Italian Novels*, in his *History of English Poetry*, Section LX. Warton's knowledge was full and complete for his time, but the investigations of later writers have enabled me to correct many errors, and to enlarge the chapter to two or three times its original size.

In order to present the literature, growing, as it were, under the eye, I have arranged the titles in chronological order. The titles themselves are as complete as a careful scrutiny can make them, although some of them lack a date here, or a few words there, for further filling out. This is because I have often found as many as half a dozen variants of a single title, and it is only by a process of painstaking comparison that I have arrived at an approximate idea as to what the correct title must have been. The dates of publication I have compared in the same way, and feel about as sure of—it is a relative sureness only. Of the sizes of books, my experience, both among people and in libraries, is, that considerable vagueness on the subject exists, has existed, and will probably continue to exist. *The Dictionary of National Biography*, for instance, is commendably accurate upon the wording of titles and the dates of publication, but it seems to give a book size by favor and grace only. Collier's account of the Ellesmere collection reads exactly as if he had had the books in hand as he wrote, and yet he is almost certainly wrong about some of his octavos.

Many of these long titles read quaint enough, but it should be remembered that the publishers of those days did not have an overwhelmingly busy public to deal with. A title had to describe the subject very accurately to claim attention, and it mattered little to a fine Court lady or gentleman, if a whole page of title was followed by only twenty pages of "prettie historie," especially if the book was a hundred pretty histories bound up together.

And to one who has felt the charm and glamour of old London, the printers' colophons open up a world of imagination, "at the signe of the Blue-Bible," or "in Paules Churchyarde, at the sygne of the holye Ghoste," or "in the Forestreet without Crepelgate at the signe of the bel."

The dedications also, including the Queen and many of the great men and women of her Court, read like a roll of honor of one of the most brilliant epochs of history.

The subjects of the romances come from widely different sources, sometimes English, classical, or mediæval, but even then often traceable to Italy through French, Spanish, or Latin translations. I have included the *Diana Enamorada*, a Spanish imitation of the *Decameron*, because the translator, Bartholomew Young, was a well known translator from the Italian, having Englished Boccaccio's *Fiammetta*, and because it contains one tale, that of the *Shepherdess Felismena*, which may be the source of Shakspere's *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*.

I have also included jest-book anecdotes, although a venerable jest properly speaking is of no nation or time. Many popular jests in the old plays are of oriental or late Latin or Greek origin. My reason for referring them to Domenichi or Sacchetti or Poggio is, that undoubtedly such anecdotes first found literary expression in Italy, and made their way from there into England. A string of jests, too, as in *Mery Tales, Wittie Questions, and Quicke Answeres*, is an Italian invention.

This literary form, common in Romance literature, explains the collections of tales, of which Painter's *Palace of Pleasure*

may be taken as the type. *The Palace of Pleasure* is made up of tales, partly translations and partly imitations of Italian *novelle*, and this is very generally the character of the collections of stories. Indeed, while translations from the Italian and French grew in favor, clever authors, like Fortescue and Rich and Pettie, began to turn out very good imitations of Boccaccio and Bandello, "inventions," they called them, "forged," Rich says, "only for delight."

In tracing the plays to their possible sources, I make no judgment as to matters of fact; my intention has been simply to put related facts in juxtaposition. I have found them scattered far and wide throughout both the English and the Italian literature of the period, and so far as I know they have never before been brought together. Sometimes the plot of a play occurs in several different Italian authors and in several different English translations, and sometimes the play was acted or printed before the translation appeared. This brings up the familiar problem, among others, whether Shakspere, in addition to the odium of "small Latin and less Greek," was also ignorant of the Italian language. Thirteen of the great dramas go back to the old Italian novelists, and the Italian is not a difficult tongue. There would seem to be no inherent impossibility in the supposition that the poet knew Italian, or at least as much of it as he needed for the purposes of his art.

I have tried to avoid errors, but I cannot hope to have succeeded wholly. Mistakes are likely to creep in from two sources; it is a very wide field, little wrought, and I have gone but a short way into it. Again, nearly all of these books are extremely rare, only to be found in the British Museum, or at Bodley's, or in such unique private collections as the Ellesmere, or the Huth, or the Britwell. In all cases where it was possible, I have verified from reprints, and I may add in this connection that I have had access to the Libraries of Yale and Johns Hopkins Universities, and to that of the Peabody Institute. But where accuracy is so important, and

where it is practically impossible to be accurate, for geographical reasons, I cannot but feel that I have come far short.

I. Romances.

The goodly History of the most noble and beautiful Lady Lucres of Siene in Tuskan, and of her Lover Eurialus, very pleasant and delectable unto the Reader.

Impr. by John Kynge. 1560. 8vo. Black letter. Also, 1547. 12mo. 1669, 1741.

The goodli history of the . . . . Ladye Lucres of Scene in Tuskane, and of her lover Eurialus, etc. [Translated from the Latin of Pope Pius II.] B. L. [W. Copland? London. 1550?] 4to.

British Museum Catalogue title.

A boke of *ij lovers Euryalus and Lucressie pleasaunte and Dilectable.*

Entered to T. Norton. 1569. *Stationers' Register A.*

A booke intituled, *the excellent historye of Euryalus and Lucretia.*

Entered to T. Creede. Oct. 19, 1596. *Stationers' Register C.*

The Hystorie of the most noble knyght Plasidas [by J. Partridge] *and other rare pieces; collected (into one book) by Samuel Pepys (and forming part of the Pepysian Library at Magdalene College. Cambridge.* [Edited by H. H. Gibbs. With colored illustrations.]) [London.] 1873. 4to.

Roxburghe Club title.

One of these six pieces collected by Pepys, the third one, occupying the greater part of the book, and prefaced with an important introduction, is the "goodli hystory" of Lady Lucres and her lover Eurialus. The colored illustration of the Roxburghe edition are facsimiles of the illustrations of the early German version of Lucres and Eurialus, a large illuminated miniature from a French version, and of the binding and ornaments of the Pepysian volume.

Lucrece and Eurialus was an extremely popular romance, originally written in Latin, about 1440, by Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, then imperial poet and secretary, afterwards Pope Pius II.

"It went through twenty-three editions in the 15th century, and was eight times translated, one of the French translations being made 'à la prière et requeste des dames.' A German translation by Nicolaus von Wyle is embellished with coloured woodcuts of the most naive and amusing description. Three English translations were published, one before 1550.

"It is a tale of unlawful love, and tells how Lucrece, a married lady of Sienna, fell in love with Eurialus, a knight of the court of the Emperor Sigismond. It is, we are told, a story of real life, under fictitious names." Jusserand, *The English Novel in the Time of Shakespeare*, p. 81.

In Robert Laneham's quaint account of the Kenilworth festivities, 1575, he tells how an acquaintance of his, one Captain Cox, a mason by trade, had in his possession "Kyng Arthurz book, Huon of Burdeaus, The foour suns of Aymon, Bevis of Hampton, and"—mason as he was, this same Italian novel—"Lucres and Eurialus." Captain Cox, Laneham observes, had "great oversight in matters of storie."

The History of Aurelio and of Isabell, Daughter of the Kinge of Schotlande, nyewly translatede in foure languages, Frenche, Italien, Spanishe, and Inglishe.

Impressa en Anvers. 1556. 12mo. Also, Bruxelles. 1608. (In four languages.)

Warton (*History of English Poetry*, LX) gives '*L'Historie d'Aurelia et Isabella en Italien et Francoise*,' printed at Lyons by G. Rouille, in 1555, 16mo., and says that the romance was printed in 1586, in one volume, in Italian, French, and English, and again, in 1588, in Italian, Spanish, French, and English. I have not met with either of these editions, but I find the following entries in the Stationers' Register B.

'*Histoire de Aurelio et Isabella fille de Roy d'Escoce French, Italian and Englishe.*'

Entered to Edward White. Aug. 8, 1586.

"*The historye of Aurelio and of Isabell, Doughter of the Kinge of Scottes, &c.* This booke is in foure languages, viz., Italyan, Spanishe, Ffrenche and Englishe."

Entered to Edward Aggas. Nov. 20, 1588.

The polyglot editions show that Aurelio and Isabell was a favorite romance. It is attributed to Jean de Flores, and was translated from the Spanish into Italian by Lelio Aletifilo, and into French by G. Corrozet.

According to Warton Shakspere's *The Tempest* was once thought to be founded on it. Fleay's note on the anonymous comedy, *Swetnam the Woman-hater arraigned by Women*, 1620, 4to., is, "The plot is from a Spanish book, '*Historia da Aurelia y Isabella hija del Rey de Escotia*,' &c." *Chronicle of the English Drama*, Vol. II, p. 332.

"A translation of *Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*, printed at Paris before the year 1500, and said to have been written by some of the royal family of France, but a compilation from the Italians, was licensed to be printed by John Waly (Walley), in 1557, under the title '*A Hundreth mery Tayles*,' together with '*The freere and the boye, stans puer ad mensam, and youthe, charite, and humylite.*' It was frequently reprinted, is mentioned as popular in Fletcher's *Nice Valour* (v. 3); and in *The London Chaunticleers*, so late as 1659, is cried for sale by a ballad-vender, with the *Seven Wise Men of Gotham* and *Scogan's Jests*." Warton, *History of English Poetry*, LX.

Warton and the early Shakspere commentators supposed that the *Hundred Merry Tales*, to which Beatrice alludes, *Much Ado About Nothing* (ii, 1), was a translation of *Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*. But a large fragment of *A Hundreth mery Tayles* was discovered, in 1815, by the Rev. J. Conybeare, Professor of Poetry in Oxford University, and it proved to be a jest-book. It is without date, but was first printed by John Rastell, about 1525, folio, 24 leaves.

The allusion in Fletcher is plainly to a jest-book, and Beatrice's words are,—"that I had my good wit out of the

'*Hundred Merry Tales.*' Well, this was Signior Benedict that said so."

No. 5, of *A C. Mery Talys*, the story of the husband who gained a ring by his judgment, is found in the *Ducento Novelle* of Celio Malespini, Part I, Novella 2, printed at Venice, 1609, 4to. It was used by Webster and Dekker in *Northward Hoe* (i, 1).

Circes. Of John Baptista Gello, Florentyne. Translated out of Italyan into Englysche, by Henry Iden. Anno Domini M. D. L. VII. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum. [Colophon.]

Imprinted in Paules Church-yarde, at the sygne of the holye Ghoste, by John Cawoode, Printer to the Kinge and Quenes Maiesties. 1557. 16mo.

Dedicated to Lord Herbert of Cardiff, and his two brothers, Edward and Henry, to whom Iden was tutor.

The biographers of Gelli (Gello) say that his *Dialogue of Circe* was translated into English in 1599.

The Palace of Pleasure, Beautified, adorned and well furnished, with pleasaunt Histories and excellent Nouelles, selected out of diuers good and commendable authors. By William Painter Clarke of the Ordinaunce and Armarie. 1566.

Imprinted at London, by Henry Denham, for Richard Tottell and William Jones. 4to. Also, 1569. 4to. 1575. 4to. Black letter.

Dedicated to Ambrose, Earl of Warwick, a woodcut of whose crest, a Bear and ragged Staff, is put between the title and the colophon.

The second Tome of the Palace of Pleasure, conteyning manifolde store of goodly Histories, Tragicall matters and other Morall argument, very requisite for delight and profit. Chosen and selected out of diuers good and commendable Authors. By William Painter, Clarke of the Ordinance and Armarie. Anno. 1567.

Imprinted at London, in Pater Noster Rowe, by Henrie Bynneman, for Nicholas England. 4to. A second edition of Vol. II has no date on the title-page.

Dedicated to Sir George Howard.

In the last edition, Vol. I contains sixty-six novels, and Vol. II, thirty-five, making one hundred and one tales in all. Both volumes. London. 1813. 4to. (Haslewood.)

Painter's sources in Romance literature were Boccaccio, Bandello, Belleforest, Ser Giovanni Fiorentino, Straparola, Masuccio, and the Queen of Navarre.

I find twenty-three Elizabethan plays whose plots are in *The Palace of Pleasure;* these are here numbered 1–23.

1. 39. *Gismonda and Guiscardo. Decameron*, iv, 1.

1. *Tancred.* Written 1586–7. Sir Henry Wotton.

2. *Tancred and Gismund.* 1592. 4to. Robert Wilmot.

1. 48. *Bindo and Ricciardo.* Ser Giovanni Fiorentino. *Il Pecorone.* IX, 1 ; also Bandello. 1, 25.

3. Bendo and Ricardo. Acted, March 4, 1592. Henslowe.

1. 40. *Mahomet and Hyerene.* Bandello. 1, 10. Belleforest. 1.

4. *The Turkish Mahomet and Hiren the Fair Greek.* A lost play by George Peele, supposed to be the *Mahomet* of *Henslowe's Diary*, Aug. 14, 1594.

There are two later plays on this subject,—

5. *Osmund the Great Turk.* 1657. 8vo. Lodowick Carlell.

6. *The Unhappy Fair Irene.* 1658. 4to. Gilbert Swinhoe.

Irene is also the subject of poems by Charles Goring, 1708, and Dr. Johnson, 1749.

1. 46. *Countess of Salisbury.* Bandello. 11, 37. Belleforest. Tom. 1.

7. *Edward III.* 1596. 4to. Anonymous.

Fleay attributes this play to Marlowe, and thinks that Shakspere put into it the episode of the Countess of Salisbury, from Painter's tale.

2. 25. *Romeo and Juliet.* Bandello. II, 9. Belleforest. Tom. 1.

An extremely popular Italian tale, occurring also in Masuccio, Girolamo de la Corte, Luigi da Porto, and an Italian tragedy, by Luigi Groto.

8. *Romeo and Juliet.* 1597. 4to. Shakspere.

1. 49. *Philenio Sisterno.* Straparola. *Tredici notte piacevole.* 2, 2. Also, Bandello. I, 3.

9. *The Merry Wives of Windsor.* 1602. 4to. Shakspere.

1. 66. *Doctor of Laws.* Masuccio. *Il Novellino.* II, 17.

10. *The Dutch Courtesan.* 1605. 4to. Marston.

11. *The Cuckqueans and the Cuckolds Errants,* or *The Bearing Down the Inn.* William Percy.

Printed by the Roxburghe Club. 1824.

2. 7. *Sophonisba.* Bandello. I, 41. Petrarch. *Trionfi.*

12. *The Wonder of Women, or Sophonisba her Tragedy.* 1606. 4to. Marston.

Sophonisba's story furnished the theme of two later English plays,—

Sophonisba, or Hannibal's Overthrow. 1676. Nathaniel Lee.

Sophonisba. First acted Feb. 28, 1730. James Thomson.

2. 27. *Lord of Virle.* Bandello. III, 17. Belleforest. Tom. 1, 13.

13. *The Dumb Knight.* 1608. 4to. Gervase Markham and Lewis Machin.

14. *The Queen, or The Excellency of her Sex.* 1653. Anonymous.

2. 24. *Bianca Maria, Countess of Celant.* Bandello. I, 4. Belleforest. Vol. II. Nov. 20.

15. *The Insatiate Countess* (*Barksted's Tragedy*). 1613. 4to. Marston.

2. 17. *Ansaldo and Dianora. Decameron.* X, 5.

16. *The Two Merry Milkmaids, or The Best Words wear the Garland.* 1620. 4to. J. C.

17. *Four Plays in One.* 1647. Folio. Beaumont and Fletcher.
Triumph of Honour, or Diana.

1. 38. *Giletta of Narbonne. Decameron.* III, 9.

18. *All's Well that Ends Well.* 1623. Folio. Shakspere.

2. 23. *Dutchess of Malfy.* Bandello. 1, 26. Bandello's tragical history of the Duchess of Malfi was extremely popular. Besides Painter's translation, there are three others:—by Belleforest. II, 19, 1569; by Simon Goulart, *Histoires Admirables.* 1600; and by Thomas Beard. *Theatre of God's Judgements.* Ch. XXII. 1597. The romance is mentioned in The *Forrest of Fancy.* 1579; in Whetstone's *Heptameron of Civill Discources. The fift Daies Exercise.* 1582; and in Greene's *Gwydonius the Carde of Fancie.* 1584.

It is also the subject of a Spanish play, Lope de Vega's *Comedia famosa del mayordomo de la duquesa de Amalfi.*

19. *The Duchess of Malfi.* 1623. 4to. Webster.

1. 57. *Wife Punished.* Queen of Navarre. *Heptameron.* Nov. 32. (Codrington's translation.) Also, Bandello. III, 18.

20. *Albovine, King of the Lombards.* 1629. 4to. Sir William Davenant.

2. 28. *Lady of Boeme.* Bandello. I, 21.

21. *The Picture.* 1630. 4to. Massinger.

1. 58. *President of Grenoble.* Bandello. I, 35. Queen of Navarre. *Heptameron.* Nov. 47. (Codrington's translation.)

22. *Love's Cruelty.* 1640. 4to. James Shirley.

2. 22. *Alexander of Medici and the Miller's Daughter.* Bandello. II, 15. Belleforest. I, 12.

23. *The Maid in the Mill.* 1647. Folio. Fletcher.

2. 26. *Two Gentlewomen of Venice.* Bandello. 1, 15. Belleforest. Tom. iii, p. 58.

This tale furnishes the comic underplot of the tragedy of *The Insatiate Countess*. See 15, above.

Mery Tales, Wittie Questions, and Quicke Answeres. Very pleasant to be Readde. London. H. Wykes. 1567. 12mo. 140 anecdotes.

Reprinted in the *Shakespeare Jest-Books*. Vol. I. London. 1864. 8vo. Ed. W. Carew Hazlitt.

The original was printed by Thomas Berthelet, without date (about 1535), 4to., and contained 114 anecdotes.

These anecdotes are English, classical, and Italian or French. I give a list of those manifestly of Italian origin.

32. *The oration of the ambassadour sent to Pope Urban.*

37. *Of the friere that gave scrowes* (scrolls) *agaynst the pestilence.* Scene, Tivoli.
Poggio. *Facetiae.* CCXXXIII. *De "Brevi" contra pestem ad collum suspendendo.*

38. *Of the phisition that used to write bylles over eve.*
An Italian physician wrote out his prescriptions beforehand, and kept a supply by him in a bag. When a patient came, he would draw one out, and say,
Prega Dio te la mandi bona,
"Pray God to send thee a good one."
Poggio. *Facetiae.* CCIII. *Facetum medici qui sorte medelas dabat.*

40. *Of the hermite of Padowe.*
Poggio. *Facetiae.* CXLII. *De eremita qui multas mulieres in concubitu habuit.*

51. *Of the inholders wife and her ii lovers.* Scene, Florence.
Poggio. *Facetiae.* CCLXVII. *Callida consilia Florentinae foeminae in facinore deprehensae.*

52. *Of hym that healed franticke men.* Scene, Italy.

58. *Of the foole that thought hym self deed.* Scene, Florence.

Poggio. *Facetiae.* CCLXVIII. *De mortuo vivo ad sepulchram deducto, loquente et risum movente.* Also, Grazzini (Il Lasca), *Cena Seconda. Novella* II.

60. *Of him that sought his asse and rode on his back.* Scene, Florence.
Poggio. *Facetiae.* LX. *Fabula Mancini.*
This anecdote is also the twelfth tale of *Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles,* and has been imitated by La Fontaine in the fable of *Le Villageois qui cherche son veau.*

87. *Of Dante's answere to the jester.*
Poggio. *Facetiae.* LVII. *Responsio elegans Dantis, poetae Florentini.*
An anecdote of Dante while living with Cane della Scala, Lord of Verona. The jester is clothed in purple and fine linen, while the poet is proving,

come sa di sale
Lo pane altrui, e com' è duro calle
Lo scendere e'l salir per l'altrui scale.
Il Paradiso, Canto, XVII, 58–60.

91. *Of the excellent paynter that had foule children.* Scene, Rome.

93. *Of the marchaunt of Florence called Charles.* Scene, Rome.

100. *Of the fryer that confessed the woman.*
"A favorite tale with the early Italian novelists." Dunlop. *History of Fiction.* II, 364–5.
Poggio has four variations of the theme, *Facetiae,* XLVI, CXV, CXLII, and CLV.

103. *Of the olde man that put him selfe in his sonnes handes.*
The original of this tale is the Fabliau of *La Honce Partie,* in Barbazan's collection. It is told by Ortensio Lando, also, in his *Varii Componimenti.* Venice. 1552. 8vo. It is a sort of Lear story.

122. *Of the Italian friar that should preach before the B. of Rome and his cardinals.*

The witty friar was Roberto Caraccioli-Caraccioli, called Robert Liciens, born 1425.

140. *What an Italyan fryer dyd in his preachyng.* Another anecdote of Robert Liciens.

Certaine Tragicall Discourses written oute of Frenche and Latin, by Geffraie Fenton, no lesse profitable than pleasaunt, and of like Necessitye to al degrees that take pleasure in antiquityes or forraine reportes. Mon heur viendra.

Imprinted at London in Flete-strete nere to Sainct Dunstons Churche by Thomas Marshe. Anno Domini. 1567. 4to. Black letter. 317 leaves. Also, 1576. 4to., and 1579. 4to. Black letter.

Dedicated to Lady Mary Sydney.

Warton characterizes Fenton's "Discourses" as "the most capital miscellany of its kind." There are in all thirteen well-selected, well-told stories, whose short titles it is quite worth while to note.

1. *The Gentleman of Sienna.*
   This is a translation of Ilicini's celebrated *novella*, *The Courteous Salimbeni.* Bandello tells the same story, I, 49.
   Like *Romeo and Juliet*, the tale is said to be founded on fact, and to record an actual occurrence in the history of the two noble Sienese families of Salimbeni and Montanini.
   The underplot of Heywood's comedy, *A Woman Killed with Kindness*, 1607, 4to., has been traced to this novel.
2. *Livio and Camilla.*
3. *A Young Lady of Milan.*
4. *The Albanoyse Captain.*
5. *Young Gentleman of Milan.*
6. *The Villainy of an Abbot.*
7. *The Countess of Celant.*
   Bandello also tells this story, I, 4. It is the source of Marston's tragedy, *The Insatiate Countess* (*Barksted's Tragedy*). 1613. 4to.

8. *The Drowning of Julia.*
9. *The Lady of Chabrye.*
10. *The Love of Luchin.*
11. *The Widow's Cruelty.*
    Bandello, III, 7. The incident of the lady swearing her lover to be dumb, for three years in Fenton's story, occurs in two Elizabethan dramas;—*The Dumb Knight*, 1613, 4to., by Gervase Markham and Lewis Machin, and the anonymous tragi-comedy, *The Queen, or The Excellency of her Sex*, which Alexander Gough edited in 1653, as discovered by a "person of Honor."
12. *Perillo and Carmosyna.*
13. *Dom Diego and Genivera.* Bandello. I, 27.
    Fenton translated the tales from Boaisteau-Belleforest's *Histoires Tragiques*, which is a French translation of Bandello. The work was finished in Paris, and was published by the author as the first fruits of his travels.

The Fearfull Fancies of the Florentine Cooper. Written in Tuscane by John Baptist Gelli, one of the free studie of Florence. And for recreation translated into English.

London. 1568. 8vo. 1599. 12mo. 1702. 8vo. By William Barker, of Magdalen College, Oxford.

Giambattista Gelli was the author of the *Dialogue of Circe*, translated into English, in 1557, by Henry Iden.

The Forest, or Collection of Historyes no lesse profitable, than pleasant and necessary, doone out of Frenche into English by Thomas Fortescue.

London. 1571. 4to. Black letter. 1576. 4to. In four books.

Dedicated to John Fortescue, Esq. (Sir John Fortescue), Keeper of the Wardrobe.

The first license of this collection of tales, to W. Jones, in 1570, is said to be with the authority of the Bishop of London.

I find another license in Register C, Nov. 8, 1596, to John Danter,—

"Entred for his copie, *saluo iure Cuiuscunque The forest or collection of histories* printed by John Day 1576 provyded that this entrance shalbe voyd yf any have right to it by a former entrance."

"The genius of these tales may be discerned from their history. The book is said to have been written in Spanish, by Petro de Messia, thence translated into Italian, thence into French, by Claude Cruget, a citizen of Paris, and lastly from French into English, by Fortescue. But many of the stories seem to have originally migrated from Italy into Spain." Warton, *History of English Poetry*, LX.

A hundreth Sundrie Flowres bounde up in one small Poesie: Gathered partely by Translation in the fyne outlandish Gardins of Euripides, Ovid, Petrarke, Ariosto, and others, and partly by invention out of our owne fruitefull orchardes in England.

London, for Richarde Smith, n. d. (1572).

George Gascoigne.

This work was published during Gascoigne's military adventures in Holland, and without his authority, by H. [enry?] W. [otton?], who had obtained the manuscript from G. [eorge?] T. [urberville?].

It contains *Supposes*, and *A discourse of the adventures passed by Master F.* [erdinando] *J.* [eronimi], a prose tale from the Italian, interspersed with a few lyrics. A second edition was published by Gascoigne himself, in 1575, with a new title.

The Posies of George Gascoigne, Esquire. Corrected, perfected, and augmented by the authour.

London, for R. Smith. 1575. 4to. Pp. 502. 1587. 4to.

Gascoigne divided the *Posies* into three parts, Flowres, Hearbes, and Weedes. One of the 'Hearbes' is the comedy *Supposes*, and the 'Weedes' is chiefly occupied with a revised version of,—

The pleasant fable of Ferdinando Jeronimi and Leonora de Velasco, translated out of the riding tales of Bartello (i. e. Bandello, *Dictionary of National Biography*).

The volume concludes with a critical essay, in prose, entitled, *Certayne notes of Instruction concerning the making of verse or ryme in English, written at the request of Master Edouardo Donati.*

I do not find the tale of Ferdinando Jeronimi and Leonora de Velasco in Bandello. Fleay (*Chronicle of the English Drama*, Vol. I, under Gascoigne) takes Bartello to be a fictitious author, and says that the story relates Gascoigne's own 'adventures' with Elinor Manners Bourchier, Countess of Bath. The tale is a pasquil, in the title it is called 'a fable,' and it is an historical fact that Gascoigne was before the Privy Council, in 1572, as "a deviser of slanderous pasquils against divers persons of great calling."

Monophylo, drawne into Englishe by Geffray Fenton. A Philosophical Discourse, and Diuision of Love.

London. By Wylliam Seres. 1572. 4to.

Dedicated to Lady Hoby.

"Among Mr. Oldys's books was the '*Life of Sir Meliado a British Knight*,' translated from the Italian, in 1572.

"Meliadus del Espinoy, and Meliadus le noir Oeil, are the thirty-seventh and thirty-eighth Knights of the Round Table, in R. Robinson's *Auncient Order*, &c. London. 1583. 4to. Black letter. Chiefly a French translation." Warton, *History of English Poetry*, LX.

The pretie and wittie Historie of Arnalte and Lucenda [*Translated from B. Maraffi's Italian version of the Greek original, together with the Italian version*], *with certain Rules and Dialogues set foorth for the Learner of the Italian Tong . . . ., by C. Hollyband, &c.*

London. 1575. 16mo. 1591. 16mo. 1597. 8vo. 1608. 8vo. 1639. 16mo.

The editions of 1597 and 1608 were printed with Hollyband's *The Italian Schoole-maister.* I find also, in *Register C,* a license to the two Purfootes, dated Aug. 19, 1598.

The British Museum copy has the autograph of Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford, on the flyleaf.

The Rocke of Regard: divided into foure parts. The first, the Castle of delight: wherein is reported, the wretched end of wanton and dissolute living. The second, the Garden of Unthriftinesse: wherein are many sweete flowers (or rather fancies) of honest love. The thirde, the Arbour of Vertue: wherein slaunder is highly punished and virtuous Ladies and Gentlewomen worthily commended. The fourth, the Ortchard of Repentance: wherein are discoursed the miseries that follow dicing, the mischiefes of quareling, the fall of prodigalitie, &c. All the invention, collection and translation of George Whetstons Gent. Formae nulla fides. 1576. 4to. Black letter. 132 leaves.

The date is learned from the colophon on Sign. R. VI, which reads, "Imprinted at London for Robert Waley, 1576."

The *Rocke of Regard* is Whetstone's first publication, and is in both prose and verse. One of the poems of the *Castle of Delight,* Part I, is upon "the disordered life of Bianca Maria, Countesse of Celant, in forme of her complainte, supposed at the houre of her beheading," which is continued by "an Invective, written by Roberto San Severino, Earle of Giazzo, against Bianca Maria." This novel from Bandello, 1, 4, had already been translated by Painter, 1567, *The Palace of Pleasure,* 2, 24, and by Fenton, 1567, *Certaine Tragicall Discourses.* Whetstone relates the story again, in prose, in his *Heptameron,* 1582. Marston's *The Insatiate Countess* (*Barksted's Tragedy*), 1613, 4to., is founded on it.

A tale of the *Arbour of Vertue,* Part III, from Bandello, 1, 21, is *The Lady of Boeme,* Painter, 2, 28. It is the subject of Massinger's tragi-comedy, *The Picture,* acted in 1629, printed 1630, 4to.

The "dolorous discourse of Dom Diego," in the *Garden of Unthriftinesse*, Part II, is Fenton's thirteenth tale. It is Bandello, I, 21.

Foure Straunge and Lamentable Tragicall Histories Translated out of Frenche into English by Robert Smythe. 1577. 8vo.

A French collection, but probably of Italian growth.

A Courtlie Controversie of Cupid's Cautels: Contayning five Tragicall Histories, very pithie, pleasant, pitifull, and profitable: discoursed uppon wyth Argumentes of Love, by three Gentlemen and two Gentlewomen, entermedled with divers delicate Sonets and Rithmes, exceeding delightfull to refresh the yrkesomnesse of tedious Tyme. Translated out of French, as neare as our English Phrase will permit, by H. [*enry*] *W.* [*otton*] *Gentleman.*

At London. Imprinted by Francis Coldocke and Henry Bynneman. 1578. 4to. Black letter. 176 leaves.

Five tales, interspersed with poems. The plot of *The Tragedy of Solyman and Perseda*, 1599, 4to., attributed to Thomas Kyd, is taken from the first novel in this collection. Of another tale, William Rufus is the hero, and the scene is laid in England. This tale contains one of the earliest echo songs in English; it is sung by the King.

"Bishop Tanner, I think, in his correspondence with the learned and accurate Thomas Baker of Cambridge, mentions a prose English version of the *Novelle* of Bandello, ... in 1580, by W. W. Had I seen this performance, for which I have searched Tanner's library in vain, I would have informed the inquisitive reader how far it accommodated Shakespeare in the conduct of the Tragedy of Romeo and Juliet. As to the translator, I make no doubt that the initials W. W. imply William Warner the author of *Albion's England*, who was esteemed by his cotemporaries as one of the refiners of our

language, and is said in Meres's *Wit's Treasury*, to be one of those by whom 'the English tongue is mightily enriched, and gorgeously invested in rare ornaments and replendent habiliments.'" Warton, *History of English Poetry*, Section LX.

I have found no translations from Bandello, except two metrical romances, Arthur Brooke's *Romeo and Juliet* and Thomas Achelley's *Violenta and Didaco*, and such separate novels as occur in Painter and other translators.

I add twenty-seven Elizabethan plays upon subjects taken from Bandello's *Novelle*. Of these, however, it will be noticed, that nineteen are already grouped under Painter's *Palace of Pleasure*, and that the other seven all date from the year 1600 on. There would seem to be little doubt but that the dramatists came to know Bandello through Painter's collection.

I. 25. (1) *Bendo and Ricardo.* Acted March 4, 1592. Henslowe.

I. 10. (2) *The Turkish Mahomet and Hiren the Fair Greek.* George Peele. This lost play is supposed to be the *Mahomet* of *Henslowe's Diary*, Aug. 14, 1594. Compare also,

(3) *Osmund the Great Turk.* 1657. 8vo. Lodowick Carlell.

(4) *The Unhappy Fair Irene.* 1658. 4to. Gilbert Swinhoe.

II. 37. (5) *Edward III.* 1596. 4to. Anonymous.

II. 9. (6) *Romeo and Juliet.* 1597. 4to. Shakspere.

I. 22. (7) *Much Ado About Nothing.* 1600. 4to. Shakspere.

I. 3. (8) *The Merry Wives of Windsor.* 1602. 4to. Shakspere.

II. 34. (9) *The Life and Death of Thomas Lord Cromwell.* 1602. W. S.

I. 41. (10) *The Wonder of Women*, or *Sophonisba her Tragedy.* 1606. 4to. Marston.

I. 49. (11) *A Woman Killed with Kindness.* 1607. 4to. Heywood.

III. 17. (12) *The Dumb Knight.* 1608. 4to. Markham and Machin.

(13) *The Queen, or The Excellency of her Sex.* 1653. Anonymous.

II. 11. (14) *The Atheist's Tragedy.* 1611. 4to. Cyril Tourneur.

I. 4. (15) *The Insatiate Countess* (*Barksted's Tragedy*). 1613. 4to. Marston. Also, I, 15, for the comic underplot.

I. 26. (16) *The Duchess of Malfi.* 1623. 4to. Webster.

II. 36. (17) *Twelfth Night.* 1623. Folio. Shakspere.

III. 18. (18) *Albovine, King of the Lombards.* 1629. 4to. Sir William Davenant.

I. 21. (19) *The Picture.* 1630. 4to. Massinger.

IV. 1. (20) *The Broken Heart.* 1633. 4to. Ford.

I. 35. (21) *Love's Cruelty.* 1640. 4to. Shirley.

II. 15. (22) *The Maid in the Mill.* 1647. Folio. Fletcher.

(23) *Four Plays in One.* 1647. Folio. Beaumont and Fletcher.

I. 1. *Triumph of Death* (Story of the *Buondelmonte and the Amidei.* Dante. *Il Paradiso. Canto* XVI, 66–140; also Macchiavelli. *Istorie Fiorentine.* Lib. II., and Ser Giovanni Fiorentino. *Il Pecorone.* VIII. 1).

I. 42. *Triumph of Time.*

I. 26. (24) *Gripus and Hegio.* 1647. Folio. Robert Baron. This play is made out of *The Duchess of Malfi.*

III. 19. (25) *The Mad Lover.* 1647. Folio. Fletcher.

I. 22. (26) *The Law Against Lovers.* 1673. Folio. Sir William Davenant.

This play is simply a mixture of the two plots of *Much Ado About Nothing* and *Measure for Measure.*

III. 18. (27) *The Witch.* 1788. 8vo. Middleton.

Again, the story of Rosimunda, told by Macchiavelli, in his *Istorie Fiorentine,* and after him

by Bandello, Belleforest, and Queen Margaret. Compare *Albovine.*

A Posie of Gilloflowers, eche differing from other in Colour and Odour, yet all sweet. By Humfrey Gifford, Gent. Imprinted at London for John Perin, and are to be solde at his shop in Paules Churchyarde, at the signe of the Angell. 1580. 4to.

Gifford's *Posie of Gilloflowers* is made up of prose translations from the Italian and French, and a collection of poems, devotional, moral, and narrative. The prose is dedicated, "To the Worshipfull his very good Maister, Edward Cope of Edon, Esquier;" the poetry, "To the Worshipfull John Stafford of Bletherwicke, Esquier."

Rich his Farewell to Militarie Profession; conteining very pleasant Discourses, in 8 Novels, fit for a peaceable Time. Gathered to-gether for the onely Delight of the courteous Gentlewomen both of England and Ireland, for whose onely Pleasure they were collected to-gether, and unto whom they are directed and dedicated. Newly augmented. By Barnaby Riche, Gentleman. Malui me divitem esse quā vocari.

Imprinted at London by Robert Walley. 1581. 4to. Also, 1606. 4to.

There are nine novels in this collection, four of them Italian, the other five, "forged only for delight." The popular tale of *Belphegor* was apparently added as an afterthought to give wind to the author's sail. The titles read,—

1. *Sappho, Duke of Mantona.*
2. *Apollonius and Silla.*
3. *Nicander and Lucilla.*
4. *Fineo and Fiamma.*
5. *Two Brethren and their Wives.*
6. *Gonzales and his virtuous wife Agatha.*
7. *Arimanthus born a leper.*
8. *Philotus and Emelia.*
9. *Belphegor.*

Four of these romances were dramatized on the Elizabethan stage.

1. *Sappho, Duke of Mantona,* is the source of the play, *The Weakest Goeth to the Wall,* 1600, 4to., attributed, for no particular reason, to Webster.
2. The history of *Apollonius and Silla* is the story of *Twelfth Night,* 1623, folio. It is found in Bandello, II, 36, the tale of Nicuola; in Belleforest, tom. iv, hist. 7; in Cinthio's *Gli Ecatommiti,* and in three Italian *Inganni* comedies. The same theme furnishes the plot of a French play, *Les Abusés,* 1543, translated from the Italian, and of Rueda's *Comedia de los Engaños.*
8. *Philotus and Emelia* found dramatic expression in Sir David Lindsay's comedy, *Philotus.* 1603. 4to.
9. *Belphegor,* founded on Macchiavelli's novel, *The Marriage of Belphegor,* is the subject of four English plays,—

a. *Grim the Collier of Croydon, or the Devil and his Dame.* Licensed 1600. Printed in 1662. 12mo. William Haughton.

b. *If it be not good, the Devil is in it.* 1612. 4to. Thomas Dekker.

c. *The Devil is An Ass.* 1641. Folio. Ben Jonson.

d. *Belphegor.* 1690. John Wilson.

Belphegor is the devil married to a shrewish wife.

An Heptameron of Civill Discourses, containing the Christmasse Exercise of sundrie well courted Gentlemen and Gentlewomen . . . . wherein is renowed the vertues of a most honourable . . . . gentleman (*Phyloxenus*).

London, by Richard Jones. 1582. 4to. Black letter.

George Whetstone.

The *Heptameron* is in prose, interspersed with poetry. It is principally a translation from an Italian author whom Whetstone calls 'Signior Philoxenus.' A second edition, entitled *Aurelia,* appeared in 1593.

Aurelia, The Paragon of Pleasure and Princely Delights: contayning the seven dayes Solace in Christmas Holydayes of Madona Aurelia, Queen of the Christmas Pastures, and sundry other well-courted Gentlemen and Gentlewomen in a Noble Gentleman's Pallace.

London. R. Jones. 1593. 4to.

One of the novels in the *Heptameron* is from Cinthio's *Gli Ecatommiti.* Decade 8, Novel 5. Whetstone used the romance for his comedy of *Promos and Cassandra,* 1578, 4to., the play upon which Shakspere founded *Measure for Measure.* 1623. Folio. Cinthio dramatized his own story as *Epitia.*

A romance from Bandello, 1, 4, is Painter's *Bianca Maria, Countess of Celant,* already versified by Whetstone in his *Rock of Regarde,* 1576; a marginal note in the *Heptameron* reads, "the fall of Maria Bianca, is written by the author in his booke, intitul'd *The Rocke of Regarde.*" Marston's *The Insatiate Countess,* 1613, 4to., is founded on the story. See Painter, *The Palace of Pleasure,* and Fenton, *Certaine Tragicall Discourses.*

One of the third day's exercises concludes like Bandello's story of Rosimunda, III, 18, which is the source of Sir William Davenant's tragedy, *Albovine, King of the Lombards.* 1629. 4to.

Amorous Fiammetta; wherein is sette downe a Catalogue of all and singuler passions of Loue and Jealousie, incident to an enamoured yong Gentlewoman with a notable Caueat for all Women to eschewe deceitfull and wicked Loue, by an apparant example of a Neapolitan Lady; her approved and long miseries, and wyth many sound Dehortations from the same. First wrytten in Italian by Master John Boccace, the learned Florentine and Poet-Laureat, and now done into English by B. Giouano del M. Temp. [Bartholomew Young, of the Middle Temple]. *With Notes in the margine, and with a Table in the ende of the cheefest matters, &c.*

At London. Printed by J. [ohn] C. [harlewood] for Thomas Newman, &c. 1587. 4to. Black letter. 131 leaves.

Dedicated to Sir Willian Hatton, Knight.

A translation of Boccaccio's romance, *Amorosa Fiammetta*. The heroine is the Princess Maria, natural daughter of King Robert, of Naples, with whom Boccaccio formed a Platonic friendship during his life in Naples.

Licensed to Thomas Gubbyn and Thomas Newman, Sept. 18, 1587, as follows,—

"*Amorous fiammetta*, translated out of Italian. Aucthorised under the bishop of Londons hand." *Stationers' Register B.*

Banishment of Cupid.

London. Imprinted for T. Marshe. No date. Small 8vo. Also, 1587. 12mo.

An Italian romance, translated by Thomas Hedley.

Perimides the Blacke-Smith: A golden methode how to use the minde in pleasant and profitable exercise. Wherein is contained speciall principles fit for the highest to imitate, and the meanest to put in practise, how best to spend the wearie winters nights, or the longest summers Evenings, in honest and delightfull recreation. Wherein we may learne to avoide idlenesse and wanton scurrilitie, which divers appoint as the end of their pastimes. Heerein are interlaced three merrie and necessarie discourses fit for our time: with certaine pleasant Histories and tragicall tales, which may breed delight to all, and offence to none. Omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit utile dulci.

London. Printed by John Wolfe, for Edward White. 1588. 4to.

Robert Greene.

This is a collection of love-stories told in the Italian manner, and largely borrowed from Boccaccio. The Memphian blacksmith, Perimides, and his wife, Delia, relate them to each other after their day's work is done. As in Greene's

Menaphon, some charming poetry is scattered here and there throughout.

Perimides's tale of the first night, Mariana's story, is a close copy of the story of Madonna Beritola Caracciola. *Decameron.* II, 6.

A prefatory "Address to the Gentlemen Readers" contains a satirical notice of Marlowe's *Tamburlaine.*

Palmerin d'Oliva. Translated by A. M.

London. John Charlewood. 1588. 4to.

Palmerin D'Oliva. The First Part: Shewing the Mirrour of Nobilitie, the Map of Honour, Anatomie of rare Fortunes, Heroicall presidents of Love, wonder of Chivalrie, and the most accomplished Knight in all perfection &c. Written in Spanish, Italian, and French: and from them turned into English by A. M. &c.

London. Printed for B. Alsop and T. Fawcet, &c. 1637. 4to. Black letter. 399 leaves. A. M. is Anthony Munday.

Tarlton's Newes Out of Purgatorie. Onely such a jest as his Jigge, fit for Gentlemen to laugh at an houre &c. Published by an old companion of his Robin Goodfellow.

At London. Printed for Edward White, n. d. (before 1590). 4to. Black letter. 28 leaves. Also, London, by George Purslowe. 1630. 4to.

At the end of this book, we are told that as a punishment for his sins on earth Tarlton had been appointed "to sit and play Jigs all day on his taber to the ghosts."

'The tale of the two lovers of Pisa, and why they were whipped in purgatory with nettles,' is an adaptation of the story of *Bucciolo and Pietro Paulo*, of *Il Pecorone*, 1, 2, Ser Giovanni Fiorentino; copied as the story of *Filenio Sisterna of Bologna*, in *Le Tredici piacevole notte*, 4, 4, Ser Giovan Francesco Straparola. It is the source of *The Merry Wives of Windsor.*

Two other tales, from the *Decameron*, are the amusing stories of *Friar Onion*, VI, 10, and of the *Crane with One Leg*, VI, 4.

Richard Tarlton was the best clown actor of his time, and was so celebrated for his wit that many jests pass under his name. It was such a nimble wit that people used to toss him jests from the pit just to bring out his ready repartee.

Certen Tragicall cases conteyninge LV histories with their severall Declamations both accusatorie and Defensive, written in ffrenshe by Alexander Vandenbushe alias Sylven, translated by E. A.

Licensed to E. Aggas and J. Wolf, 25 Aug., 1590.

Stationers' Register B.

One of the *Certen Tragicall cases* is the story of a Jew who would have a pound of flesh for his bond.

Anthony Munday based his *Defence of Contraries* on Silvain;—

The Defence of Contraries. Paradoxes against common Opinion, debated in Forme of Declamations in Place of public censure: onlie to exercise yong Wittes in difficult Matters. Translated out of French [of Silvain, or Vandenbush] *by A. M. Messenger of her Majesty's Chamber. Patere aut abstine.*

London [by R. Wendet for S. Waterson]. 1593. 4to. Pp. 99.

Three years later Munday expanded *The Defence* into *The Orator: Handling a hundred severall Discourses, in Forme of Declamations: Some of the Arguments being drawne from Titus Livius, and other Ancient Writers, the rest of the Author's owne Invention. Part of which are Matters happened in our age.*

Written in French by Alexander Silvayn, and Englished by L. P.

London. Printed by Adam Islip. 1596. 4to. 221 leaves.

Dedicated to Lord St. John of Bletso.

L. P. (Lazarus Piot) was a pen name of Anthony Munday.

The subject of the *95th Declamation* is, "Of a Jew who would for his debt have a pound of the flesh of a Christian." It is one of the tales of *Il Pecorone*, 4, 1, by Ser Giovanni Fiorentino (original, *Gesta Romanorum*).

It is curious that in the *Gesta Romanorum* tale, Englished about 1440, there is no Jew, while Munday's *95th Declamation* contains no lady. But in the Italian romance of Ser Giovanni Fiorentino, we have both Jew and lady, and Lady of Belmont, too. She is the wife of the hero Giannetto, and acts as judge in the case; the ring incident is also here, and the lady's maid, who is married to Ansaldo, the Antonio of *The Merchant of Venice*. It seems clear that Shakspere must have taken the story of the bond from the Italian novel, either by reading it himself, or by having somebody tell it to him with details of incident and character.

Philomela, The Lady Fitzwaters Nightingale. By Robert Greene. Utriusque Academiae in Artibus Magister. Sero sed serio. Il vostro Malignare non Giova Nulla.

Imprinted at London by R. B. for Edward White, and are to be sold at the litle North dore of Paules. 1592. 4to. Black letter. 1607. 1615. 4to. 1631. 4to.

Dedicated "To the right honourable the Lady Bridget Ratcliffe, Lady Fitzwaters."

The concluding episode of *Philomela* is taken from Boccaccio's tale of *Titus and Gesippus. Decameron.* x, 10. "Might not Greene be slightly indebted to Boccaccio for the fundamental idea of *Philomela* (*Decameron.* II, 9) from which Shakspere borrowed the plot of his *Cymbeline?*"

A. B. Grosart.

Cymbeline is founded on Boccaccio's story of Zinevra.

Robert Davenport's tragi-comedy, *The City Night Cap, or Crede quod habes et habes*, licensed 1624, printed 1661, is based on Greene's *Philomela* in its main plot, that of Lorenzo, Philippo, and Abstemia. Davenport's style is euphuistic, too, and he adopts Greene's very language occasionally; e. g.,

"O when the Elisander-leaf looks green,
The sap is then most bitter. An approv'd appearance
Is no authentic instance: she that is lip-holy
Is many times heart-hollow" (i, 1).

The Life and Death of William Longbeard, the most famous and witty English Traitor, borne in the Citty of London. Accompanied with manye other most pleasant and prettie histories. By T. L. [Thomas Lodge] of Lincolnes Inne, Gent. Et nugae seria ducunt.

Printed at London by Rychard Yardley and Peter Short, dwelling on Breadstreet hill, at the signe of the Starre. 1593. 4to. Black letter. 36 leaves.

Some poems supposed to be addressed by Longbeard to "his faire lemman Maudeline" are translations from Guarini and other Italian poets. One of the "prettie histories" is that of "Partaritus, King of Lombardie;" another, "an Excellent example of continence in Francis Sforza."

It is a padded book which Lodge made to sell.

Michael Drayton wrote a play called *William Longsword*, Acted 1599. Henslowe enters it in his *Diary*, *William Longbeard*, but Drayton's receipt corrects the name.

A Famous tragicall discourse of two lovers, African and Mensola, their lives, infortunate loves, and lamentable deaths, to-gether with the ofspring of the Florentines. A History no lesse pleasant then full of recreation and delight. Newly translated out of Tuscan into French by Anthony Guerin, domine Creste. And out of French into English by Jo. Goubourne.

At London. Printed by Ja. R. for William Blackman, dwelling neere the great North doore of Paules. 1594. 4to. Black letter. 44 leaves.

At the end of this romance is printed, "Thus endeth Maister John Bocace to his Flossolan. Data fata secutus."

The famous and renowned Historie of Primaleon of Greece, Sonne to the great and mighty Prince Palmerin d'Oliva, Emperor

of Constantinople. . . . Translated out of French and Italian into English by A. M.

London. 1619. 8vo.

This is the first extant edition, but the work was begun in 1589, and a complete version published in 1595. A. M. is Anthony Munday.

"But the *Cent Histoires Tragiques* of Belleforest himself, appear to have been translated soon afterwards. [*Registr. Station. C.* 1596.]" Warton, *History of English Poetry*, Section LX.

I have found no evidence of this, or of any other English translation of Belleforest. Possibly Warton confused Belleforest with Silvain. There is entered, in *Register C*, to Adam Islip, July 15, 1596,—

"*Epitomes De Cent histoires Tragicques partie extraictes des Actes des Romains et Autres &c. Per Alexandre Sylvain.* To be translated into Englishe and printed."

Anthony Munday translated this collection as *The Orator*.

Eighteen Elizabethan plays are referred to Belleforest, all of them being Bandello references, also, except *Hamlet*. I give the locations just as I have picked them up, but as I have never seen an edition of Belleforest, either original or in reprint, I cannot vouch for any of them.

Tom. I, p. 30. (1) *The Turkish Mahomet and Hiren the Fair Greek.* (*Mahomet*, August 14, 1594.) Peele.

(2) *Osmund the Great Turk.* 1657. 8vo. Carlell.

(3) *The Unhappy Fair Irene.* 1658. 4to. Swinhoe.

Tom. I of XVIII. (4) *Edward III.* 1596. 4to. Anonymous.

Vol. I. (5) *Romeo and Juliet.* 1597. 4to. Shakspere.

Tom. III. (6) *Much Ado About Nothing.* 1600. 4to. Shakspere.
Tom. V, hist 3. (7) *Hamlet.* 1603. 4to. Shakspere.
Tom. III, p. 356. (8) *The Wonder of Women.* 1606. 4to. Marston.
Tom. I, Nov. 13. (9) *The Dumb Knight.* 1608. 4to. Markham, Machin.
(10) *The Queen, or The Excellency of her Sex.* 1653. Anonymous.
Vol. II, Nov. 20. Tom. III, p. 58, for comic plot. (11) *The Insatiate Countess.* 1613. 4to. Marston.
Vol. II, Nov. 19. (12) *The Duchess of Malfi.* 1623. 4to. Webster.
(13) *Measure for Measure.* 1623. Folio. Shakspere.
Tom. IV, hist. 7. (14) *Twelfth Night.* 1623. Folio. Shakspere.
Tom. IV, Nov. 19. (15) *Albovine.* 1629. 4to. Sir William Davenant.
(16) *The Witch.* 1788. 8vo. Middleton.
1. 12. (17) *The Maid in the Mill.* 1647. Folio. Fletcher.
Tom. I, Nov. 13. (18) *Four Plays in One.* 1647. Folio. Fletcher.
Triumph of Death.

The Theatre of Gods Judgements: or, a Collection of Histories out of Sacred, Ecclesiasticall, and Prophane Authors, concerning the admirable Judgements of God upon the transgressors of his commandements. Translated out of French, and augmented by more than three hundred Examples, by Th. Beard. Pp. 472.

London. Printed by Adam Islip. 1597. 8vo. Also, 1612. 8vo.: 1631. 4to. Revised and augmented, from p. 542 to

end: 1648. Folio. With additions. 2 pts. Part II, by T. Taylor, is dated 1642.

This collection of histories is noteworthy, because it contains 'An account of Christopher Marlowe and his tragical end,' written by a man who was Cromwell's schoolmaster.

In Chapter XXII we find a short translation, the fourth one that is known, of Bandello's *Duchess of Malfi.* I, 26.

Diana of George of Montemayor, translated by B. Yong. 1598. Folio.

Dedicated to Lady Penelope Rich, Sir Philip Sidney's "Stella."

One romance of this Spanish collection (1542), the tale of the shepherdess, *Felismena,* is the probable source of Shakspere's *The Two Gentlemen of Verona.*

The *Diana* was finished in manuscript, "May 1, 1583." It served in part as a model for the *Arcadia* of Sidney. Numbers XXI and XXII of *Pansies from Penshurst and Wilton* (Grosart's title) are translations of the second and third pieces of verse in it. Grosart took them from *The Lady of the May—A Masque.* 1578.

The History of Felix and Philomena (*Felismena*) was played before the Court at Greenwich, January 3, 1585. Shakspere is supposed to have taken the story from the old play.

"One Thomas Wilson translated the *Diana* of Montemayer, a pastoral Spanish romance, about the year 1595, which has been assigned as the original of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona.*" Warton, *History of English Poetry.* Section LIV.

A Petite Pallace of Pettie his Pleasure, conteyning many pretie hystories.

London, by R. Watkins. 1598. 4to. Black letter. 1608. 4to. 1613. 4to. Black letter.

George Pettie.

Licensed, Aug. 6, 1576, while Pettie was a student of Christ Church College, Oxford. The license reads,—

"A petit palace of Pettie his pleasure Conteyninge many preti histories by him sett furthe in cumly coulors and most Delightfully Discoursed." *Register B.*

Imogen, *Cymbeline*, II, 2, went to sleep reading "*the tale of Tereus*" [*and Progne*], which is the second "pretie hystorie" in Pettie's *Petite Pallace.*

The Fountaine of Ancient Fiction, wherein is lively depictured the Images and Statues of the Gods of the Ancients with their proper and particuler Expositions. Done out of Italian into Englishe by Richard Linche Gent. London. Printed by Adam Islip. 1599. 4to. 104 leaves.

Dedicated to "M. Peter Dauison, Esquiere."

"This book, or one of the same sort, is censured in a puritanical pamphlet, written in the same year, by one H. G., "a painful minister of God's word in Kent," as the "Spawne of Italian Gallimaufry," as "tending to corrupt the pure and unidolatrous worship of the one God, and as one of the deadly snares of popish deception." Warton, *History of English Poetry*, LX.

The Strange Futures of Two Excellent Princes [Fantino and Penillo], *in their Lives and Loves to their equall Ladies in all the titles of true honour.* 1600.

Dedicated to 'John Linewray, Esquire, clerk of the deliueries and deliuerance of all her Maiesties ordenance.' [Nicholas Breton.]

A story from the Italian. In the Bodleian Library.

Jusserand describes this tale as, "a little masterpiece," "a bright and characteristic little book."

The English Novel in the Time of Shakespeare, p. 199 (of Elizabeth Lee's translation).

Pasquils Jests, mixed with Mother Bunches Merriments. Whereunto is added a doozen of Gulles. Pretty and pleasant to drive away the tediousnesse of a Winters evening.

Imprinted at London for John Browne, and are to be sold at his shop in Saint Dunstones Church yard in Fleet Street. 1604. 4to. Black letter. Also 1629. 4to. Black letter: 1635. 4to. Black letter: n. d. 4to. Black letter (1635): n. d. 4to. Black letter (1650): 1864. 8vo. (Hazlitt.)

How one at Kingston fayned himselfe dead, to trye what his wife would doe.

Poggio. *Facetiae,* CXVI. *De vivo qui suae uxori mortuum se ostendit.*

How madde Coomes, when his wife was drowned, sought her against the streame.

Poggio. *Facetiae,* LX. *De eo qui uxorem in flumine peremptam quaerebat.*

Admirable and memorable Histories containing the Wonders of our Time, done out of French by E. Grimestone. 1607. 4to. Probably a translation of,—

Thrésor d'histoires admirables et mémorables de nostre temps, recuillies de plusieurs autheurs, mémoires et avis de divers endroits, mises en lumiere par Sim. Goulart.. Genève, 1620.

Lowndes gives the French name "John" Goulart, and the earliest French edition in Brunet is dated 1610; there was, however, a Paris edition of 1600, which may have been Grimestone's original. See *Anglia.* November. 1894. Band XVII. Zweites Heft.

The plots of the following dramas are found in Goulart.

(1) *Duchess of Malfi.* 1623. 4to. Webster.

(2) *Measure for Measure.* 1623. Folio. Shakspere.

(3) *Imperiale.* 1640. 12mo. Sir Ralph Freeman.

1. 212. (4) *The Maid in the Mill.* 1647. Folio. Fletcher.

The *Biographia Dramatica* says the plot of Webster's tragicomedy, *The Devil's Law-Case,* 1623, 4to., is found in Goulart, but Hazlitt could not find it there.

The Pleasant Conceites of Old Hobson the Merry Londoner. Full of Humourous Discourses and Witty Merriments. Whereat the Quickest Wittes may laugh, the wiser sort take pleasure.

Printed at London for John Wright, and are to be sold at his Shoppe neere Christ-Church gate. 1607. 4to. Also, 1640. 12mo.

18. *How one of Maister Hobsons men quited him with a merry Jest.*
    Poggio. *Facetiae*, CLXXV. *De paupere qui navicula victum quaerebat.*
19. *Of Maister Hobsons riding to Sturbridge Faire.*
    Poggio. *Facetiae*, XC. *Jocatio cujusdam Veneti qui equum suum non cognoverat.*

A World of Wonders, or an Introduction &c.

London. 1607. Folio.

Translated from the French of Henry Stephens,—

L'introduction au traite de la conformite des Merveilles Anciennes avec les modernes: ou, traite preparatif à l'apologie poure Herodote. 1566. Oct.

This romance is found in *Il Pecorone*, IX, 1, and in Bandello, 1, 25, but it comes from Herodotus originally. Henslowe records an old anonymous play on the theme, *Bendo and Ricardo*, Acted March 4, 1592. See Bandello, 1.

The Hystorie of Hamblet. London. 1608.

Imprinted by Richard Bradocke for Thomas Pavier, and are to be sold at his shop in Corne-hill, neere to the Royall Exchange.

Although this translation is dated five years after the first quarto edition of *The Tragical History of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark*, 1603, it is generally admitted to be the old story that Shakspere used. It was Englished from the French of Belleforest,—

Histoires tragiques, extraites des œuvres italiennes de Bandel et mises en notre langue françoise par Pierre Bouestuau, sur-

nommé Launay. Six nouvelles seulement. Paris. 1559. Ben. Prévost ou Gilles Robineau.

Continuation . . . . trad. (ou imité) par Fr. de Bèlleforest. Douze nouvelles. Paris. Prévost. 1559. In-8.

These eighteen novels make up Vol. I of the *Histoires Tragiques;* there are seven volumes in all: Vol. I, 1559, 1564, 1568, 1570; Vol. II and Vol. III, 1569; Vol. IV, and Vol. V, 1570; Vol. VI, 1582; Vol. VII, 1583.

The Hystorie of Hamblet is in Vol. V, Troisième Histoire.

The Merry Tales of the Mad Men of Gottam. Gathered together by A. B. of Phisicke, Doctor. [Woodcut of the hedging-in of the cuckoo.]

Printed at London by B. [ernard] A. [lsop] and T. [homas] F. [awcet] for Michael Sparke, dwelling in Greene A[r]bor at the signe of the Blue-Bible. 1630. 12mo. Black letter. 12 leaves, including title. Also, 1613. 12mo.: n. d. 12mo. Black letter (Colwell): n. d. 12mo. Black letter (J. R.).

2. *A man of Gotham riding to market carried his corn on his own neck to save his horse.*

   Poggio. *Facetiae,* LVI. *De illo qui aratrum super humerum portavit.*

A "merriment," called *The Men of Gotham,* forms Scene 12 of the anonymous comedy, *A Knack How to Know a Knave.* It was written by William Kempe, one of the best comic actors of the time, and was played by "Edward Allen and his company," at the Rose, June 10, 1592.

Kempe wrote numerous jigs, and was the Jesting Will who went abroad with the Earl of Leicester's company of players, in 1586, visiting the Netherlands, Denmark, and Saxony. Between February 11 and March 11, 1600, he danced his celebrated *Morris to Norwich,* having put out money at three to one that he could accomplish this feat.

Merry Jests concerning Popes, Monkes, and Friers. Whereby is discovered their abuses and Errors &c. Written first in Italian

by N. S. and thence translated into French by G. I. and now out of French into English by R. W. Bac. of Arts of H. [*arts*] *H.* [*all*] *in Oxon. Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci.*

Printed by G. Eld, 1617. 8vo. Black letter. 68 leaves. Several later editions. There is a copy in the Library of Worcester College, Oxford.

The Antient, True and Admirable History of Patient Grissel, a Poore Mans Daughter in France: shewing how Maides by her example in their good behavior may marrie rich Hosbands: And likewise Wives by their patience and obedience may gaine much glorie. Written in French and

Therefore to French I speake and give direction,
For, English Dames will live in no subjection.

But, now Translated into English. And

Therefore, say not so. For English maids and wives
Surpasse the French in goodness of their lives.

At London. Printed by H. L. for William Lugger; and are to be sold at his shop in Bedlem, neere Moore-Fields. 1619. 4to. Black letter. 16 leaves. A quarto tract, in ten chapters, prose. *Decameron.* x. 10. See below (6).

"*Il decamerone* di Boccacio in Italian and the historie of China both in Italian and English Aucthorized by Th[e] archbishop of Canterbury as is reported by master Cosin." Licensed to John Wolf, Sept. 13, 1587. *Stationers' Register B.*

Whether this book ever came to print, I do not know, but it is not a little remarkable that Archbishop Whitgift should have authorized an Italian edition of the *Decameron* in the same year that a translation of the *Amorosa Fiammetta* was published under the authority of the Bishop of London.

It was not unusual for books to be printed in Italian in London about this time. I have met with fifteen or twenty such publications, the first one being Ubaldini's (Petruccio's) *Vita di Carlo Magno.* Londres. 1581, 1589. 4to.

The *Decameron* of Master John Bocace, Florentine.

Licensed to Master William Jaggard, March 22, 1620, with the accompanying note, "recalled by my lord of Canterburyes comand."

"So this edition of Boccacio was licensed by the Bishop of London through his secretary, and that license afterwards revoked by the Primate." *Stationers' Register C. Arber's Transcript.*

The Decameron containing an hundred pleasant Nouels. Wittily discoursed betweene seaven honorable Ladies, and three noble Gentlemen.

[London.] 1620. 2 volumes. Folio. With woodcuts.

This is the first, and anonymous, edition of the first English translation of the *Decameron.*

In the second edition, 1625, the title of Vol. I is changed to,—

The Modell of Wit, Mirth, Eloquence, and Conversation. Framed in ten dayes, of an hundred curious pieces, by seven Honourable Ladies, and three Noble Gentlemen. Preserved to posterity by the renowned J. B. . . . and now translated into English.

London. Isaac Jaggard for M. Lownes. 1625. Folio. Two volumes in one.

Modell of Wit, Mirth, Eloquence, and Conversation framed in ten days.

1657–55. Two volumes in one, fourth edition, woodcuts, with double title to Vol. I. MS. Notes by J. P. Collier. *Quaritch's Catalogue.*

B's Tales; or, the Quintessence of Wit. . . . Fourth edition. 2 pt. E. Cotes. London, 1657–55. 12mo.

1st Vol. only is of the fourth edition, and has a second title-page, which reads, *The Model of Wit,* etc. The title-page of part 2 reads, *The Decameron containing,* etc. *British Museum Catalogue.*

The *Decameron* furnishes plots for twenty-seven Elizabethan dramas.

x. 8. (1) *Titus and Gisippus*, acted at Court, Feb. 17, 1577. This may be Ralph Radcliff's *Friendship of Titus and Gysippus* revived from Edward VI's time.

iv. 1. (2) *Tancred.* Written, 1586–7. Sir Henry Wotton.

(3) *Tancred and Gismond.* 1592. 4to. Robert Wilmot.

x. 1. (4) *The Merchant of Venice.* 1600. 4to. Shakspere. (The story of the caskets.)

ii. 6. (5) *Blurt, Master Constable.* 1602. 4to. Middleton.

x. 10. (6) *Patient Grissel.* 1603. 4to. Haughton, Chettle, and Dekker.
Ralph Radcliff, in the time of Edward VI, wrote a play on this popular romance.

iii. 3. (7) *Parasitaster, or The Fawn.* 1606. 4to. Marston.

(8) *The Fleire.* 1607. 4to. Edward Sharpham.
The plot of this play seems to be borrowed from *The Parasitaster.*

vii. 6. (9) *Cupid's Whirligig.* 1607. 4to. Sharpham.

vii. 6. (10) *The Atheist's Tragedy.* 1611. 4to. Cyril Tourneur.

x. 5. (11) *The Two Merry Milkmaids.* 1620. 4to. J. C.

iii. 9. (12) *All's Well that Ends Well.* 1623. Folio. Shakspere.

ii. 9. (13) *Cymbeline.* 1623. Folio. Shakspere.

v. 8. (14) *A Contention for Honor and Riches.* 1633. 4to. Shirley.
This moral, greatly enlarged, was republished by Shirley as *Honoria and Mammon.* 1659. 8vo.

viii. 8. (15) *Adrasta.* 1635. John Jones.

x. 8. (16) *Monsieur Thomas.* 1639. 4to. Fletcher.

III. 8. (17) *The Night Walker.* 1640. 4to. Fletcher.
VIII. 8. (18) *Rule a Wife and Have a Wife.* 1640. 4to. Fletcher.
III. 5. (19) *The Devil is An Ass.* 1641. Folio. Ben Jonson.
(20) *Four Plays in One.* 1647. Folio. Beaumont and Fletcher.
X. 5. *Triumph of Honor. Diana.*
V. 7. *Triumph of Love. Cupid.*
VII. 6.
VII. 8. (21) *Women Pleased.* 1647. Folio. Fletcher.
VIII. 8.
IX. 1. (22) *The Siege, or Love's Convert.* 1651. 8vo. Cartwright.
II. 2. (23) *The Widow.* 1652. 4to. Middleton, Fletcher, Ben Jonson.
VIII. 7. (24) *The Guardian.* 1655. 8vo. Massinger.
VII. 7. (25) *The City Nightcap.* 1661. 4to. Davenport.
X. 8.

Westward for Smelts, or the Water-man's Fare of mad merry Western Wenches whose Tongues albeit like Bell-Clappers, they never leave ringing. Yet their Tales are sweet, and will much content you. Written by Kinde Kit of Kingston.

London. By John Trundle. 1620. 4to. Black letter.

A collection of facetious and whimsical tales related by different fishwives.

The Fishwife's Tale of Brainford, whose scene is laid at Windsor, is mentioned by Malone as a possible source of *The Merry Wives of Windsor.*

The Fishwife's Tale of Standon on the Greene is the story of Zinevra, Decameron, II, 9, Imogen's story, in *Cymbeline.*

Reprinted by the Percy Society. J. O. Halliwell. 1848.

"Steevens mentions an edition of 1603, apparently erroneously." A. W. Ward, *History of English Dramatic Literature,* I, 407.

The Powerfull Favorite, or The Life of Aelius Sejanus. By P. [ierre] M. [atthieu].

Paris. 1628. 4to. Pp. 154. Also, same place and date, pp. 62, an abridged translation.

This translation was published as a satire on the Duke of Buckingham. It was taken from Matthieu's

Aelius Sejanus Histoire Romaine, recueillie de divers autheurs. Seconde édition. (Histoire des prosperitez malheureuses d'une femme Cathenoise, grande seneschalle de Naples. En suite de Aelius Sejanus.)

2 pt. Rouen. 1618. 12mo.

The tale comes from Boccaccio's *De Casibus Virorum et Foeminarum Illustrium.* Sir Thomas Hawkins translated it again, from Matthieu, in 1632, as *Unhappie Prosperitie.*

Unhappy Prosperitie, expressed in the Histories of Aelius Sejanus and Philippa the Catanian, with observations on the fall of Sejanus.

London. 1632. 4to. Second edition, "with . . . . certain considerations upon the life and services of M. Villeroy." London. 1639. 12mo.

Dedicated to William, Earl of Salisbury. Sir Thomas Hawkins is the translator, as I find from a variant title of the first edition, "Written in French by P. Mathieu: and translated . . . . by Sr. Th. Hawkins."

Ben Jonson wrote a tragedy on Sejanus's history, *Sejanus, his Fall.* 1605. 4to.

The Fortunate, the Deceived, and the Unfortunate Lovers.

1632. 4to.

I find three dramas whose plots are in this collection of tales.

(1) *The Merry Wives of Windsor.* 1602. 4to. Shakspere.
(2) *Four Plays in One.* 1647. Folio. Beaumont and Fletcher, *Triumph of Death.*
(3) *The Cunning Lovers.* 1654. 4to. Alexander Brome.

Eromena, or Love and Revenge . . . now faithfully Englished by J. Hayward, etc.

London. 1632. Folio.

Dedicated to the Duke of Richmond and Lennox, and having prefixed commendatory verses or letters by James Howell.

This is a translation of Giovanni Francesco (Sir John Francis) Biondi's romance entitled *L'Eromena divisa in sei libri.* Venice. 1624. 4to.

Donzella desterrada; or, the banish'd virgin. . . . Englished by J. H. [*ayward*] *of Graies Inne. Gent.*

[London.] 1635. 4to.

A translation of Biondi's *La Donzella Desterrada: divisa in due volumi . . . seguita l'Eromena.* 2 vols. Venice. 1627–28. 4to.

Dedicated to the Duke of Savoy.

Coralbo, a new romance in three bookes rendered into English.

London. 1655. Folio.

Dedicated to the second Earl of Strafford.

A translation of Biondi's third romance, *Il Coralbo. Segue la Donzella Desterrada.* Venice. 1635. 4to. The translator, A. G., states that Biondi regarded *Coralbo* as "the most perfect of his romances." The three romances are chivalric, and tell a continuous story, as the Italian titles indicate. How long the trilogy is in English I do not know, but in Italian it took twelve books to relate all the adventures of the banished lady.

The Historie of the tragicke Loves of Hipolito and Isabella. London. 1633. 12mo. (Lowndes).

"Some verses signed 'G. C.,' prefixed to *The True History of the Tragicke loves of Hipolito and Isabella* (1628), are probably to be assigned to Chapman." *Dictionary National Biography.*

Hipolito and Isabella Neapolitans was licensed November 9, 1627, so that the date, 1628, of the *Dictionary of National Biography*, is probably correct.

The romance is the source of Middleton's tragedy, *Women Beware Women*, printed in 1657. Langbaine, *Account of English Dramatic Poets*, p. 374.

The Arcadian Princesse; or the Triumph of Justice: Prescribing excellent rules of Physicke, for a sick Justice. Digested into Fowre Bookes, and Faithfully rendered to the originall Italian Copy, by Ri. Brathwaite, Esq. With "the life of Mariano Silesio the approved Author of this worke."

1635. 8vo. 269 leaves.

The Divell a married man: or the Divell hath met with his match.

[London, September 24, 1647.] 4to.

A translation of Macchiavelli's novel, *Belfagor*. 1549. See *Rich his Farewell to Militarie Profession*. 1581.

Heptameron, or the History of the Fortunate Lovers: Written by the most Excellent and most virtuous Princess, Margaret de Valoys, Queen of Navarre. Published in French by the privilege and immediate approbation of the King. Now made English by Robert Codrington, Master of Arts.

London, printed by F. L. for Nath. Ekins, and are to be sold at his shop at the Gun, by the West-end of St. Pauls. 1654. 8vo. Pp. 528.

Queen Margaret's *Heptameron* is a collection of seventy-two romances, modelled on the *Decameron*. It appeared in 1558. Not infrequently the same tale is told both by Queen Margaret and by Bandello, and it is explained that both authors gathered their material in France.

MARY AUGUSTA SCOTT.

PUBLICATIONS

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VII.—TWO MODERN GERMAN ETYMOLOGIES.[1]

1. *Schnörkel.*

Schnörkel in Modern German designates a twisted ornament, a 'scroll' or 'flourish.' In some of the earlier dictionaries, *e. g.* in Steinbach's *Vollständiges Deutsches Wörter-Buch* (Breslau, 1734) and in Frisch's *Teutsch-Lateinisches Wörter-Buch* (Berlin, 1741),[2] the word occurs as *Schnerkel*, and this, no doubt, is the more original form; the change of *e* into ö being due to the influence of the neighboring *sch*, as in *löschen, Schöffe, schöpfen, Schöpfer, schröpfen, schwören*, which originated from Middle High German *leschen, scheffe, schepfen, schepfere, schrepfen, swern*.[3] It is well known that in such cases the vowels ö and *e* are found interchangeably from a time earlier than the beginning of the sixteenth century. *E. g.* Luther in his later works clings to the *e* (in spelling *schepffen, schweren*, etc.), while in his earlier writings the ö is found at least in a few cases. On the whole the vowel ö is gaining ground; but in

[1] A sketch of this paper was read at a Joint Meeting of the American Philological Societies in Philadelphia on December 28th, 1894.

[2] Cf. Kluge's *Etymolog. Wörterb. d. deutschen Sprache*[5] (Strassburg, 1894), s. v. *Schnörkel.*

[3] Cf. Weigand's *Deutsches Wörterbuch*[4], II (Giessen, 1882), s. v. *Schnörkel.*

some instances the uncertainty between *e* and *ö* is not settled before the end of the eighteenth century.[1] It is in accordance with these facts that, although *Schnerkel* is still used in the first half of the eighteenth century, yet the word is spelled *Schnörckel, e. g.* in Kramer's *Wort-Buch in Teutsch-Italiänischer Sprach* (Nürnberg, 1678).[2]

In addition to *Schnerkel* and *Schnörkel* in the first half of the sixteenth century the form *Schnirkel* is found.[2] Its relation to *Schnerkel* may either be compared with that of *Kringel* to *Krengel*, or we may assume that the pronunciation or the spelling of *Schnerkel* was influenced by a word of similar sound and similar meaning, viz., *Zirkel*.

As regards the etymology of *Schnörkel*, Weigand in his Dictionary (*l. c.*) proposed to derive it from the Old High German verb *snerhan* 'to tie, sling.' The same etymology is, although hesitatingly, advocated by Kluge (*l. c.*), whose words are: "*wohl zu ahd. snarha, snaraha F. Schlinge?*" This etymology, however, is in open conflict with Grimm's law, since the guttural in *snerhan* is Germanic *h*, shifted from Pregermanic *k*,[3] while the guttural in *Schnörkel* clearly represents Germanic *k*, shifted from Pregermanic *g*. Weigand was misled apparently by the form *Schnörchel*, given besides *Schnörckel* in Kramer's dictionary.[4] Yet it is to be noted that Kramer's dictionary was printed in Nürnberg, and that in Southern German dialects Germanic *k* is shifted to *ch*. The form *Schnörchel* then, far from supporting Weigand's opinion, rather serves to confirm the view that the *k* of *Schnörkel* is regular.

Schnörkel or *Schnerkel* is, in my opinion, identical with the MHG. noun *schrenkel*, which occurs in the younger Titurel

[1] See K. v. Bahder, *Grundlagen des nhd. Lautsystems* (Strassburg, 1890), p. 168–179, and Wilmanns, *Deutsche Grammatik*, I (Strassburg, 1893), p. 211 *seq.*

[2] See Weigand, *l. c.*, and Schmeller, *Bairisches Wörterbuch*[2], II, p. 582.

[3] Compare Old Norse *snara*, f. 'sling,' from **snarha*, and Fick, *Vergl. Wörterb.*[3], III, p. 350.

[4] See above, note 2.

v. 1212: *senkel, mit fremden stricken geflochten in manige schrenkel.* Lexer, who, in his Middle High German Dictionary quotes the word from this passage, records its meaning as '*Verschränkung, Schleife, Knoten,*' *i. e.*, 'interlacement, loop, knot.'[1]

If we are correct in identifying these two words—and it is easily seen that their meaning is identical—Mod. Germ. *Schnörkel* is derived from the MHG. verb *schrenken*, which in Modern German survives in the compounds *beschränken, einschränken, verschränken.* As *schrenken* in MHG. means 'to cross, twist, entwine,' we are furnished by this verb with exactly the notion from which *Schnörkel* is most naturally derived. We may add that MHG. *schrenken* goes back to the Old High German weak verb *screncen*[2] (or in the Alemannian dialect *screnchen*),[3] preter. *scrancta.* Closely related to this verb are several OHG. nouns in which the notion of deviating or deceiving appears, *e. g. scranc* m. 'fraud;' *hintirscrenchi* f. 'tergiversation;' *hinterscrenchich* 'deceitful.'[2] Here belong also MHG. and Mod. Germ. *schrank* m. and *schranke* f. OHG. *screncen* is on the other hand identical with AgS. *screncan* 'to cause to stumble,' and probably also connected with O. Norse *skrǫk* n. 'lie.' In combining these words we arrive at a Primitive Germanic basis *scranc*, which apparently meant 'crooked' or 'athwart.'

The above etymology implies that in the period of transition from Middle High German to Modern German the consonants *n* and *r* changed places in the word *schrenkel.* It is well known that similar transpositions of sounds are frequently met with

[1] This word *schrenkel* is also found in Middle Low German. It is quoted in Schiller-Lübben's *Mittelniederd. Wörterb.*, s. v. *schrenkel* from an Oldenburg charter from 1575, in which it says: *ein sulueren gordel, noch II sulueren schrenkel.* In Lübben-Walther's *Mittelniederd. Handwörterbuch* it is interpreted "*ein Geschmeide: Spange?*" It seems to mean in the above passage the buckle ('*Schnalle*') of a belt: a meaning whose connection with that of the Middle High German word is obvious.

[2] See Graff, *Althochd. Sprachschatz*, vol. VI, p. 582 *seq.*

[3] The *ch* of *screnchen* is of the same nature as that of Kramer's *Schnörchel*, mentioned above p. 296.

as well in German[1] as in other languages. Suffice it here to quote the following, more or less, parallel examples:

1. MHG. (dial.) *dornstac*[2] = *donnerstac* or *donrestac* (Engl. 'Thursday').

2. Mod. Germ. *bersten*, Engl. *to burst* = MHG. *bresten*.

3. Mod. Germ. *Born*, AgS. *burna* (Engl. *bourn*) = Mod. G. *Bronnen*, *Brunnen*, OHG. *brunno*, Goth. *brunna*.

4. Mod. G. (and Low G.) *Scharn* (m.) = MHG. *schranne*, OHG. *scranna*.

5. Mod. G. *Erle*, OHG. *erila* = OHG. *elira*, Low G. *eller*, AgS. *alor*, Engl. *alder*.

6. Alem. *zickeln*, Engl. *to tickle*, Middle Engl. *tikelen* = AgS. *cytelian*, Mod. G. *kitzeln*.

7. Mod. G. *Essig*, OHG. *ezzih* from **atecum* = Lat. *acetum*.

8. Mod. G. *Nuss*, O. Norse *hnut-*, AgS. *hnutu*, 'nut,' from Pregermanic **knud-* = Latin *nuc-* from original **dnuk-*.[3]

2. *schmarotzen*, *Schmarotzer*.

The verb *schmarotzen* 'to spunge on a person' and the noun *Schmarotzer* 'a parasite' have been traced back to the fifteenth century. Yet at that time and in the sixteenth century we meet with slight differences in their form—and for some time also in their meaning—as compared with the present usage. In the *Vocabularius Theutonicus*, a German-Latin vocabulary, printed at Nürnberg in 1492, the two words are given as '*smorotzen*, mendicare,' and '*smorotzer*, mendicus.'[4] Geiler von Keisersberg (1445–1510), from whose writings *schmorotzer* is quoted in Scherz-Oberlin's *Glossarium German. medii aevi*,[4] uses this word in the meaning of 'niggard' ('*Knauser*'). In

[1] See, *e. g.*, Janssen's *Index to Kluge's Etymol. Dictionary* (Strassburg, 1890), p. 256, s. v. *Metathesis*, and Wilmanns, *D. Gramm.*, I, p. 143 *seq.*

[2] Weinhold, *Mittelhochd. Gramm.*, § 146.

[3] See H. Pedersen in Kuhn's *Zeitschr.*, vol. 32, p. 251.

[4] See Lexer, *Mittelhochd. Handwörterbuch*, s. v. *smorotzen* and *smorotzer*.

the early sixteenth century both words occur in the *Zimmerische Chronik*[1] in the following passages:

Vol. III, p. 204: *Aber sie ward gern geladen, gleichwol sie nit welte darfur angesehen sein, und so sie von herr Wilhelm Wernhern, wann es essens zeit, under ir thur standt, darumb angeredt, ob sie nit bei ime welt essen und schmorotzen, verschmur* [read: *verschwur*] *sie das morgenmal, aber gleich darnach legt sie die hendt zusammen, sprechend 'Ach! ach!' so ward sie dann geladen.*

Vol. IV, p. 63: *Wol einher ins teufels namen, du schmorotzer! So du daheimen nichs hast zu fressen, kumpst und wilt meim herren unruhe machen und das sein abnutzen!*

Both *schmorotzen* and *schmorotzer* are used here in the same meaning which attaches to them (or rather to their equivalents *schmarotzen* and *Schmarotzer*) in Modern German. Further testimony for this usage may be found in Frisius' *Dictionarium Latino-Germanicum*, in which we read:[2]

Parasitus: *Tållerſchlåcker | Schmorotzer | Schmeichler vñ deſz bauchs willē | Liebkoſer | Der gern mulefe macht ob eines anderē tiſch | Der redt vñ thůt | vñ eim in allē dingē recht gibt | allein dz er mulauf mache vñ zefråſſen habe.*

Parasitor: *Eim in allen dingen willfaren vnd recht geben | oder | Schmeichlen vmb deſz bauchs willen | Schmorotzen.*

Parasitaſter: *Der dem ſchmorotzen nachzücht | oder nachuolger deren tållerſchlåckeren | damit vnd er die kunſt auch lerne | vnd gůte biſzle oder můnduolle fråſſe.*

It will be noticed from these quotations that in the 15th and the 16th centuries the vowel of the first syllable is invariably *o;* this fact we shall have to take into account in attempting to trace the etymology of these words.

The rather strange sound of the verb *schmarotzen* and the noun *Schmarotzer*, as well as the fact that the accent in both

[1] Ed. by *Barack* in 4 Voll. = *Bibliothek des Litterar. Vereins*, Bd. 91–94 (Stuttgart, 1868–69).

[2] I quote from the second edition (Tiguri, 1556), a copy of which (from the collection of the late Professor Sauppe) is found in the library of Bryn Mawr College.

of them—at least at present—rests on the second syllable, may seem to favor the opinion that they are foreign words: an opinion held, *e. g.*, by Weigand in his *Deutsches Wörterbuch*.[1] But we look in vain for a foreign word from which they might have been borrowed. The only word that has been suggested so far, is the noun *morosser* 'one that seeks to make bargains' ('*Schmuser*'), which is said to be found in the language of Upper Italy.[2] Yet its similarity to the German words, both in regard to form and meaning, is so remote that we are forced to look for a better etymology.

Jacob Grimm in one of the mscr. notes to his *Deutsche Grammatik*[3] is inclined to reckon *schmarotzen* among the verbal derivatives in *-(t)zen* like Mod. Germ. *ächzen, blitzen* (for **blikzen*), *dutzen, grunzen, jauchzen, ihrzen, krächzen, lechzen, schluchzen, schmatzen* (for *schmakzen*), *schnalzen, seufzen, siezen*. These verbs, as is well known, are intensive or iterative verbs, whose suffix *-zen* goes back to an earlier form *-ezen-* (also *-izen*), which in OHG. generally appears as *-azen* (and *-ezen* or *-izen*), and in Gothic as *-atjan* (Goth. *lauhatjan* 'to lighten'). *E. g.:*

MHG. *achzen, blinzen, duzen, irzen; bockezen, grogezen, heschezen, kachezen, roffezen, ruckezen; himelizen, smackizen.*[4]

OHG. *anazen* 'to incite, stimulate,' *heilazen* or *heilezen* 'to greet,' *naffezen* 'to nap, fall asleep,' *ar-hroffazen* or *ir-roffezen* 'to belch out,' *chahazen* 'to laugh,' *leidazen* or *leidezen* 'to detest,' *lîhhezen* or *lîhhizen* 'to feign,' *troffezen* 'to drop,' and many others.[5]

Of special interest for our purpose are two cases in which in OHG. the vowel of the derivative syllable has been changed into *o*, viz., *ar-rofozen* (identical with the verb

[1] Vol. II (4th ed., Giessen, 1882), s. v. *schmarotzen*.

[2] See Kluge's *Etymol. Wörterb.*[5], s. v. *schmarotzen*.

[3] In the new edition, by W. Scherer, of Vol. II (Berlin, 1878), p. 209.

[4] Cf. Weinhold, *Mittelhochd. Gramm.*, § 238.

[5] See Grimm, *Dt. Gr.*, II[2], p. 217 *seq.* and 995 *seq.*; Weinhold, *Alemannische Gramm.*, § 250, and *Bairische Gramm.*, § 208.

ar-hroffazen or *ir-roffezen*, quoted above),[1] and *uuorphozen* 'to toss about.'[2] It is noteworthy that both of these verbs contain the vowel *o* also in the radical syllable; in all probability then the vowel of the suffix has been assimilated to that of the stem.

But is it permitted to compare the *o* of Early Modern Germ. *schmorotzen* with that of OHG. *ar-rofozen* and *uuorphozen*, while the *-a-* or *-e-* of OHG. *-a-zen* or *-e-zen* has otherwise been syncopated in Modern German, and in many instances even in Middle High German?

It may be stated, in answer to this objection, that *-a-* and *-e-* are kept to this day in Southern German dialects. The Bavarian dialect has generally *-e-zen*, *e. g.*, in *ach-ezen*, *blink-ezen*, *dû-ezen*, *gluck-ezen*, *juch-ezen*, *naff-ezen*, *pfuch-ezen*, *schnupf-ezen*, *tropf-ezen;* and in Austrian dialects *-a-zen* is frequently found, *e. g.*, in *ach-azen* (Mod. G. *ächzen*), *himmel-azen* (MHG. *himel-izen*), *juch-azen* (Mod. G. *jauchzen*), *lach-azen* (Mod. G. *lechzen*), *napf-azen* (OHG. *naffezen*).[3]

We find, moreover, in New High German dialects, in addition to the forms in *-ezen* and *-azen* just mentioned, several verbs in *-otzen*, viz., Early NHG. *glockotzen* 'to belch' (cf. Bavar. *gluckezen*, Mod. Germ. *glucksen* 'to cluck,' and *kluchzen*, *klucksen* 'to hiccup'); Swabian *ragotzen* 'to wrestle,' and Silesian *hollotzen* 'to shout.'[4]

It is easily seen that the verb *smorotzen* (*schmorotzen*, later on *schmarotzen*) agrees in every respect with OHG. *ar-rofozen*, *uuorphozen*, or Modern *glockotzen*, *hollotzen*. We shall have to identify its ending *-otzen* with the old suffix *-azen*, and to explain the *-o-* of this ending from assimilation to the *o* of the radical syllable *smor-*.

[1] *ih arrofozu giborganu* 'eructabo abscondita,' Tat. 74, 3.

[2] *thaz skef in mittemo sêuue uuas givvuorphozit mit then undon* 'navis autem in medio mari iactabatur fluctibus,' Tat. 81, 1.

[3] See Schmeller, *Bair. Wörterb.;* Grimm, *Dt. Gr., l. c.*, and Weinhold, *Bair. Gr., l. c.*

[4] See Kluge, *Etym. Wtb., l. c.*

There remains the question, how to explain the radical syllable *smor-*. In accordance with the usual formation of the derivatives in *-ezen* we might expect to find in MHG. a verb **smor(r)en*, and if such a verb existed, in a meaning related to *smorotzen*, the task of the etymologist would be easy enough. There is, indeed, in MHG. a verb *ver-smorren;* but its notion is 'to shrink, to shrivel,' and it seems impossible to connect it with '*schmarotzen.*' Yet there exists in MHG. another verb which resembles the supposed **smorren* closely in its form and whose meaning is identical with that of *smorotzen*, viz., *smollen.*[1] It occurs in the latter meaning twice in Hugo von Trimberg's *Renner*,[2] viz.:

v. 5286: *mange liute sint doch sô swinde,*
daz si irem teglîchen gesinde
des brôtes etswenne nicht geben wollen,
des siht man ofte von hunger smollen.
And v. 5306: *swer aber des guotes hât envollen,*
und doh niht mac vermîden smollen,
swenne er vor im ezzen siht,
der hât mit grôzer untugent phliht.

The explanation of *smorotzen* from this verb *smollen* is supported by the following reasons:

(1). As regards the form, the change of *l* with *r* is found in MHG. in other words belonging to the same group with *smollen: smollen* itself, as is generally agreed upon, is derived from MHG. *smielen* 'to smile.' But in addition to *smielen* we find the form *smieren;* and the alternation of *l* with *r* extends both to the noun *der smiel* or *der smier*, and to the verbal com-

[1] Schmeller, *Bair. Wörterb.*[2], II, p. 549; Müller-Zarncke, *Mittelhochd. Wörterb.*, II, 2, p. 433 *b*.

[2] Hugo von Trimberg wrote his didactic poem *Der Renner* in Bamberg at the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century. The exact date at which the poem was finished is as little known as the year in which the poet died; yet it appears that the poem was not begun before 1296, and finished later than 1313. See E. J. Wölfel in the *Zeitschr. f. dt. Altert.*, vol. 18 (1884), pp. 145–162.

pounds *er-smielen* or *er-smieren* and *ge-smielen* or *ge-smieren*.[1] The *r* in *smorotzen* may accordingly be explained in two different ways. Either there existed in addition to *smollen* a dialectic verb **smorren*, formed from *smieren* as *smollen* from *smielen*; the verb *smorotzen* would in this case have to be regarded as a derivation of this lost simplex **smorren*. Or we may assume that *smorotzen* is based upon an earlier form **smolotzen*, derived from *smollen*, and that **smolotzen* survived only in its younger parallel form *smorotzen*, as MHG. *smielen*, *smieren* later on remained only in the form *schmieren*. Whichever explanation we prefer; we may take it for granted that the coëxistence in MHG. of *smielen* and *smieren* justifies that of its derivatives *smollen* and *smorotzen*.

(2). As regards the meaning, MHG. *smollen* is the same verb as Mod. Germ. *schmollen* 'to pout,' and occurs in the latter meaning ('*aus Unwillen schweigen*' or, as I should prefer for the passage in the *Renner*, quoted below: '*den Mund hängen lassen, mürrisch sehen*') in the very poem which furnished us with MHG. *smollen* in the meaning of '*schmarotzen*.'[2] Strange as this fact may at the first glance appear, it is amply explained if we consider the original meaning of *smollen* and its relation to that of *smielen*, *smieren*. The latter verb means 'to smile,' and *smollen* is in this signification ('*subridere*') recorded in Diefenbach's *Glossar. Lat.-Germ. mediae et infimae latinitatis*, 516[b].[3] But this notion developed into that of 'to screw up the mouth, to make a wry face' ('*den Mund hängen lassen, sauer sehen*'),[4] which later on led to that of Mod. Germ. *schmollen* 'to pout.' If in the two passages of the *Renner*, quoted above p. 302, *smollen* has assumed the

[1] See Müller-Zarncke's and Lexer's MHG. dictionaries. The form *smieren* is kept in Bavar. *schmieren* 'to smile;' Schmeller, *Bair. Wörterb.*[2], II, p. 556.

[2] *Renner*, v. 14117: *smollen unde swîgen.*

[3] Cf. Lexer, *Mittelhochd. Handwörterb.*, s. v. *smollen.*

[4] This change may be brought under the general head of deterioration of meaning, examples of which from Mod. German are given in Janssen's *Index* to Kluge's *Etymol. Dict.*, p. 269, s. v. '*Verschlechterung der Bedeutung.*'

sense of '*schmarotzen, gieren*' ('to spunge upon a person, to long for something'), this notion, no doubt, is connected with the preceding one, in that it refers par excellence to the act of making a wry face at the sight of others eating. We may even doubt whether we are allowed to translate with Schmeller—whose translation has been generally accepted[1]—in those two passages *smollen* by '*schmarotzen, gieren,*' and whether the verb does not simply mean '*den Mund hängen lassen.*' But whatever interpretation we adopt for *smollen* in the passages of the *Renner*, the difference of opinion will in no way affect their value for the explanation of the word *schmarotzen*. For Hugo von Trimberg's usage shows plainly that there was at his time a tendency towards applying the word *smollen* especially to the act of assuming an air of need or of dissatisfaction in order to arouse sympathy in others. Now if we compare the earliest extant examples of *smorotzen*, we easily discover that their meaning, while it is not exactly identical with the later usage of the word (*i. e.*, 'to spunge upon, to act the parasite'), corresponds exactly with Trimberg's usage of the verb *smollen*. The interpretation in the 'Vocabularius Theutonicus' of *smorotzer* by 'mendicus' and of *smorotzen* by 'mendicare' is the counterpart of *Renner*, 5286: *des siht man ofte von hunger smollen;* and the interpretation, referred to in Scherz' *Glossarium* of *schmorotzer* by '*Knauser*' ('niggard'), is explained by *Renner*, 5306: *wer aber des guotes hât envollen, und doh niht mac vermîden smollen, etc.* In brief, the peculiarities in the early usage of *smorotzen* find a parallel in the different shades of meaning of MHG. *smollen*.

According to the general rule for the position of the accent in German, and in accordance with the Bavarian and Austrian derivatives in *-ezen* and *-azen* (like *a'chezen, a'chazen*), the verb *schmorotzen* bore originally the accent on the first syllable. Its shifting from the first to the second syllable has a parallel in

[1] With the only exception, to my knowledge, of Schade, who in his *Altd. Wörterb.*[2], s. v. *smollen* omits the '*schmarotzen*' and gives '*gieren*' with a question mark.

words like *Forélle* (= MHG. *fórhele*), *Hollu'nder* (= MHG. *ho'lunder*), *Schlaráffe* (= MHG. *slū'r-affe*), and *lebe'ndig* (= MHG. *le'bendic*).[1] It is probably due to this change in the accent, that *schmorotzen* and *Schmorotzer* were replaced by *schmarotzen* and *Schmarotzer*, since words like *Heimat* (= MHG. *heimōt(e)*), *Monat* (= MHG. *mônot*, *mânot*), and *Bräutigam* (= MHG. *briutegome*) show that there was in Early Modern German a tendency towards reducing the vowel *o* in unstressed syllables to *a*. Since the *a* is found in *schmarotzen* and *Schmarotzer* in the seventeenth century, this would lead to the conclusion that the shifting of the accent from the first to the second syllable took place in or before the sixteenth century; an opinion which agrees well with what we know about the date of the similar shifting in *lebe'ndig* (earlier *le'bendig*).

The position of the accent on the middle syllable is also presupposed by the collateral forms *schmarutzen* and *Schmarutzer*, which, although at first dialectic, have been admitted to the language of our classics.[2] Their *u* instead of *o*, as I take it, is due to the tendency of Midland German dialects to change *o* in accented syllables to *u*, *e. g.*, in *huffenunge* (*Hoffnung*), *hulz* (*Holz*), *muchte* (*mochte*), *uffen* (*offen*), *ufte* (*oft*), *vrust* (*Frost*), *zurn* (*Zorn*).[3]

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[1] See Behaghel in Paul's *Grundriss der German. Philologie*, I, p. 255; Kluge, *Et. Wtb.*, s. v. *lebendig*.

[2] *E. g.* Goethe's *Faust*, I, 2054:

Mit welcher Freude, welchem Nutzen,
Wirst du den Cursum durchschmarutzen!

[3] See the quotations for these and other examples in Weinhold's *Mittelhochd. Gramm.*, § 51.

VIII.—"FREE" AND "CHECKED" VOWELS IN GALLIC POPULAR LATIN.

My reason for offering the present contribution to a subject no longer considered as affording opportunities for remarkable discoveries is the following: Among the characteristic terms employed by students of Old French philology there are two which, consecrated by long usage, occur more frequently, probably, than any others. These two are "free" (*frei, libre*) and "checked" (*gedeckt, entravé*); they are used to refer to the position of vowels in Popular Latin, the vowel being called "free" when standing before a single consonant or certain consonant combinations, "checked" in other circumstances. Now I dare say that there is no definition of such fundamental importance which betrays more inconsistencies and difficulties to the careful scholar than does this one as stated in its present form in the various manuals on Old French. After seeking in vain either to find any single definition that seemed satisfactory or to combine the statements of different scholars into one comprehensive presentation of the point in question, I concluded that there must be something radically wrong with the traditional method of expressing the definition, and determined to make an independent investigation of the whole matter.

Before entering upon this discussion I may be allowed to call attention to a point of secondary importance so far as the subject of the accompanying essay is involved, but which, I hope, is not without its value. An experience of two years lecturing on Old French phonology has led me to believe that there should be some method of presenting the developments of the vowels as a whole in a way more logical than that usually adopted in works on French. In scrutinizing the history of the derivation of the French language from the Popular Latin, the critical eye will observe that the prominent

principles which stand out as determining that development can be reduced in number to four or five. If we can grasp these principles and group all the vowel developments within or about them, we will have, instead of a medley of detached facts, a coherent system of scientific value. As the investigation of the question of free and checked position involves a study of all the vowels, I have, in presenting the results of this study, attempted to group them in the manner just suggested so that they will exhibit at once what may be considered the salient features of the vowel developments.

The essential difference between my plan of arriving at a definition of free and checked position and that of others who have approached the problem is this: Considering the two ends of the line of development having its starting point in Popular Latin and culminating in French, former students have based their definitions solely on the forms of the Popular Latin words, saying that the vowel was free when followed there by one consonant, or by two consonants, the last of which was L or R, etc.; when the French representative of the given word did not seem to conform to the definition, the French word was treated as exceptional. To illustrate this method, I note, for example, in Schwan:[1] "Free vowels are those . . . . followed by a single consonant—TALE, MANU." Now the French derivative of TALE is *tel*, of MANU, *main;* surely the A was not free in the same sense in each of the Popular Latin etyma. Again, Paris says:[2] "I mean by checked vowels those . . . . followed by the groups CR, GR, ... those followed by two consonants of which one of the elements is a J." Now by the side of MACREM > *maigre*, PALATIUM > *palais*, we find INTĘGRUM (> *entieir*) > *entir*, PRĘTIUM (> *prieis*) > *pris*. If CR, TJ constituted checked position, why is not Ę checked before them as well as A? According to these definitions A is free whether its French derivative is *e* or *ai;* or Ę is checked when it develops *ie* before a palatal, free when it develops the same

[1] *Grammatik des Altfranzösischen*, 2nd edition, § 55.
[2] *Romania*, X, 37.

before a single consonant, as PĘDEM > *pied*. It seems to me that when we consider these (and other) inconsistencies which inevitably arise upon a reading of similar definitions, the desire must be felt to reduce the terms "free" and "checked" so that they shall each refer to one particular development of every vowel; otherwise an unfortunate confusion must result.

I begin at the opposite end of the above mentioned line, that is, with the French, and study the actual forms of the words there found, ascertaining if their development is regular according to known phonetic laws. I find by thus classifying their French derivatives that the Popular Latin vowels may be divided into three comprehensive classes; in the first they develop, in the second they remain, in the third they form diphthongs with palatal *i*. I endeavor to show that the third class represents a secondary development not to be confounded with that of the first class. This leaves but two classes to be considered, the first and second, which I call, respectively, free and checked. Now I group the words of the two classes and am able to formulate statements that the Popular Latin etyma of the vowels of the words were free or checked, according as they did or did not develop in French. This plan, in general terms, is to study results and judge from them of causes; the advantage of it I hope to make obvious in the following pages.

If we consider Gallic Popular Latin vowels as a whole, their history in French is the following:

I. In certain circumstances they develop: A > *e*; Ę > *ei* > *oi*; Ę > *ie*; Ǫ > *ou* > *eu*; Ǫ > *uo* > *ue* > *eu*.[1]

II. In other circumstances; that is, in all cases not to be considered under I and III, they retain their original forms: A remains as *a*, Ę and Ę as *e*, Ǫ as *o* (later *ou*), Ǫ as *o*.

III. When before certain palatal consonants or combinations an *i* is developed after the accented vowel, we have to distinguish the following cases:

[1] Ị and Ụ maintain their original forms under all circumstances, and consequently are of no assistance in a consideration of the present topic. They will be spoken of only in my conclusions. Cf. p. 333.

1. Before the consonant or consonant group out of which the *i* develops, certain vowels develop as in I.

2. Before the same elements other vowels (than those in III, 1) lose their value as independent products; that is, they do not develop as in I, but instead form with the *i* diphthongs; the posterior evolution of such combinations is, therefore, that of the diphthong and not that of the vowel except secondarily.

3. Before some palatal combinations certain vowels do not even unite with the *i* to form diphthongs, but remain as in II.

It may be observed that III, 1 and 3 are but modifications of I and II respectively, and might well be included in the latter. This reduces the divisions of the vowels to three general classes, as already stated (that is, I, II and III, 2). In my summing up of results, I treat of these three as inclusive of all, but in the body of the paper I assign separate sections to III, 1 and 3.

I shall now give my examples of these various phenomena in the order indicated, and afterward, from a consideration of the whole, deduce some statements which may contribute toward solving the question of free and checked position.

I.

The vowels show the developments indicated in I above in the following cases:

1. When the vowel is in hiatus or is final: MẸA > *moie*,[1] VĬA > *voie*, SẸAT[2] > *soit*; DẸUS > *dieus*,[3] MẸUS > *mieus*, MẸUM > *mieon* > *mien*,[4] FEH(U)ÔD > *fieu*; TŬA > *teue*, SŬA

[1] For the quality of the E, cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Grammaire des Langues Romanes*, I, 246.

[2] For this form, cf. Schwan, *Gram.*, §§ 40, 65 and 534, 2; Körting, *Der Formenbau des Französischen Verbums*, p. 239.

[3] For the interchange of *-ieu*, *-iu* and *-eu* in Old French, cf. Suchier, *Altfranzösische Grammatik*, p. 54. Havet, in *Romania*, III, 332, says that because *deu* assonances with *ę*, *deu* must be <*dieu* and not *vice versa*.

[4] Cf. *Romania*, VII, 593.

> *seue.*[1] *Die* < DĬEM, *strie* < STRĬAM,[2] and *quia*[3] are learned. MĘ > *moi*, TĘ > *toi.*

2. When the vowel is followed by a single consonant not a palatal, nor N or M.[4]

a. In monosyllables: TRAS > *tres*, TRĘS > *trois*; RĘM > *rien*, MĘL > *miel*; CQR > *cuer.*

b. Or in polysyllables, when the vowel is followed directly in the word by the consonant ("In the word" is employed in order to avoid the following possible confusion: if we divide such words as MIT-TAT, VAL-LEM, POR-TARE into syllables,[5] the accented I, A and O are followed in the syllable by one consonant only, and yet they are checked): QUARE > *quer*, MALUM > *mel*;[6] TALEM > *tel*; MĘNSEM > *mois*; PĘDEM > *pied*; HONǪREM > *honeur*; NǪVUM > *nuef* > *neuf.*

3. When the vowel is followed by two consonants, the first of which is not a palatal,[4] nasal nor L or R,[7] and the second of which is:

a. R: PATREM > *pere*, LABRUM > *lèvre*, CAPRAM > *chevre*, FABRUM > *fèvre*; VĘTRUM > *voire*, PĬPEREM > *poivre*; PĘTRAM > *pierre*, DERĘTRO > *derrière*, HĘDERAM > *lierre*, PALPĘTRAM > *paupière*, LĘPRAM > *liepre*, FĘBREM > *fièvre*, CATHĘDRAM > *chaière*,[8] TENĘBRAS > *teniebres*; BŬTYRUM >

[1] Cf. *Romania*, X, 40.

[2] These words keep Latin I in Italian also; cf. *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, VIII, 180–181.

[3] Cf. *Romania*, IX, 126.

[4] In which cases the results are different for A, Ę and Ǫ, as will be explained under III, 2, cf. pp. 319 and 324; results are the same, however, for Ę and Ǫ, as is noted under I, 4, p. 314, and III, 1, p. 315.

[5] Cf. Seelmann, *Die Aussprache des Latein*, pp. 139 and 149.

[6] For *mal*, *car*, etc., cf. Schwan, *Gram.*, § 75. *Ja* and *estas* are probably latinisms.

[7] LL, RR, RL, LR constitute checked position: VALLEM > *val*, TERRAM > *terre*, CAROLUS > *Charles*, *PERLAM > *perle*; between L and R a *d* is intercalated in French: COLERE > *colre* > *coldre*. The same insertion of *d* takes place in the case of MR, SR, etc. Cf. Schwan, *Gram.*, §§ 230, 4; Gutheim, *Ueber Konsonanten-Assimilation im Französischen*, p. 88; Passy, *Étude sur les Changements Phonétiques*, § 534.

[8] Cf. *Gram. d. lang. rom.*, I, 445.

beurre; *COLǪBRAM > *couluevre.*[1] The following words are exceptions to this development; most of them are of learned formation: *candelabre, cadre, théâtre; mezre* < MĬSERA,[2] *frepe* < FĬBRAM, *tigre; cèdre, celèbre, pyrèthre;*[3] *lucre, lugubre, sobre.*[4]

b. L: FLĘBILEM > *fleible* > *foible,* IN + DĘBILEM > *endeible;* ĘBULUM > *ieble,*[5] NĘBULAM > *nieule,*[6] SAECULUM > *siecle;* PǪPULUM > *peuple;* PǪPULUM > *puople*[7] > *pueple,* *ABǪCULUM > *avuegle.*[8]

These examples (3, *b*) are numerous enough, I think, to justify placing L by the side of R as not checking the development of the preceding vowel when the L is the second of two consonants. Schwan does not specify consonant + L in his statement of what constitutes free position.[9] He made this omission probably because of the many varying developments of this combination itself. In view of this omission, it may be well to note some of the prominent opinions as to these developments. In the first place I shall speak of the development of PL, BL themselves; and in the second place of the separate vowels before these combinations.

On the development of PL, BL, Schwan speaks as follows:[10] "When P comes before L as the result of the fall (in Popular Latin) of an intermediate vowel, it (P) remains; original Latin PL > *bl;* compare COPULAM > *couple,* DUPLUM > *double.*"

[1] For the change of ŭ to ŏ in this word, cf. Havet in *Romania,* VI, 433–436. His explanation is not accepted in all particulars by Paris in *Ibid.,* X, 49, f. n. 4.

[2] Cf. Körting, *Wörterbuch,* No. 5338.

[3] Cf. Körting, *Wtb.,* No. 6508.

[4] *Loutre* is < LUTTRA not LUTRA; cf. *Romania,* X, 42.

[5] Cf. Suchier, *Gram.,* p. 43.

[6] Cf. *Ibid.,* p. 55.

[7] *Saint Leger,* 90.

[8] In SAECULUM, *ABOCULUM the consonant before L is a palatal, but does not develop as palatals usually do, hence the words are half learned. The Ę and ǫ in them diphthongize, however, and therefore I place them here. Regularly the French derivatives would be **sieil, *avueil;* cf. *Romania,* XVIII, 157.

[9] *Gram.,* § 55, 2.

[10] *Gram.,* § 167.

Gutheim says:[1] "Original PL > *bl;* Romance P'L develops differently according to the time of the syncopation of the (originally) intervening vowel: it (P'L) > *bl*, which stage is seen in Old French; while in Modern French *pl* has been reëstablished under Latin influence: POPULUM > O. F. *poble*, M. F. *peuple;* B'L (< P'L) > *ul:* STUPULAM > *éteule.*" Meyer-Lübke states:[2] "In France PL > *bl;* BL persists except in cases in which it had become *ul* already in Popular Latin." Again:[3] "The treatment of PL and of BL is not quite clear; by the side of *double, treble,* we find *couple, pueple* (*pueble* also, however, in Parisian records of the XIV century), and by the side of *râble* < ROTABULUM, one meets *fondèfle* < FUNDIBULUM and *ensouple* < INSUBULUM."

On the development of various vowels before consonant + L we note the following:

A + BL. TAB(U)LAM; here the B > *u* with which *u* the *a* combines immediately (picard *taule*[4]) developing in Ile-de-France > *o* (just as original Popular Latin AU > *o*[5]), *tôle.* Similarly PARABOLAM > *parole.* This is considered as the regular development of A + BL by most scholars, who consequently look upon such words as *cable, fable, étable, diable* as learned.[6] Horning alone, I think, speaks of the latter set of words as being the regular Ile-de-France forms.[7]

Ẹ + BL. As variants of *foible, endeible,* both *fieble* and *endieble* occur.[8] Schwan says that in the two latter words Ẹ > Ę under the influence of the following labial.[9] Meyer-Lübke says they are peculiar to the Norman.[10] *Terrible* is learned;

[1] *Konsonant.-Assim.*, p. 69. [2] *Gr. d. lang. rom.*, I, 439.
[3] *Ibid.*, I, 442.
[4] Cf. Neumann, *Zur Laut- und Flexions-lehre des Altfranzösischen*, p. 110.
[5] Cf. Schwan, *Gram.*, § 108.
[6] Cf. Schwan, *Gram.*, § 75, 2; Gutheim, *Konsonant.-Assim.*, p. 71; Meyer-Lübke, *Gr. d. lang. rom.*, I, 230.
[7] Cf. Bartsch et Horning, *La Langue et la Littérature Françaises*, p. 39, § 158.
[8] Cf. Suchier, *Gram.*, p. 49; Paris, *L'Accent Latin*, p. 97.
[9] *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, XII, 197.
[10] *Gr. d. lang. rom.*, I, 125.

fondèfle < FONDIBULUM belongs to a class of words which, in Romance, show *f* for Latin B.[1]

Ę + consonant (other than B) + L. For Ę + GL (where the G has not developed as a palatal) we have RĘGULAM and TĘGULAM. The early representatives of these are *reule, teule.* Meyer-Lübke[2] and Gutheim[3] suppose the G to have fallen on account of the labializing influence of the U. Schwan[4] considers *teule* and *reule* as learned, saying that the popular forms of the words must have been TEGLA, REGLA (ital. *tegghia,* span. *teja,* portg. *telha*). *Tieule, rieule* occur also; Suchier suggests for *rieule* the influence of the Ę of REGO.[5]

Ǫ + PL, BL. *Ou* in *couple, double* did not develop further > *eu;* the *ou* was probably kept by analogy to that occuring in pretonic position in the verbs *coupler, doubler* (cf. *époux, avoue,* formed on *épouser, avouer*);[6] *noble* < NǪBILEM is learned;[7] *mueble* < MǪBILEM appears to be anomalous; for it we have two suggestions: Förster supposes[8] that out of original MŎVIBILEM a Popular Latin MQVBILEM may have been formed by the side of MǪBILEM. Neumann[9] attributes the Ǫ to the influence of verb forms of MQVERE (such as *muet, muevent,* etc.). For STŬPULAM we have the variants *estouble, estoule, esteule.*[10] There is a question as to the confusion of STŬPULAM and STĬPULAM.[11]

[1] For which cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Gr. d. lang. rom.,* I, 42, § 19; *Italienische Grammatik,* § 11; Gutheim, *Konson.-Assim.,* p. 71, and especially Ascoli in *Archivio Glottologico Italiano,* X, 1–17.

[2] *Gr. d. lang. rom.,* I, 480.

[3] *Konson.-Assim.,* p. 58.

[4] *Zt. f. Rom. Phil.,* XII, 207.

[5] *Gram.,* p. 55. For the later forms of the words, *riule, ruile, tiule, tuile,* cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Gr. d. lang. rom.,* I, 116; *règle* is evidently learned; for *reille* cf. this paper, III, 3, p. 325.

[6] Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Gr. d. lang. rom.,* I, 134; Bartsch et Horning, *La Langue,* etc., § 72; *Romania,* X, 42.

[7] Cf. Suchier, *Gram.,* p. 16.

[8] *Zt. f. Rom. Phil.,* III, 562.

[9] *Laut -und Flex.,* p. 48.

[10] Cf. Körting, *Wtb.,* No. 7779.

[11] For the discussion cf. Marchesini in *Studj di Filologia Romanza,* II, 3; Meyer-Lübke in *Zt. f. Rom. Phil.,* XI, 578; Paris in *Romania,* XIX, 124; Mackel, *Die Germanischen Elemente in der Französischen und Provenzalischen Sprache,* p. 24.

Q + TL. As derivatives of RQTULUM, MQDULUM we find *rodle, role, modle, mo(u)le.* Gröber says these belong to a class of words which were taken into French at a late date, as is shown by the fact that in them TL was not confounded with CL.[1]

The above represents, probably, the most important data on the history of the vowels before two consonants, the last of which is L, and, in view of it all, I think I am justified in specifying consonants + L as not constituting a check to the development of the vowels.

We have now to note several cases in which Ę and Q show a development of which the other vowels do not partake. Because this development (> *ie, ue*) is the same as that which Ę and Q undergo under the circumstances noted in 1, 2, 3 (I), it is not necessary to assign a separate section to them here, but we may consider these developments as continuations of our previous series (1, 2, 3).

Ę and Q > *ie* and *ue.*

4. Before single M and N: BĘNE > *bien*, RĘM > *rien;* HQMO > *huem*, CQMES > *cuens*, BQNUM > *buen*, SQNUM > *suen.*[2]

5. Before LJ (*l mouillée*); VĘCLUM > *vieil;* FQLIAM > *feuille*, *DQLIUM > *deuil*, QCULUM > *ueil*, *SCQCULUM > *écueil.* SAECULUM and *ABOCULUM, which develop irregularly, have been treated already.[3] Irregular are also *DESPQLIUM > *dépouille*, QLEUM > *uile; dépouille* is probably analogical to the pretonic *ou* in *dépouiller.*[4] The palatalization of the L of OLEUM disappeared in the representatives of the word in nearly the whole Romance field.[5]

[1] *Archiv für Lateinische Lexicographie*, I, 245.

[2] There is some question as to this development for ǫ in Ile-de-France. Cf. Suchier, *Gram.*, pp. 64 and 73, where he claims it for this territory also. Schwan gives it for ǫ + M but doubts it for ǫ + N; cf. his *Gram.*, § 102, 2.

[3] Cf. this paper, I, 3, *b*, p. 311.

[4] Cf. *Zt. f. Rom. Phil.*, XII, 194.

[5] Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Gr. d. lang. rom.*, I, 468 and 268. For dialect forms of OLEUM cf. Matzke, *Dialectische Eigenthümlichkeiten in der Entwickelung des Mouillierten L im Altfranzösischen*, p. 92.

6. Before VJ (examples for Ę only): LĘVIUS > *liège*, TRĘVIUM > *triège*.[1]

II.

In all circumstances not specified under I (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6), nor in III (1, 2) below, the vowels do not develop at all, retaining their original forms (with the exception of Ǫ which becomes *ou*); before N or M + a consonant the vowels become nasalized: VALLEM > *val*, CAR(O)LUS > *Charles*, QUANTUM > *quānt*; VĬRIDEM > *vert*, CLĘRICUM > *clerc*, TRĘNTA > *trēnte*; *PĘRLAM > *perle*, TĘRRAM > *terre*, SĘPTEM > *sept*, VĘNTUM > *vēnt*; (COHORTEM >) CǪRTEM > *cort* > *court*, DIŬRNUM > *jor* > *jour*, UMBRAM > *ōmbre*; PǪRTAM > *porte*, GRǪSSUM > *gros*, CǪMPUTUM > *cōnte*.

III.

In this division we have to consider those cases in which the vowels occur before simple palatals or palatal groups.

1. Before such elements Ę and Ǫ diphthongize (as in I), forming with the palatal *i* the triphthongs *iei* and (*uoi* >) *uei*, which are at once reduced to *-i* and *-ui* respectively by the fall of the medial vowels.[2]

Examples for Ę.

a. Before simple palatal, or palatal + consonant: PRĘCAT > *prie*, DĘCEM > *dis*, LĘCTUM > *lit*, SĘX > *sis*, INTĘGRUM > *entire*, ALĘCRUM > *aligre*.[3]

b. Before TJ: PRĘTIUM > *pris*.

[1] Cf. Körting, *Wtb.*, Nos. 4776 and 8383; also *Romania*, v, 68.

[2] Cf. Schwan, *Gram.*, § 56, *anm*; Bartsch et Horning, *La Langue*, etc., § 63; Suchier, in *Gram.*, § 33, in *Le Français Et Le Provençal*, p. 85, in *Grundriss der Romanischen Philologie* (Gröber), I, 601.

[3] For this word cf. *Grundriss*, I, 361, § 15; Meyer-Lübke, *Gr. d. lang. rom.*, I, 224, *Ital. Gram.*, § 50; Förster, *Romanische Studien*, IV, 53; Waldner, *Die Quellen des Parasitischen I im Altfranzösischen*, p. 19.

c. Before DJ: MĘDIUM > *mi.*

d. Before NJ: ARMĘNIUM > *armin*, CONVĘNIUM > *convin*, INGĘNIUM > *engin*, SĘNIOR > *sire.* The development of Ę + NJ is stated by Schwan[1] and Horning[2] to be *ien′* (ex. VĘNIAM > *vienge*), although Horning in another place[3] mentions Ę + NJ > *in′* (without specifying the stage *iei*, however). Suchier, speaking of *sire*, says it has *i* on account of the N of SENIOR,[4] but afterward[5] he mentions the combination *iein* and says it developed out of Ę + NJ when the *n′* was followed by a consonant. The last part of this statement ("followed by a consonant") must not be misunderstood; if I interpret it correctly it does not mean that the combination (*iei*) might not develop also before *n′* followed by a vowel, but that in this case the palatalization of the *n* would remain and absorb the *i* immediately, so that no triphthong would be formed; whereas when the *n′* was followed by a consonant the palatalization of the *n* was lost, the *i* was therefore not absorbed, and the result was *iei* > *i*. Hence the Old French nominative of INGĘNIUM would be (*engiein′s* > *engieinz* >) *enginz*, the accusative (*engiein′* >) *engien′*. Such an understanding of this development will render the meaning of the statements of the above scholars the same. Waldner[6] and Förster[7] both give ĘNJ > *iein′* > *in′*.

e. Before RJ: IMPĘRIUM > *empire*, MATĘRIAM > *matire*.[8] Irregular are MINISTĘRIUM > *mestier*, MISĘRIAM > *misère*, REFUGĘRIUM > *rifugère.*

f. Before SJ: ECCLĘSIAM > *église*, CERĘSIAM > *cerise*, VINĘSIAM > *Venise*.[9]

[1] *Gram.*, § 91, 2. [2] Bartsch et Horning, *La Langue*, etc., § 32.
[3] *Zur Geschichte des Lateinischen* C *vor* E *und* I *im Romanischen*, p. 22.
[4] *Gram.*, p. 27. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 75, § 49.
[6] *Parasit. I*, p. 31. [7] *Zt. f. Rom. Phil.*, III, 502.
[8] Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Gr. d. lang. rom.*, I, 472; Bartsch et Horning, *La Langue*, etc., § 21.
[9] For statements as to the open quality of the accented vowel of these words, and its development > *iei* > *i*, cf. *Grundriss*, I, 361, § 15; 500, § 12; 524, § 48; Meyer-Lübke, *Gr. d. lang. rom.*, I, 32 and 244, *Ital. Gram.*, § 50;

The development of Ę + KJ is a disputed point. The examples I note are SPĘCIEM > *épice*, GRAECIAM > *Grice*, GALLAECIAM > *Gallice*. Comparing these words with others containing accented vowel + palatal combination, the two explanations which suggest themselves for them are: First, that the original accented Ę was raised to (Ę >) *i* under the influence of the following I; this would probably be extending Förster's law (of umlaut) too far. The second explanation would be that a palatal *i* developed from the KJ and formed with the *ie* < Ę the triphthong *iei* which was at once reduced to *i*; this seems hazardous because KJ is not supposed to have developed an *i*. Nevertheless one must think that, by the working of some (as yet) unknown law, such may have been the case. Meyer-Lübke hints at it.[1] Horning makes the bald statement "E + CY becomes *i*"[2] and does not revert to the development afterward. Suchier[3] and Schwan[4] simply mention the words as exceptional.

Examples for Ǫ.[5]

a. Before simple palatal or palatal + consonant: DǪCET > *duist*, NǪCTEM > *nuit*, CǪXAM > *cuisse*, NǪCERE > *nuire*.

b. Before DJ: HǪDIE > *hui*, *INǪDIUM > *ennui*, MǪDIUM > *muid*, PǪDIUM > *pui*.

c. Before GJ: RǪGIUM > *rui*. Irregular are HOROLǪGIUM > *horloge*, ELǪGIUM > *éloge*.

Thomsen, *Romania*, V, 67; Canello, *Zt. f. Rom. Phil.*, I, 511; Förster, *ibid.*, III, 502 and 513; Schwan, *ibid.*, XII, 194; Horning, *Lat.* C, p. 22; Suchier, *Gram.*, p. 61. For CL > GL in *église* cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Gr. d. lang. rom.*, I, 442.

[1] *Gr. d. lang. rom.*, I, 158.

[2] *Lat.* C, p. 22; Bartsch et Horning, *La Langue*, etc., p. 12, § 32.

[3] *Gram.*, p. 27.

[4] *Gram.*, § 92.

[5] On the development of ǫ > (*uoi* > *uei* >) *ui*, cf. the references given in foot-note to III, 1, p. 315. Havet in *Romania*, III, 336, ss., supposed that for ǫ*i* to become *ui* it passed through the stages *öi*, ǫ*i*. Schuchardt in *ibid.*, IV, 119, proposed ǫ*i* > *uoi* > *ui*. Thomsen adopted this development in *ibid.*, V, 64 and 74; cf. *ibid.*, XI, 605.

d. Before RJ : CQRIUM > *cuir.* Irregular are FQRIAM > *foire,* HISTQRIAM > *histoire,* MEMQRIAM > *mémoire,* *PQRIUM > *poire,* TRIFQRIUM > *trifoire.* Such words as these just mentioned were taken originally into the language in the learned forms *historie, memorie, glorie,* etc., and retained these forms as late as the twelfth century; at this date the old law for the palatalisation of the *r* and the development of an *i* before it became active again, and *histoire, mémoire,* etc., resulted. This was centuries after the development of Popular Latin Q + RJ > *ueir, uir,* and the new *oir* (of the twelfth century) was therefore not subject to that development.[1]

e. Before NJ : LQNGE + S > *lueinz* > *luinz,* CQGNITUM > *cueinte* > *cuinte.*[2] There are some reservations to be made as to this section. It is not a settled point whether the regular development of Q + dental N is *ue* or *o̯;* we find both in Old French Texts.[3] Our examples seem to show that, if Suchier is right in supposing a development of Q + NJ > *uei* > *ui,* there exists a similar two-sided development in the case of Q + palatal N, since with *luign* and *cuinte* we find *soin* < SQNIUM[4] and *espoine* < SPQNEUM, where, in the last two examples, Q has become *o̯* and developed like the latter.[5]

Granting that *luin, cuinte* are not < *uein* but variants of *lo̯in, co̯inte,*[6] we can easily explain the apparent divergence here in the history (otherwise similar in cases noted above[7]) of Ę and Q before NJ. As we have just noted, if Q before this combination does not diphthongize, it > *o̯,*[8] and develops as this latter

[1] Cf. Waldner, *Parasit. I,* p. 32; Havet in *Romania,* III, 336; Meyer-Lübke, *Gr. d. lang. rom.,* I, 290.

[2] Cf. Suchier, *Gram.,* pp. 64, § 35 and 75, § 48.

[3] Cf. Bartsch et Horning, *La Langue,* etc., § 62; this paper, I, 4, p. 314.

[4] Mackel in *Germ. Elem.,* p. 21, says *essoigne* is < German SŬNJA and that *soin* is formed on *soignier.*

[5] Cf. Schwan, *Gram.,* § 101.

[6] Cf. Bartsch et Horning, *La Langue,* etc., § 64; Meyer-Lübke, *Gr. d. lang. rom.,* I, 204, *Ital. Gram.,* § 66.

[7] Cf. III, 1 throughout.

[8] Cf. Suchier, *Fr. et Prov.,* p. 31, *Grundriss,* I, 576.

does. On the other hand the nasalization of the diphthong *ie* (< Ẹ + N) was very late[1] and nothing, therefore, prevented its junction with the palatal *i* (< NJ) to form the triphthong *iei*.

2. A, Ẹ and Ọ form with the palatal *i* the diphthongs *ai*, *ei* and *oi*, the subsequent evolution of which is the same as that of any other *ai*, *ei* and *oi* in the language (that is, *ai*, etc., derived from a combination other than A, etc., + palatal).

ai develops from

a. A + a single palatal or palatal + a consonant: BRACAM > *braie*, MAGIS > *mais*, LAXAT > *laisse*, FACERE > *faire*,[2] TRAGERE > *traire*, PLACERE > *plaire*.[3] On account of the incomplete development of their consonants *maigre* < MACREM and *aigre* < ACREM may be considered half-learned.[4] Meyer-Lübke[5] and Gutheim[6] make the statement that *ai* (in these last two words, at least) is a phonetic representation of ę and is therefore not to be considered a diphthong. The former scholar seems to base such an understanding of the point on the fact that the Lorraine dialect replaces the *ai* of these words by ę. This would not necessarily prove anything, however, with regard to the corresponding Ile-de-France forms. The Lorraine shows *e* as the development of A + R + consonant also (BARBAM > *berb*) and, on the other hand, *a* as a development of E + L + consonant (BELLUM > *bal*), but these phenomena indicate nothing with regard to the history of the same vowels in the Ile-de-France. On such a principle we might conclude that *ai* of *travail*, *entrailles* was pronounced as ę in Old French of Ile-de-France, since in a Lorraine text we find written *traveil*, *entreilles*.[7] We must remember, in our

[1] Cf. Darmesteter, *Grammaire Historique de la Langue Française*, 1ère *Partie*, *Phonétique*, p. 133; Suchier, *Gram.*, p. 68, § 40.

[2] For a résumé of the discussions on the development of this form, cf. Rydberg, *Le Développement de* FACERE *dans les Langues Romanes*, p. 33.

[3] *Plaire* and *taire* may be later than *plaisir*, *taisir*. Cf. Suchier, *Fr. et Prov.*, p. 104, *Grundriss*, I, 610.

[4] *Aigle* and *alaigre* should probably be classed here also.

[5] *Gr. d. lang. rom.*, I, 210. [6] *Konson-Assim.*, p. 54.

[7] Cf. Matzke, *Moul. L*, p. 68.

present discussion, that from the earliest stages of Ile-de-France French we find the development of A > *e* written as *e*. In cases where a development of A is not so represented in writing, then, very strong reasons must be given before we can be sure that this development was *ę*, although not so written. The *ai* of which we are now treating does become *ę* in pronunciation, and sporadically in writing,[1] but this secondary *ę* is a late product and out of the French diphthong *ai*,[2] and is not to be confounded with the original developments which have been demanding our attention. Beside this, the fact that the old theory has been exploded that A passed through an **ai* stage to arrive at *e*,[3] this fact would seem to mitigate against considering *ai* as a phonetic representation of *e* at an early stage of the language.

b. A + TJ: *CALATIUM > *calais*, PALATIUM > *palais*, MALVATIUS > *mauvais*,[4] *BELLATIUM > *belais*.[5] The development of TJ is a disputed point. Because words like GRATIAM, PLATEAM, *PRAEFATIAM, *MATEAM become *grace*, *place*, *préface*, *mace*, the rule is sometimes stated: TJA > *ts* (written *c*), TJ + any other vowel (that is TJ final) as in the first set of examples, > *is*. Mussafia thinks the development of TJ is always *is*[6] and, together with Suchier,[7] Paris[6] and Schwan,[8] supposes for *grace*, *place*, etc., etymа with TT (GRATTIAM). Such is my authority for giving the development as I have done.[9]

[1] Cf. Rydberg, *Dével. de* FACERE, p. 32.

[2] Cf. Marchot, *Solution de quelques Difficultés de la Phonétique Française*, p. 33; Suchier, *Fr. et Prov.*, p. 43, § 13, *Grundriss*, I, 582, *Gram.*, p. 39; Meyer-Lübke, *Gr. d. lang. rom.*, I, 221.

[3] Cf. Ten Brink, *Dauer und Klang*, pp. 15–19.

[4] For this etymology cf. Bugge in *Romania*, IV, 367. Schuchardt, in *Zt. f. Rom. Phil.*, XIV, 183, posits for Old French *malves*, (*é*) a *MALIFATUS, forming the latter upon the model of a BONIFATUS, an example of which he cites.

[5] Cf. *Romania*, XVIII, 534.

[6] Cf. *Romania*, XVIII, 551.

[7] *Fr. et Prov.*, p. 148, *Grundriss*, I, 631, § 70.

[8] *Gram.*, § 251, 2, anm. 2.

[9] The last scholar to discuss the point is Horning, in *Zt. f. Rom. Phil.*, XVIII, 232–242. His article does not seem to me conclusive. The word *abaye* < ABBATIAM, not mentioned in any of the above discussions, is probably a formation on forms like *foleie*.

c. A + DJ: BADIUM > *bai*, RADIUM > *rai*.

d. A + GJ: EXAGIUM > *essai*, *PLAGIAM > *plaie*. Irregular are AQUAGIUM > *ouaiche*, *PEDAGIUM > *péage*.

e. A + RJ: AREAM > *aire*, *HARJAM > *haire*, VARIUM > *vair*, *DOTARIUM > *douaire*, SAGITTARIUM > *sagittaire*.[1]

ei (later *oi*) develops from

a. Ẹ + single palatal, or palatal + consonant: VĬCEM > *feiz* > *fois*, DIRẸCTUM > *dreit* > *droit*, LĬCERE > *loire*, NĬGRUM > *noir*.

b. Ẹ + GJ: CORRĬGIAM > *corroie*, PHRŸGIUM > *freis*.[2] NAVĬGIUM > *navire* is irregular.

c. Ẹ + RJ: FẸRIAM > *foire*.[3] This is the only example I have noted for Ẹ + RJ > *oi*; CẸREUM > *cirge* (probably on analogy to *cire*[4]); *TŸRIUM > *tire*, MARTŸRIUM > *martire* (Suchier attributes to the atonic *i* the power to keep the tonic *i* of these two words[5]). The suffix -ẸRIUM, -ẸRIAM shows derivatives in *-ier:* CANTẸRIUM > *chantier*, and in *-ère:* PRESBYTẸRIUM > *presbytère* (words like the latter are learned). We are here in the presence of interchange of suffixes.[6]

d. Ẹ + SJ: ARDẸSIAM > *ardoise*, ARTEMĬSIAM > *armoise*, CARCHẸSIUM > *carquois*, CEREVĬSIAM > *cervoise*. Irregular are TAMĬSIUM > *tamis*, CAMĬSIAM[7] > *chemise*.

[1] Developments of the suffix -ARIUM are not mentioned here since they are irregular and, up to the present, not satisfactorily explained. A résumé of the state of the entire question, and a suggestion of a new solution were given by Marchot in *Solution*, etc., pp. 11–32 (his own explanation being republished in *Zt. f. Rom. Phil.*, XVII, 288). Meyer-Lübke in *Literaturblatt für Germ. und Roman. Phil.*, 1894, pp. 11–13, pronounces Marchot's explanation a failure. Marchot returns to the question in *Zt. f. Rom. Phil.*, XIX, 61–70.

[2] Cf. Suchier, *Gram.*, p. 49, 4.

[3] Cf. *Romania*, V, 67.

[4] Cf. *Zt. f. Rom. Phil.*, XII, 197.

[5] *Gram.*, p. 26.

[6] Cf. Cohn, *Die Suffixwandlungen im Vulgärlatein*, pp. 285–291.

[7] Meyer-Lübke, *Gr. d. lang. rom.*, I, 122, says the quantity of the tonic I of this word is uncertain. Suchier explains the retention of the first I by the influence of the second. Cf. his *Gram.*, p. 26.

e. Ę + DJ : ANTEA + ĬDIUS > *anceis* > *ançois*, FORTĬDIUS > *forceis*, SORDĬDIUS > *sordeis*.[1] Schuchardt proposed[2] in the place of ANTE IPSUM (which, for a long time, was supposed to be the etymon of *anceis*[3]) an *ANTJIDIUS and for *forceis* a FORTJIDIUS, deriving the TJ in these words from that existing in the forms ANTIOR, FORTIOR. Thomas[4] supposed as the background of *ainçois* an ANTĬUS in which the U had fallen and Ĭ developed as usual (> Ę > *ei* > *oi*). I have noted no other examples for Ę + DJ; so far as the French shows it, the Ĭ of the Latin never became Ę in the following words: INVĬDIAM > *envie*, DIMĬDIUM > *demi*, AEGĬDIUS > *Gilles* (*Gire*[5]).

f. Ę + TJA : PRODEM + ĬTIAM > *proeise*, German RÎKI + ĬTIAM > *richeise*. This is another disputed development; I give the above as the regular one, following Mussafia, Paris and Suchier, with whom Horning does not agree. The dispute arises on account of the varying reflexes of -ĬTIAM in French, this suffix being represented by *-eise* (as just given),—by *-ice* (POLĬTIAM > *police*, MILĬTIAM > *milice*, JUSTĬTIAM > *justice*),—by *-ece*, *-esse*, (*JUVENĬTIAM > *jeunesse*, *LARGĬTIAM > *largesse*, TRISTĬTIAM > *tristesse*, MOLLITIAM > *molesse*, PIGRĬTIAM > *paresse*, VETULĬTIAM > *vieillesse*), and by *-ise* (*CUPIDĬTIAM > *convoitise*, *FRANKĬTIAM > *franchise*). Mussafia[6] says *-ece* is < -ĬCIAM, *-ice* is the learned form for -ĬTIAM, *-ise* is not a crossing of $\left\{\begin{matrix} \text{-}eise \\ \text{-}ice \end{matrix}\right.$ but < -ĪTIAM. Paris says *-ice* and *-ise* are variants of each other. Muret offers what is probably the best explanation for *-ise:* it developed < -ĬTIAM when this suffix was preceded by a palatal (-$^{i}e^{i}se$ > *-ise*, as *franchise*) and was afterward extended to words whose consonant preceding the suffix was not a palatal.[7]

[1] Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Gr. d. lang. rom.*, II, 93. [2] *Zt. f. Rom. Phil.*, XV, 240.
[3] Cf., for example, *Zt. f. Rom. Phil.*, VI, 264.
[4] *Romania*, XIV, 575; cf. *ibid.*, XVII, 95.
[5] Cf. *Romania*, VI, 133; Suchier, *Gram.*, p. 26.
[6] On this section, Ę + TJ, cf. references given in III, 2, *b*, A + TJ, p. 320, and in addition, Suchier, *Gram.*, p. 26.
[7] Cf. *Romania*, XIX, 592.

For -ĭTIUM we find *-ice* (SERVĭTIUM > *service*, VĭTIUM > *vice*, NOVĭTIUM > *novice*, HOSPĭTIUM > *hospice*) and *-is* (SUPERPELLĭTIUM > *surplis*). Mussafia considers the *-ice* as learned, *-is* as < -ĪTIUM, and the variant *-ise* as a crossing of { *-is* / *-ice.* According to him *chevez* is < -ĘCJAM.

oi develops from

a. Ọ + simple palatal: VỌCEM > *voiz*, CRŬCEM > *croiz.*

b. Ọ + RJ: CIBỌRIUM > *ciboire*, CISỌRIUM > *cisoire*, MIRATỌRIUM > *miroir*, PECTINỌRIUM > *peignoir*, SCRIPTỌRIUM > *écritoire*, TONSỌRIAM > *tezoire.*[1] Irregular are SALMŬRIAM > *saumure*, SERỌRIUM > *serorge*, AGŬRIUM > *oür.*[2]

c. Ọ > TJ: LŬTEUS > *lois.* Here we find varying developments again, as was the case with Ę + TJ; for example, *MŬTIUS > *mousse*, NEGỌTIUM > *negoce*, PŬTEUS > *puis.* Suchier[3] gives *ui* as a regular development of ŭ before a consonant out of which a palatal *i* is developed. This rule would not include *lois*, however, nor words like *angoisse*, *froisset*, but only *puits*, which, for that matter, can be accounted for as formed on *puiser.*[4] I give *oi* as the development of Ọ + TJ, without, however, insisting upon it.

The only example I have noted for Ọ + DJ is STUDIUM > *étude*, which is learned.[5] The half learned *estuide* occurs also.[6]

Variations occur, again, in the derivatives of Ọ + VJ; for example, FLŬVIUM (mod. *fleuve*[7]) is represented by *fluive*, *fluvie*, *flueve* and *fluve*,[8] DILŬVIUM (mod. *déluge*) by *deluive* and *de-*

[1] On this development cf. Waldner, *Parasit. I*, p. 29; Marchot, *Revue des Langues Romanes*, 1894, p. 182; Meyer, *Romania*, 1894, p. 611.

[2] Cf. Suchier, *Gram.*, p. 11.

[3] *Gram.*, p. 34.

[4] Cf. *Zt. f. Rom. Phil.*, XVIII, 233. Curiously enough, Ascoli, in *Arch. Glot. It.*, X, 84, says *puiser* is formed on *puits!*

[5] Cf. Suchier, *Gram.*, p. 11; Meyer-Lübke, *Gr. d. lang. rom.*, I, 147.

[6] Cf. Bartsch et Horning, *La Langue*, etc., § 75; for *estuire* cf. *Romania*, VI, 129, 255.

[7] Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Gr. d. lang. rom.*, I, 144.

[8] Cf. *Zt. f. Rom. Phil.*, III, 502.

luevre, PLŬVIAM by *pluie*. Suchier[1] announces as a principle the change of ọ to ǫ before labials and includes among illustrations of the change the words under discussion. For classic PLŬVIAM Meyer-Lübke posits a Popular Latin form *PLǪJA.[2]

There should be mentioned here the diphthongs *ai*, *ei*, *oi*, which arise when A, Ẹ and Ọ precede palatal *n*. The value of these diphthongs was different from that of *ai*, *ei*, *oi* before oral consonants, and hence they are not to be treated together. Before palatal *n* we have *-āin′*, -ēin′, *-ōin′*:[3] PROPAGINEM > *provāin′*, SUBTERRANEUM > *souterrāin′*; INSĬGNAT > *ensĕigne*, TĬNEA > *tĕigne*, PŬGNUM > *pŏin′*, TESTIMǪNIUM > *temŏin′*. The subsequent development of the diphthongs is determined by the position of the *n′* as intervocalic or final. In the former case the palatal *i* is absorbed by the *n′*, in the latter, the palatalization of the *n* disappears entirely and *ai*, *ei* develop as when before simple *m* and *n*, *oi* as before oral consonants.[4]

The diphthongs *āi*, *ēi* arise also before single *m* and *n*, the *i* in this case being introduced as a glide element: MANUS > *main*, PLẸNUM > *plein*.[5]

3. In this section we are to treat of the vowels A, Ẹ and Ọ before the palatal combination LJ (*l mouillée*). Before *l mouillée* we find an *i*, with which A, Ẹ and Ọ do not unite to form diphthongs as in 2 above, but remain as in II. This *i* was not a palatal *i* (as in 2 above), being originally a mere graphic sign

[1] *Gram.*, pp. 40 and 58. Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Gr. d. lang. rom.*, I, 139, *It. Gram.*, §§ 58 and 78; Schwan, *Zt. f. Rom. Phil.*, XII, 197.

[2] *Grundriss*, I, 361, *Gr. d. lang. rom.*, I, 455, *Zt. f. Rom. Phil.*, X, 173.

[3] Cf. *Romania*, XI, 605.

[4] Cf. Waldner, *Parasit. I*, p. 21; Darmesteter, *Gram. Hist.*, p. 137. For irregularities in the developments cf. Waldner, *o. c.*, p. 32; Meyer-Lübke, *Gr. d. lang. rom.*, I, 290; *Zt. f. Rom. Phil.*, XV, 522.

[5] The date and the manner of the nasalization of the French vowels, the difference between *āi*, *ēi* and *ō* (< ọ) are as yet open questions. Cf. Suchier, *Fr. et Prov.*, p. 31, *Grundriss*, I, 576, *Gram.*, p. 61. Some useful references may be found also in an article by Koschwitz in *Compte Rendu du Congrès Scientifique International des Catholiques* (Paris, 1891, Picard, Ed.), pp. 16–20.

(to denote the palatalization of the *l*, *-ail* being written to indicate the pronunciation of *-al'*, *-eil* that of *-el'*, etc.).

A + palatal L: ALIUM > *ail*, **ferraliam* > *ferraille*, MALLEUM > *mail*, PALEAM > *paille*, *VENTALIUM > *évantail*; CENACULUM > *cenail*, GUBERNACULUM > *gouvernail*, SERACULUM > *serail*, *TRABACULUM > *travail*; TRAGULAM > *traille*; RADULAM > *raille*. Forms like *miracle* < MIRACULUM, *spectacle* < SPECTACULUM are learned. Irregular are GRACILEM > *graile*, FRAGILEM > *fraile*, in which the CL (GL) seems to have developed (like CR > *ir*) > *il* (dental *l*);[1] *aigle* < AQUILAM belongs to a large class of words in which CL became *gl*, without developing further.[2]

Ẹ + palatal L: CONSĬLIUM > *conseil*, TĬLIAM > *teille*, MIRABĬLIAM > *merveille*; CORNĬCULAM > *corneille*, CORBĬCULAM > *corbeille*, OVĬCULAM > *oeille*, PARĬCULUM > *pareil*, AURĬCULAM > *oreille*, SOMNĬCULUM > *sommeil*, VERMĬCULUM > *vermeil*, ARTĬCULUM > *orteil*[3]; SĬTULAM > *seille*; RẸGULAM > *reille*.[4] There are some irregularities to be mentioned here; irregular Ẹ + LJ developments we note as follows: COCHŸLIUM > *coquille*, *JUNCĬLIAM > *jonquille*, FAMĬLIAM > *famille*, SUPERCĬLIUM > *sourcil*, MĬLIUM > *mil*, TĬLIAM > *tille* (variant of *teille* given above), VITĬLIAM > *vetille*, EXĬLIUM > *eissil*, VOLATĬLIAM > *voletille*. Suchier attributes to the I of the syllable -IUM the power to retain the tonic ĭ;[5] *eissil* may be influenced by the verb *essilier*.[6] Irregular Ẹ + CL developments are the following: CRATĬCULAM > *graille*, UMBĬLICUM > *nombril*, VULPẸCULAM > *goupille*, CAVĬCULAM > *cheville*, LENTĬCULAM > *lentille*, VITĬCULAM > *vrille*.[7] These exceptions, as well as those under Ẹ + LJ (above) are usually explained as due to

[1] For *graisle*, *fraisle*, cf. *Romania*, XV, 620; Meyer-Lübke, *Gr. d. lang. rom.*, I, 478; Matzke, *Moul. L*, p. 91.

[2] Cf. Gutheim, *Konson.-Assim.*, p. 58.

[3] For the initial *o* of *orteil*, cf. *Arch. Glot. It.*, X, 270.

[4] Cf. Gröber, *Arch. f. Lat. Lex.*, V, 235.

[5] *Gram.*, p. 26.

[6] Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Gr. d. lang. rom.*, I, 126.

[7] For the *r* in *vrille*, cf. *Zt. f. Rom. Phil.*, I, 481; *Romania*, III, 160 and VI, 133.

interchange of suffix.[1] As variants of *oreille, corneille,* we find *orille, cornille.*[2] *Vericle* < VITRĬCULUM, and *ventricle* < VENTRĬCULUM are learned.

Ǫ + palatal L: CǪLEUM > *coil;* CONŬCULAM > *conoille,* FENŬCULUM > *fenoil,* GENŬCULUM > *genoil,* *RANŬCULUM > *grenoille,*[3] PANŬCULUM > *panoil,* VERŬCULUM > *veroil,* CARBŬCULAM > *carboille,* COLŬCULAM > *quenoille.*

There are some remarks to be made on this section (A, Ę, Ǫ + palatal L). It may be remembered that Ę and Ǫ + *l mouillée* have already been given, in another section of this paper, as diphthongizing (> *ie, ue*[4]). It has been said that it is incorrect to separate the developments of A, Ę, Ǫ from those of Ę, Ǫ in this instance. I was of a similar opinion at one time, but I now believe that careful reasoning will show that it is impossible to treat the two sets of developments together. The fact that Ę and Ǫ before *l mouillée* give one set of results (*-iel', -uel'*) and A, Ę, Ǫ another (*-al', -el', -ol'*) is not to be denied. In order to consider all the given vowels in the same category, it will have to be shown why, with the same (assumed) starting points, results are different; why, for example, A, Ę, Ǫ do not become *e, oi, eu* before *l mouillée,* just as before simple oral consonants, while Ę and Ǫ do become *ie, ue* before *l mouillée* as before other consonants.

The only reason, probably, that could be given for this difference would be the following: let it be supposed that before the date of our earliest monuments, the *i* before *l'* was pronounced (ex. *travai/l', consei/l'*). Now we know that before the date of our first monuments A had become *e* and

[1] Cf. Cohn, *Suffixwandl.*, pp. 152, 211 (-ĪCULAM for -ĬCULAM), p. 171 (-ĪCULUM for -ĘCULUM; here cf. Schuchardt, *Der Vokalismus des Vulgärlateins,* I, 286), p. 154 (-ĪLIAM for -ĬLIAM). Meyer-Lübke, *Gr. d. lang. rom.,* I, 126, mentions a substitution of -ILIAM for -ICULAM, without, however, specifying the quantity of the I in either case.

[2] Cf. Suchier, *Gram.*, p. 26; Cohn, *Suffixwandl.*, pp. 152, 229; Meyer-Lübke, *Gr. d. lang. rom.*, I, 107.

[3] For the initial *g*, cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Gr. d. lang. rom.*, I, 380.

[4] Cf. I, 5, p. 314.

Ę, *ei;* but at this time the *a* and *e* of *travai/l'*, *consei/l'*, and the like, were part of diphthongs (*ai*, *ei*) and hence did not partake of this development, and when later (after the date of the first monuments) the *i* was absorbed by the *l'*, the *a* and *e* remained (*traval'*, *consel'*) because the law for their transformation > *e*, *ei* had already acted, and they (*a*, *e*) being the same as new sounds introduced into the language were not subject to phonetic laws which had acted before their introduction.

Such a statement, based on the supposed pronunciation of the *i* preceding the *l'*, would explain why A and Ę did not develop before the latter, but it is untenable for the reason that we have proof, based on no suppositions, that the *i* before *l'*, if it was ever pronounced, was absorbed several centuries before the date of our earliest monuments. This proof is furnished by the development of Ę and Q before *l';* these vowels diphthongize in the sixth century.[1] If the *i* before *l'* had been pronounced at that time, the triphthongs *iei*, *uoi* (> *i*, *ui*) would have resulted, and VĘCLUM, VQLJAM would have given (*viei/l'*>) *vil'*, (*vuoi/l'e*>) *vuil'e* instead of *viel'*, *vuel'e*. Therefore the *i*, if it was ever pronounced, must have been absorbed before the sixth century, and could have had nothing to do with the non-development of A and Ę before *l'* [unless it might be supposed that the *i* was pronounced only after some of the vowels (not after Ę and Q); but this, again, would be contrary to the principle (?) of treating all the vowels together].

Such considerations have led me to believe that there is no possibility of connecting the development of A, Ę, Q before *l'* with that of Ę and Q in the same position. If this was the only instance in which the two sets of vowels differed in their development when occurring before the same consonant group, I should think that some method of treating them together before *l'* should be found. But it has already been seen that, in many cases before the same consonant groups, the two sets follow different lines of development.[2]

[1] Cf. Schuchardt, *Vokalismus*, I, 105.

[2] Cf. this paper, III, 1 and 2.

It is not to be questioned that the *i* before *l'* was pronounced in certain dialects, and that in some Old French monuments (notably the *Roland*) the assonance points to the use (occasional at least) of *ei* as a diphthong. In parts of the east of France the pronunciation of *conseil* was originally *consei/l*, which later became *consoi/l* [and similarly that of *travail* was *travai/l*, which became *travęl'* [1] (in pronunciation)]. The fact that we do not find *consoil, travel'* in Ile-de-France texts indicates that in this district the *i* was a mere graphic sign, and there is probably no reason for supposing it ever to have been pronounced there, or that it had any influence on the development of the vowels preceding it; regardless of it Ę and Ǫ diphthongized before *l'* as in I, A, Ę and Ǫ remained as in II.

Having now investigated the development of all the vowels, we are prepared to endeavor to apply this investigation to the solution of the question of free and checked position. This study has convinced me that the most misleading feature of existing definitions of free and checked vowels lies in the statements that *all* the vowels are free or checked before certain consonants or in certain circumstances. In order to prove the correctness or clearness of such statements it will have to be demonstrated that *all* the vowels show the same comparative (or parallel) developments or non-development when free, and all the same when checked, whatever these terms imply. Under what conditions is the history of all the vowels similar? We have seen that all the vowels develop in I, 1, 2, *a*, *b*, 3, *a*, *b*; let us, for the moment, call these free vowels. All remain, or do not develop, in II; let us call these checked vowels. But Ę and Ǫ diphthongize also in cases where the other vowels do not show the free development, that is, in I, 4, 5, 6, III, 1. This fact at once destroys the possibility of claiming that *all* the vowels develop in the same way under similar circumstances and induces me to hazard the statement:

The development of a vowel depends not altogether on the phonetic elements immediately following the vowel, but also

[1] Cf. Matzke, *Moul. L*, p. 69.

to a great extent upon the original character of the vowel itself. If this were not so, why should not A > *e*, Ǫ > *eu* before RJ, just as Ę > *ie*, Ǫ > *ue* before RJ? All four of these vowels did develop alike in some instances (for example, I, 1, 2, 3); if it was a similar phonetic element following the vowels in these cases that made them develop in a like manner, why should not RJ [using this only as an illustration] make them develop similarly in the present instance? The fact that Ę and Ǫ diphthongize before *l mouilée* shows that their diphthongization (before any consonant + J combination) was not dependent on the anterior development of a palatal *i;* hence the *i* does not explain their development before RJ, any more than it explains the non-development of A, Ę and Ǫ before the same combination,—all of which points to the supposition that there is something in the nature of the Ę and Ǫ (lacking in the other vowels) which enables them to develop without regard to the consonant or consonants following them.

Why one vowel should manifest a tendency to develop in a way that another does not follow, or what constitutes the different "natures" of the vowels is a subject to be investigated by itself. The essential for the present paper to note is that Ę and Ǫ develop not only in every instance in which the other vowels do, but in cases (notably before consonant + J combinations) where the others do not develop. This leads me again to hazard the question:

Were not Ę and Ǫ free (that is, did they not develop) originally in every position in Gallic Popular Latin, regardless of the consonant groups following them? This condition (diphthongization in all circumstances) is still preserved in some northern French dialects and agrees with a similar diphthongization to be found in Spanish and in some southern Italian dialects. The two additional facts following seem to indicate the same original general diphthongization of Ę and Ǫ for Ile-de-France territory too: First; we find in texts representing the language of this district a number of words which show *ie* to have developed out of Ę when the latter

stood before groups which generally constituted a check to its development. These words have furnished opportunity for much discussion,[1] but, if understood as remnants of the old universal diphthongization of the Ę, they offer no further difficulty. The words are *pièce* < PĘTTIAM, *fierge* < FĘRREAM, *tierz* < TĘRTIUM, *nièce* < NĘPTIAM. Here we may include also *siège* < SĘDICAM, *piège* < PĘDICAM, *mième* < MĘDICUM, *tiède* < TĘPIDAM. As remnants of the old diphthongization of the Ǫ before combinations supposed to constitute a check, I note: *repruece* < *REPRǪPIUM, *tuertre* < TǪRQUERE, *nueces* < NǪPTIA, *juefne* < JǪVENEM.[2]—Secondly; in studying the history of free tonic A, Ę and Ǫ we frequently meet exceptions to their usual development (> *e*, *oi* and *eu*) and have to seek for reasons for their remaining as if checked or developing only to a certain extent (cf. *car*, *mal*, *nous*); I have noticed no case, however, in which A, Ę and Ǫ develop before groups which ordinarily check their development. As we have just seen, we do find such cases for Ę and Ǫ (cf. *pièce*, etc., *repruece*, etc.),—which indicates again the tendency of Ę and Ǫ to develop under all circumstances, and the separation of their development from that of A, Ę and Ǫ.

Having suggested these two points, namely, that we cannot claim that any given combination necessarily affects all the vowels alike, but that the evolution of the latter depends to a great extent upon the nature of the vowel itself, and, in the second place, that Ę and Ǫ retain their original forms in so few instances that one is inclined to believe that they

[1] For which cf. the following: Bartsch et Horning, *La Langue*, etc., § 32; *Romania*, XVIII, 156; Schwan, *Gram.*, § 91, 2, anm. Suchier, *Gram.*, pp. 44 and 17, *Fr. et Prov.*, p. 148, *Grundriss*, I, 631; Meyer-Lübke, *Gr. d. lang. rom.*, I, 158; Gröber in *Miscellanea di Filologia e Linguistica* (*In Memoria di Caix e Canello*), p. 46, *Zt. f. Rom. Phil.*, XI, 287; Horning, *Lat.* C, p. 22; Ascoli, *Arch. Glot. It.*, X, 84.

[2] Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Gr. d. lang. rom.*, I, 145; Schwan, *Gram.*, § 13; *Romania*, X, 398; *Arch. f. Lat. Lex.*, IV, 134; Suchier (see references in preceding foot-note).

developed (diphthongized) originally in all positions,—there remains another question to be answered.

How shall we consider the vowels occurring before palatals or palatal combinations? In my opinion this point offers no difficulty. Before some of these combinations certain vowels remain (CAVEAM > *cage*) just as they remain before other combinations; before some of them, again, certain vowels develop (PRĘTIUM > *prieis* > *pris*) just as before single consonants not palatals. When A, Ę and Ǫ occur before a palatal or palatal combination from which a palatal *i* develops, we have seen that there result the diphthongs *ai*, *ei* and *oi*. But here we are in the presence of a new set of products which have nothing in common with the original developments of A, Ę and Ǫ (that is, *e*, *oi*, *eu*) because the subsequent development of these secondary elements is that of *ai*, *ei*, *oi* as diphthongs, and not that of the vowels A, Ę, Ǫ, and hence these diphthongs are to be treated as separate products and apart from the original developments of the vowels. As an illustration of the statement that the development of these diphthongs (*ai*, *ei*, *oi*) is that of the diphthongs themselves as separate phonetic elements, I have only to recall the fact that the *oi* (< Ǫ + palatal *i*), the *oi* (< Ę + palatal *i*), the *oi* (< AU + palatal *i*), and the *oi* < free tonic Ę all have the same development in pronunciation without reference to their origins. We may say that A is checked before VJ because it remains before this combination as it does before many others constituting checked position; we may say that Ę is free before TJ because it develops before TJ as it does before a consonant not a palatal; when we come to *ai*, *ei*, *oi*, however, we find that there is nothing with which to compare them, for such combinations developed only when A, Ę and Ǫ preceded palatals,—hence they form at once a class to themselves.

Thus I reduce the terms "free" and "checked" so that I understand them to refer only to the spontaneous, primary development or non-development of the Popular Latin vowels in French. The primary development of the vowels is the

following: A > *e*, Ę > *ei* > *oi*, Ę > *ie*, Ǫ > *ou* > *eu*, Ǫ > *uo* > *ue* > *eu;* wherever these results are shown in French I would call the corresponding Popular Latin equivalents "free" regardless of the consonant or consonant groups there following them. Where the Popular Latin vowels retain their original quality in French, I would call them "checked," likewise regardless of the consonants following them. Forming a secondary class to themselves and not included in the above are the diphthongs *ai, ei, oi* (< A, Ę, Ǫ + palatals). A in PACEM certainly stood in free position, according to the old definition, in so far as it was followed by a single consonant; but the development of a palatal *i* and the immediate junction of the *a* with the *i* in the diphthong *ai* at once removed the A from the list of those cases wherein it becomes *e* as well as from those wherein it remains as *a;* in other words we have not a spontaneous development of the A as before consonants not palatals, but one dependent on the anterior development of the palatal. In this way I would not class A, Ę and Ǫ before palatals as either free or checked but would treat them separately.

The following scheme will exhibit in what circumstances a given Popular Latin vowel may be said to be free, in what checked, and the formation of the diphthongs *ai, ei, oi;* the justification for each division is based on the detailed study of these vowels made in the preceding pages, to which references are given for each development.

FREE. (I; III, 1).

All the vowels
1. In Hiatus or final . . . . . p. 309.
2. Followed by a single consonant (not a palatal or nasal) in monosyllables and polysyllables . . . . . p. 310.
3. Followed by two consonants, first of which is not a palatal, nasal nor L or R, second of which is R or L . . . p. 310.

In addition Ę and Ǫ alone
1. Followed by N or M . . . . . p. 314.
2. Followed by single palatal, or palatal group, out of which
   a. a palatal *i* does not develop (LJ, VJ) . . . . . p. 314.
   b. a palatal *i* does develop (CR, GR, TJ, DJ, NJ, RJ, SJ, GJ) . . . . pp. 315, 317.

Secondary Developments. (III, 2.)

A
- A > *ai*. Before simple palatal or palatal group (CR, GR, TJ, DJ, GJ, RJ) . . . . . ., p. 319.
- A > *ãi*. Before simple nasal, and before *n mouillée* . . . . . ., p. 324.

Ę
- Ę > *ei* (*oi*). Before simple palatal or palatal group (CR, GR, TJ, DJ, GJ, RJ, SJ) . . . . . ., p. 321.
- Ę > *ẽi*. Before simple nasal and before *n mouillée* . . . . . ., p. 324.

Ǫ
- Ǫ > *oi*. Before simple palatal or palatal group (RJ, TJ) . . . . . ., p. 323.
- Ǫ > *õi*. Before *n mouillée* . . . . . ., p. 324.

Checked. (II; III, 3.)

All the vowels before combinations not specified under "Free" and "Secondary Developments" . . . ., p. 315.

As Ī and Ū do not find a place in the above scheme, some remarks should be made on the manner of classifying them. Because they maintained their Popular Latin quality in French a study of them could be of no assistance in determining the principle of free and checked position. In so far as my use of "free" is synonymous with "development," and "checked" with "non-development," Ị and Ụ do not develop, their "nature" being exactly the opposite of that of Ę and Ǫ; the latter exhibit a tendency to develop before almost all combinations, the former to remain before all [Ụ undergoing only the sec-

ondary development of a diphthong (like *ai, oi*) when united with a palatal *i*]. Ị and Ụ are not checked then because of the combinations following them but simply show to a greater extent than A, Ẹ and Ọ a tendency toward non-development. Ẹ and Ọ develop in the greatest number of cases, A, Ẹ and Ọ in a less number, Ị and Ụ in the least, or rather in none at all.

Résumé.

"Free" and "checked," if these terms are to be continued in use, do not mean that the vowel to which they are applied is freed or checked solely on account of a following consonant or consonant group; the vowel may be free (that is, it develops) or checked (that is, it does not develep) simply because it is such and such a vowel. Two elements, instead of one, are to be considered—the nature as well as the position of the vowel—the vowel developing or not of its own accord, as well as because a certain consonant follows it.

It is hoped that the characterization, in this paper, of the development of A, Ẹ and Ọ before palatals as a secondary one (because dependent on the anterior development of the palatal, and because the A, Ẹ and Ọ develop as diphthongs in conjunction with the palatal *i* and not independently) and the separation of this development from those cases in which the vowels develop independently,—it is hoped that this simplifies the entire question of free and checked position to a marked extent. With the exception of this variation (*ai, ei, oi*) the Popular Latin vowels either develop or remain in French. Hence we have only to apply the term "free" to those which develop, "checked" to those which remain.

The present study of French forms as starting points (and going back from these to their Popular Latin equivalents) has been the means of enabling us to obtain exact and comprehensive statements as to free and checked position. We have seen that these terms refer to development or non-development; before what combinations a vowel is free or

checked; that the vowels are to be grouped according to their tendency to develop as follows: Ę with Ǫ, A with Ę and Ǫ, Ị with Ụ. By reference to the scheme given above the tonic vowels of Gallic Popular Latin words may at once be characterized as free or checked or developing as diphthongs. The details of the developments may be found readily by following the references given in the scheme to the preceding pages of the paper.

Index of Words.

	PAGE.		PAGE.
abaye	320	*cable*	312
aigle	319, 325	*cadre*	311
aigre	319	*cage*	331
ail	325	*calais*	320
ainçois	322	*candelabre*	311
aire	321	*car*	310, 330
alaigre	319	*carboille*	326
aligre	315	*carquois*	321
anceis	322	*cèdre*	311
ançois	322	*celèbre*	311
angoisse	323	*cenail*	325
ardoise	321	*cerise*	316
armin	316	*cervoise*	321
armoise	321	*chaière*	310
avoue	313	*chantier*	321
avouer	313	*Charles*	310, 315
avuegle	311	*chemise*	321
bai	321	*chevez*	323
bal	319	*cheville*	325
belais	320	*chèvre*	310
berb	319	*ciboire*	323
beurre	311	*cire*	321
bien	314	*cirge*	321
braie	319	*cisoire*	323
buen	314	*clerc*	315

	PAGE.		PAGE.
coil	326	*dieus*	309
cointe	318	*dis*	315
coldre	310	*douaire*	321
conoille	326	*double*	311, 312, 313
conseil	325, 326, 327, 328	*doubler*	313
consoil	328	*dreit*	321
conte	315	*droit*	321
convin	316	*duist*	317
convoitise	322	*écritoire*	323
coquille	325	*écueil*	314
corbeille	325	*église*	316, 317
corneille	325, 326	*eissil*	325
cornille	326	*éloge*	317
corroie	321	*empire*	316
couluevre	311	*endeible*	311, 312
couple	311, 312, 313	*endieble*	312
coupler	313	*engieng*	316
court	315	*engin*	316
croiz	323	*enginz*	316
cuens	314	*ennui*	317
cuer	310	*enseigne*	324
cuinte	318	*ensouple*	312
cuir	318	*entir*	307
cuisse	317	*entire*	315
deluevre	324	*entrailles*	319
déluge	323	*entreilles*	319
deluive	323	*envie*	322
demi	322	*épice*	317
dépouille	314	*épouser*	313
dépouiller	314	*époux*	313
derrière	310	*espoine*	318
deu	309	*essai*	321
deuil	314	*essilier*	325
diable	312	*essoigne*	318
die	310	*estas*	310

	PAGE.
esteule	313
estouble	313
estoule	313
estuide	323
estuire	323
étable	312
éteule	312
étude	323
évantail	325
fable	312
faire	319
famille	325
feiz	321
fenoil	326
ferraille	325
feuille	314
fèvre	310
fieble	312
fierge	330
fieu	309
fievre	310
fleible	311
fleuve	323
flueve	323
fluive	323
fluve	323
fluvie	323
foible	311, 312
foire	318, 321
fois	321
foleie	320
fondèfle	312, 313
forceis	322
fraile	325
fraisle	325

	PAGE.
franchise	322
freis	321
frepe	311
froisset	323
Gallice	317
genoil	326
Gilles	322
Gire	322
glorie	318
goupille	325
gouvernail	325
grace	320
graile	325
graille	325
graisle	325
grenoille	326
Grice	317
gros	315
haire	321
histoire	318
historie	318
honeur	310
horloge	317
hospice	323
huem	314
hui	317
ieble	311
ja	310
jeunesse	322
jonquille	325
jour	315
juefne	330
justice	322
laisse	319
largesse	322

	PAGE.		PAGE.
lentille	325	*mieus*	309
levre	310	*mil*	325
liege	315	*milice*	322
liepre	310	*miracle*	325
lierre	310	*miroir*	323
lit	315	*misère*	316
loin	318	*modle*	314
loire	321	*moi*	310
lois	323	*moie*	309
loutre	311	*mois*	310
lucre	311	*mole*	314
lugubre	311	*molesse*	322
luign	318	*moule*	314
luin	318	*mousse*	323
luinz	318	*mueble*	313
mace	320	*muet*	313
maigre	307, 319	*muevent*	313
mail	325	*muid*	317
main	307, 324	*navire*	321
mais	319	*negoce*	323
mal	310, 330	*neuf*	310
malves	320	*nièce*	330
martire	321	*nieule*	311
matire	316	*noble*	313
mauvais	320	*noir*	321
mel	310	*nombril*	325
mémoire	318	*nous*	330
memorie	318	*novice*	323
merveille	325	*nueces*	330
mestier	316	*nuire*	317
mezre	311	*nuit*	317
mi	316	*oeille*	325
miege	330	*ombre*	315
miel	310	*oreille*	325, 326
mien	309	*orille*	326

	PAGE.
orteil	325
ouaiche	321
oür	323
paille	325
pais	332
palais	307, 320
panoil	326
pareil	325
paresse	322
parole	312
paupière	310
péage	321
peignoir	323
père	310
perle	310, 315
peuple	311, 312
pièce	330
pied	308, 310
piege	330
pierre	310
place	320
plaie	321
plaire	319
plaisir	319
plein	324
pluie	324
poble	312
poign	324
poire	318
poivre	310
police	322
porte	315
préface	320
presbytère	321
prie	315

	PAGE.
pris	307, 315, 331
proeise	322
provain	324
pueble	312
pueple	311, 312
pui	317
puis	323
puiser	323
puits	323
pyrethre	311
quant	315
quenoille	326
quer	310
quia	310
râble	312
rai	321
raille	325
règle	313
reille	313, 325
repruece	330
reule	313
richeise	322
rien	310, 314
rieule	313
rifugère	316
riule	313
rodle	314
role	314
rui	317
ruile	313
sagittaire	321
saumure	323
seille	325
sept	315
serail	325

	PAGE.
serorge	323
service	323
seue	310
siècle	311
siège	330
sire	316
sis	315
sobre	311
soignier	318
soin	318
soit	309
sommeil	325
sordeis	322
sourcil	325
souterrain	324
spectacle	325
strie	310
suen	314
surplis	323
taire	319
taisir	319
tamis	321
taule	312
teigne	324
teille	325
tel	307, 310
temoign	324
teniebres	310
terre	310, 315
terrible	312
teue	309
teule	313
tezoire	323
théâtre	311
tiède	330
tierz	330
tieule	313
tigre	311
tille	325
tire	321
tiule	313
toi	310
tôle	312
traille	325
traire	319
travail, 319, 325, 326, 327	328
traveil	319
treble	312
trente	315
tres	310
triège	315
trifoire	318
tristesse	322
trois	310
tuertre	330
tuile	313
ueil	314
uile	314
vair	321
val	310, 315
Venise	316
vent	315
ventricle	326
vericle	326
vermeil	325
veroil	326
vert	315
vetille	325
vice	323

	PAGE.		PAGE.
vieil.....	314, 327	*voiz*.....	323
vieillesse.....	322	*voletille*.....	325
vienge.....	316	*vrille*.....	325
voie.....	309	*vueille*.....	327
voire.....	310		

L. EMIL MENGER.

IX.—INDIRECT DISCOURSE IN ANGLO-SAXON.

Introduction.

The study of Indirect Discourse in Anglo-Saxon has hitherto received comparatively little attention. We occasionally meet with discussions of this construction in grammatical studies of selected Anglo-Saxon writings. Kühn and Wohlfarht, in their treatments of the syntax of the works of Ælfric, have done little more than to mention Indirect Discourse; Nader, however, has furnished a far more satisfactory account of it as found in the *Beowulf*. Such studies are as a rule of a sketchy character and are also extremely unsatisfactory owing to the restricted field within which the work has been done.

In grammatical works of a more pretentious character, as those of Koch, Mätzner, and Fiedler and Sachs, the treatment of Indirect Discourse for the early periods of the language is of a very general nature, accompanied by few examples and no statistics, and consequently of limited value.

There are, however, syntactic studies of another kind which possess a far higher degree of merit; these treat mainly of certain constructions which play an important part in Indirect Discourse; the investigations are generally based upon ample reading and the results are satisfactory. Among these, the researches of Hotz and Fleischhauer on the *Subjunctive*, Mather on the *Conditional Sentence*, and Smith on the *Order of Words*, are worthy of special commendation. Owing, nevertheless, to the restricted syntactic limits of these studies, there is a frequent disregard for the modifying influences of many indirect constructions.

To establish definite boundaries to the range of observation I have adopted Behaghel's definition of Indirect Discourse, as given in his monograph, *Über die Entstehung der abhängigen Rede im Altdeutschen:* "Den Begriff der Indirecten Rede fasse

ich in der weitesten Ausdehnung; ich verstehe darunter jede Mittheilung der Worte oder Gedanken eines Andern, soweit sie nicht genau in derselben Form berichtet werden, wie dieser sie ausgesprochen hat oder aussprechen würde."

In brief, then, this study embraces all dependent constructions after verbs of saying; knowing and perceiving; thinking, seeming, and believing; teaching and learning; after expressions of petition and command, of permission and refusal, and of doubt and fear. I have also included dependent clauses after verbs which serve as colorless introductions to indirect statements.

The following texts have been used in the preparation of this work :—Fox's *Boethius* (*Boe.*), Grein's *Poesie* and *Prosa*, Heyne's *Beowulf* (*Beow.*), Miller's *Bede*, Morris's *Blickling Homilies* (*BH.*), Napier's *Wulfstan* (*W.*), Skeat's *Gospels* and *Lives of the Saints* (*LS.*), Sweet's *Orosius* (*Or.*) and *Pastoral Care* (*CP.*), Thorpe's *Chronicle* (*Chr.*), and *Homilies of Ælfric* (*AH.*).

The Latin texts employed are Holder's *Bede*, Migne's *Cura Pastoralis* (in *Patrologia Latina*), and Peiper's *Boethius*.

The following special treatises have been used :—

Otto Behaghel, *Die Modi im Heliand*. Paderborn, 1876.

Otto Behaghel, *Über die Entstehung der abhängigen Rede und die Ausbildung der Zeitwörter im Altdeutschen*. Paderborn, 1877.

Ernst Bernhardt, "Der Gotische Optativ." *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, VIII, 1 ff.

Delbrück und Windisch, *Syntactische Forschungen*. Halle, 1871–1879.

Fiedler und Sachs, *Wissenschaftliche Grammatik der Englischen Sprache*, II. Band. Leipzig, 1861.

W. Fleischhaner, *Über den Gebrauch des Conjunctivs in Alfreds Altenglischer Übersetzung von Gregory's Cura Pastoralis*. Erlangen, 1885.

O. Hennicke, *Der Conjunctiv im Alt-Englischen und seine Umschreibung durch Modale Hilfsverba*. Göttingen, 1878.

A. N. Henshaw, *The Syntax of the Indicative and Subjunctive Moods in the Anglo-Saxon Gospels.* Leipzig, 1894.

Gerold Hotz, *On the Use of the Subjunctive Mood in Anglo-Saxon and its further History in Early English.* Zürich, 1882.

J. Koch, *Historische Grammatik der Englischen Sprache,* II. Band. Cassel, 1878.

Karl Krickau, *Der Accusativ mit dem Infinitiv in der Englischen Sprache.* Göttingen, 1877.

Paul Th. Kühn, *Die Syntax des Verbums in Ælfrics 'Heiligenleben.'* Leipzig, 1889.

Karl Lüttgens, *Die Alt-Englischen Hilfsverba—'Sculan' und 'Willan.'* Wismar, 1888.

E. Mätzner, *Englische Grammatik.* Berlin, 1874.

F. A. March, *Comparative Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Language.* New York, 1871.

F. J. Mather, Jr., *The Conditional Sentence in Anglo-Saxon.* Munich, 1893.

E. Nader, "Tempus und Modus im Beowulf," *Anglia,* X, 556.

C. A. Smith, *The Order of Words in Anglo-Saxon Prose.* Baltimore, 1893.

J. D. Spaeth, *Die Syntax des Verbums in den ags. Gedicht 'Daniel.'* Leipzig, 1893.

E. H. Spieker, "On Direct Speech introduced by a Conjunction," *American Journal of Philology,* V, 221.

Georg Steche, *Der Syntactische Gebrauch der Conjunctionen in dem ags. Gedichte von der Genesis.* Leipzig, 1895.

Paul Wichers, *Über die Bildung der Zusammengesetzten Zeiten der Vergangenheit im Frühmittelenglischen.* Kiel, 1889.

Theodor Wohlfarht, *Die Syntax des Verbums in Ælfric's Übersetzung des Heptateuchs und des Buches Hiob.* München, 1885.

J. E. Wülfing, *Die Syntax in den Werken Alfreds des Grossen.* Bonn, 1894.

I. The Indirect Declarative Sentence.

The Conjunction þæt.

The dependent clause in Indirect Discourse is usually introduced by the conjunction *þæt*. This conjunction was originally a demonstrative pronoun denoting the inner object of the principal sentence. Reference to a following subordinate clause by a demonstrative is a common feature in Indo-Germanic.[1] There are abundant examples of it in Anglo-Saxon; as *CP.*, 113, 10, ærest him þuhte *þæt* þæt he wære unmedene; 181, 18, we magan oncnawan *þæt* þæt þa earman sint to retanne; *Or.*, 80, 28, Leoniþa *þæt* þa geascade þæt hine man swa beþridian wolde; similarly 82, 24; 148, 16; 150, 11, 33; 156, 7; *Bede*, 44, 20; 46, 12; 76, 7; 98, 5; 128, 4; 136, 13; 140, 7; 144, 21; 146, 5; 154, 33; 164, 20, 29; 188, 7, etc.; *Chr.*, 66, 23; *AH.*, I, 224, 33; *Boe.*, 136, 12; 142, 5; *Mark*, II, 8; *Luke*, I, 58; *Beow.*, 290, 535, 633, 751, 943, 1498, 1592, 1701, etc.; *LS.*, 532, 735; *W.*, 206, 28. This demonstrative came gradually to sustain the relation of the inner object of the subordinate clause and hence was naturally regarded as the common property of both clauses; the common relation thus sustained occasioned the use of this word as the readiest means of connection of the two clauses, and finally it passed over into the subordinate clause.[2]

A construction akin to the true deictic use of this demonstrative is the employment of *þæt* together with the verb "to be" to introduce an indirect statement; as *Boe.*, 182, 15, þe ic eow sæde *þæt wæs* þætte yfele men næron nauhtas; 208, 4, ic þe wolde reccan sumne rihtne racan *þæt is* þæt þa beoð gesæligran.

The general laws regulating the use of the conjunction *þæt* may be stated as follows:—

[1] *Anglia*, XI, 489.

[2] Erdmann, *Syntax der Sprache Otfrids*, I, § 97–98. See also *Z. f. d. Phil.*, VIII, 127, 289.

1. The simple dependent clause is usually preceded by *þæt*, as *CP.*, 39, 24, se þe wende *þæt* he wære ofer ealle oþere men.

When the dependent clause is itself composed of a number of coördinate clauses, *þæt* is generally found only before the first clause, as *AH.*, I, 78, 29, bebead *þæt* hi eft ne cyrdon to þam reðan cyninge Herode, ac þurh oðerne weg hine forcyrdon, and swa to heora eðele becomon. When, however, the contents of the several clauses are to be contrasted, or each one is to be distinctly emphasized, *þæt* is frequently used before each clause, as *AH.*, I, 294, 18, bebead him *þæt* hi of þære byrig Hierusalem ne gewiton, ac *þæt* hi þæm onbidedon his Fæder behates; *John*, XVII, 15, Ne bidde ic þe *þæt* þu hi nyme of middan-earde, ac *þæt* þu hi gehealde of yfele; *Or.*, 19, 32, Wulfstan sæde *þæt* he gefore of Hæðan, *þæt* he wære on Truso on syfan dagum, *þæt* þæt scip wæs ealne weg yrnende; *John*, IX, 25, an þing ic wat *þæt* ic wæs blind and *þæt* ic nu geseo; *Bede*, 242, 31, gehat geheht, *þæt* he a wolde liif in elþeodignesse lifigan and næfre to ealand hweorfan, and *þæt* æghwilce dæge alne saltere asunge, and *þæt* ælcere wucan infæste. Wulfstan employs this device very effectively to emphasize his statements, as 179, 19, is to geþencanne þæt is *þæt* hy rihtne geleafan anrædlice healdan, and *þæt* hy Godes ciricean griðjan, and *þæt* hi godcundan lareowan hyran and Godes larum fylgan, and *þæt* hi Godes þeowas symle weorðjan, and *þæt* hi oðrum mannum unriht ne beodan. In this way a true statement is often contrasted with a false one, as in *AH.*, II, 418, 17, 18. Other examples of the repetition of the conjunction may be found in *AH.*, II, 414, 5; 434, 3; 466, 3; *Boe.*, 144, 19; *BH.*, 119, 25; *Bede*, 102, 20; 212, 4.

The conjunction is also employed to mark off distinct groups of clauses, as *Boe.*, 172, 22, miht þu ongitan *þæt* þa godan bioð simle wealdende and þa yfelan næbbað nænne anweald, and *þæt* þa cræftas ne bioð næfre buton heringe ne þa unþeawas næfre ne bioð unwitodne; similarly *John*, VI, 22; XIII, 3.

2. In complex dependent sentences, where the main clause of the dependent sentence is preceded by a subordinate clause,

there are three possible positions of the conjunction:—(*a*) before the subordinate clause; (*b*) between the subordinate and main clauses; (*c*) expressed before the subordinate clause and repeated immediately before the main clause. It is not possible to state any universal usage, but the following observations may be noted:—

Position (*a*) is naturally of frequent occurrence, as *CP.*, 85, 5, tacnaƀ *þæt* eall, þæt þæs sacerdes andgiet ƀurhfaran mæge, sie ymb ƀone heofonlican lufan.

There are, however, two tendencies at work against the use of position (*a*), especially when the preceding subordinate clause is adverbial: first, the objectionable juxtaposition of two conjunctions (*þæt* and the adverbial conjunction); secondly, the cumbrous construction caused by the presence of a long subordinate clause between the conjunction and the main clause of the dependent sentence. The first difficulty is occasionally avoided by expressing the subject of the dependent clause immediately after *þæt* and referring to it by the personal pronoun, as *CP.*, 389, 19, Hit is awriten *þætte* ure Hælend, þa he wæs twelfwintre, wurde beæftan his meder. But a far more frequent device is the use of position (*b*) by placing *þæt* after the subordinate clause, as *CP.*, 233, 16, ƀæm æfstegum is to secganne, gif hie nyllaƀ healdan wiƀ ƀæm æfste, *þæt* hie weorƀaƀ besewde; similarly 185, 25; 231, 10; 253, 8; 263, 14; 271, 10; 273, 20; 423, 30; *Or.*, 20, 19; 210, 15; *LS.*, 6, 74; 136, 311; *BH.*, 17, 1; *Bede*, 53, 21; *Chr.*, 256, C. 30; *AH.*, I, 30, 10; 48, 35; *Matt.*, XXII, 24; *Mark*, XIII, 29; *John*, IX, 22.

A third construction is, however, frequently met with; this consists in the use of *þæt* regularly before the subordinate clause and the repetition of it before the main clause; as *CP.*, 199, 16, Hit is awriten *þætte* David, þa he þone læppan forcorfenne hæfde, *þæt* he sloge on his heortan; *Bede*, 80, 24, Seo æ bibead *þæt* se wer, se þe wære his wife gemenged, *þæt* he sceolde wætre aƀwegan; similarly *CP.*, 143, 1; 209, 13; 220, 18; 271, 10; *AH.*, I, 40, 34; 60, 26; 174, 26; *BH.*, 99, 7;

125, 13; *Or.*, 56, 24; *Bede*, 80, 24; *Chr.*, 221, E, 14; *Boe.*, 102, 24; *Matt.*, v, 28.

Remark. In *CP.* position (*c*) is more generally employed, while (*a*) and (*b*) are of about equal occurrence; in *Or.* there is a slight preponderance of (*b*) over (*c*), and (*a*) is comparatively rare; in *BH.* there is a decided preference for position (*c*); Ælfric's writings show a greater use of position (*c*), though this only slightly preponderates over (*a*); position (*b*) is greatly in excess of the others in *Bede* and *Boe.* Wulfstan does not seem to show special fondness for any one construction, though instances of position (*b*) are most numerous. On the whole, position (*b*) is most frequently employed; it avoids, on the one hand, the lack of clearness often felt in the use of position (*a*), and, on the other, the awkward repetition of the conjunction in position (*c*).

The conjunction *þæt* is frequently omitted in Anglo-Saxon. This is to be explained in two ways, according to the character of the indirect expression.

1. Omission of the conjunction in the complex indirect sentence, in which the subordinate clause precedes. Notice has already been directed to the fact that Anglo-Saxon feeling is opposed to the excessive massing of conjunctions and adverbial particles. The establishment of position (*b*) is a result of the operation of this principle; a further step is, however, taken in the simplification of the construction, and the conjunction is omitted. The large number of examples of the omission of the conjunction after verbs of all kinds leads us to regard this usage not as mere juxtaposition of the two clauses, but as a regular variety of the indirect construction. Some examples may be noted: *BH.*, 24, 9, geðencean we eac, gif oþer nyten wære to halsigenne, þonne onfenge he hine; *CP.*, 383, 31, þæt hi geðencan, gif man swa deð, ðonne ne timbreð he us healle ac hryre; *Boe.*, 174, 24, Ic wat, gif þe æfre gewyrð, ðonne gesyhst þu, etc.; similarly *AH.*, I, 134, 13; *Bede*, 134, 18; *Beow.*, 1104; *Boe.*, 142, 13; 210, 8;

216, 20; *CP.*, 311, 14. Also without the usual *þonne: Boe.*, 20, 17, Wite þu, gif þæt þine agne welan wæron, ne mihtest þu hi forleosan; similarly *CP.*, 407, 22; *Boe.*, 204, 15. In this construction the correlative sentence with *þa*—*þa* is very frequent, as *Bede*, 162, 21, secgað me, *þa* Oswald bisceopes bede *þa* wæs him sended oþer biscop; similarly *Matt.*, XIII, 53; or, without the second *þa*, as *Mark*, II, 23; *Matt.*, XI, 1. It is worthy of notice that the omission of *þæt* is specially frequent after verbs of perception; in such cases, the subordinating force of the governing verb appears in general to be somewhat weak, thus favoring the omission of the connecting particle; as, after *witan*, *Bede*, 134, 18; *Boe.*, 34, 11; 174, 24; 210, 8; *ongitan*, *Boe.*, 56, 7; *geweorðan*, *Matt.*, VII, 28; XIII, 53; *Mark*, II, 23; *Luke*, I, 41; VIII, 22.

2. Omission of the conjunction in simple indirect sentences. Of this construction there are two varieties:

(*a*) The connection of the dependent sentence with the governing verb is comparatively close and the changed mood and tense indicate genuine Indirect Discourse: as *Boe.*, 82, 27, Ða getreowan freond ic secge *seo* þæt deorweorþeste þing; *Beow.*, 2940, cwæð he *wolde* on mergenne meces ecgum getan; *Bede*, 200, 25, sægde he hit *gehyde* from þæm seofon Uttan mæssepreoste; *Beow.*, 799; *LS.*, 72, 373; *Boe.*, 40, 31; 82, 27; 98, 23; 126, 14; *Dan.*, 426; *Gen.*, 276; *An.*, 1110. We may here include also such peculiar constructions as *Boe.*, 100, 10, ic wat þeah þu wene [perhaps you may think]; similarly 224, 26. In a few instances the verb of saying is thrust in as it were parenthetically, but still retains its power of changing the mood of the following verb; as *CP.*, 423, 19, sio, he cwæð, *wære* on his limum; 389, 11, sio winestre hand Godes, he cwæð, *wære* under his hæfde; similarly *Boe.*, 82, 27.

(*b*) In many cases, however, the connection between the verb of saying and the statement made is looser; the genuine direct construction prevails and we may regard the expression as mere juxtaposition; the introductory verb serves simply to

make known the person who speaks, thinks, commands,[1] etc. This construction is frequent after *wenan* and verbs of petition or command; as *AH.*, I, 378, 4, Ic wene wit sind oferswiðde; I, 446, 13, ic bidde eow blissiað on þyssere tide; *John*, XXI, 25; *Beow.*, 383, 3001; *AH.*, I, 332, 12; 434, 13; *Cr.*, 233.

The use of the conjunction *þæt* in paratactic constructions is frequent in the *Gospels* and in the writings of Ælfric; elsewhere it is rarely found. This usage in the *Gospels* is due to the Greek construction of ὁτι with the indicative, which was in turn rendered in the Latin version and subsequently in the Anglo-Saxon.[2] *Mark*, X, 32, ongann him secgan *þæt* we nu astigað to Hierusalem and mannes sunu bið geseald, etc. [cœpit illes dicere quia ascendimus in hierosolima et filius hominis traditur]; *Matt.*, VII, 23; *Luke*, VII, 16; XXII, 61; XXIV, 7; *John*, IV, 39; VI, 14; X, 36; XI, 40. In a few instances the conjunction is not found in the Latin, but is inserted in the Anglo-Saxon very probably by analogy to the frequent examples of its use in such connections; as, *e. g.*, *Matt.*, XXVII, 11, þa cwæð se hælend *þæt* þu segst [dicit ei iesus tu dicis]; similarly *Matt.*, XXIII, 16; XXVI, 64.

Ælfric shows a decided fondness for the use of this construction; as *AH.*, I, 162, 22, Crist cwæð þæt se weig is swiðe nearu and sticol; 360, 31, awrat se witega Isaias þæt he is stemn clypigendes on westene; 236, 35, swa Crist cwæð þæt nan wer ne wifað, ne wif ne ceorlað, ne bearn ne bið getymed; 174, 4, hit is awriten on þære ealdan æ þæt nan man ne sceal hine gebiddan; 166, 19; 486, 21; 510, 15; II, 246, 20; 330, 24; 394, 31; *LS.*, 386, 62; 398, 238. The reason for Ælfric's use of this construction is to be found in his effort to preserve well known scriptural quotations in their original form; it is to be noted that occurrences of this construction in his writings are almost exclusively in biblical references; the usual con-

[1] Hotz, *The Subjunctive in Anglo-Saxon*, § 4, *a;* Erdmann, *Syntax der Sprache Otfrids*, I, § 311.

[2] Mätzner, *Englische Grammatik*, III, 423; *Amer. Journal of Philology*, V, 221.

junction follows the introductory verb of saying, but, instead of weakening the force of the quotation by changing it into the indirect form, he drives home the familiar, unaltered text to the hearts of his hearers. A good example of this adherence to the letter of scripture is seen in the curious use of *and þæt* in *AH.*, I, 588, 26, and he on ær his þrowunge us foresæde *and þæt* he wolde on þriddan dæge of deaðe arisan [dicens quia oportet filium hominis tradi in manus hominum peccatorum, et crucifigi *et in die tertia resurgere*].

In this connection may be mentioned the preservation in Anglo-Saxon of the conjunction in the indirect relative sentence where the relative pronoun precedes the governing verb; in Modern English the conjunction is universally omitted; as, *e. g.*, *Boe.*, 26, 26, þe ic ær wende *þæt* beon sceoldon; *Gen.*, 204, 3, þara þe he wiste *þæt* meahte wel æghwilc on fyrd wegan fealwe linde; *Boe.*, 20, 18; 38, 4; 192, 25; 240, 13; *Bede*, 408, 16; 452, 1; *W.*, 19, 1. There are, however, sporadic instances of the omission of the conjunction in such constructions, as *Boe.*, 192, 11, þe we cweðað sie nauht.

After certain verbs, such as those of thinking and seeming, there are frequent instances of the use of the adverbial particle *swilce* instead of the usual conjunction *þæt*, as *LS.*, 436, 65, wearð him geðuht *swilce* heo gewurðan mihte; 518, 513, þohte *swilce* hine on niht mætte; *AH.*, II, 104, 8, þu hiwast *swilce* þu þinum cildum hit sparige; *LS.*, 448, 126; 492, 93; 538, 826; *W.*, 148, 12. In *Luke*, XVI, 1, the use of *swilce* is obviously caused by the Latin *quasi:* se wearð wið hine forwreged *swilce* he his gode forspilde [quasi dissipasset bona ipsius]. When, however, the conjunction is to be repeated the second form is taken by *þæt*, as *LS.*, 492, 93.

The conjunctional forms *forðon þe* and *forði þe* are occasionally found in the *Blickling Homilies*, as 235, 13, wiste *forþonþe* se halga Andreas þa slep; 243, 17, 34; 247, 3; and there are a few instances of the use of the temporal conjunction *þa*, as *AH.*, I, 400, 15, Ic geseah *þa* se ðegn alyhte of his create and eode togeanes þe.

Verbs Introducing the Indirect Declarative Sentence.

The discussion of the syntactical constructions in the Indirect Declarative Sentence naturally divides itself in accordance with the character of the governing verb.

A convenient division of these introductory verbs is as follows:—

A. Verbs of Direct Statement, orally or in writing. After these verbs there is considerable variation of mood.

B. Verbs of Thinking, Believing, etc. In these expressions the subjective idea is in full force and the prevailing mood is the subjunctive; sporadic instances of the indicative are found, when the reality of the statement is to be emphasized.

C. Verbs of Direct (mostly sensuous) Perception and Simple Introductory Expressions. After these the indicative is the rule.

A. Verbs of Direct Statement.

1. Verbs of Simple Report. Of this class are such verbs as *cweðan, cyðan, secgan, writan, tacnian, gesweotolian, gereccan, singan, bodian,* etc. In the indirect expression after these verbs we meet more than elsewhere the characteristic feature of Indirect Discourse in Anglo-Saxon—the use of the subjunctive as the exponent of a statement indirectly reported.

According to Mätzner [*Englische Gram.*, II, 118], "Der Conjunctiv verleiht dem Aussage-worte den Character der reflektirten Vorstellung, d. h. der Redende giebt nicht den unmittelbaren Inhalt den Vorstellung wieder, sondern er spricht das Bewusstsein der Unterscheidung seiner Vorstellung von dem Inhalte derselben aus, welchen er zum Gegenstande seiner Betrachtung macht. Der Conjunctiv giebt der Aussage lediglich diesen Ausdruck bewusster (subjectiver) Reflexion und drückt daher nicht die in der Sache liegende Möglichkeit, Ungewissheit, Zweifelhaftigkeit, oder Unwirklichkeit als solche aus." This statement applies with great

regularity to almost all expressions under this head, but we must needs adjudge it inadequate, since it does not account for the presence of many subjunctives following the most frequently occurring verbs of saying. Happily, however, Hotz [§ 34] has supplied what is lacking in Mätzner's explanation: "As mood of the indirectly reported statement the subjunctive appears in a merely formal function, that to reflect outwardly the immediate dependence of a construction made up with the contents of a direct statement,—from verbs of saying, uttering, etc. Whether the statement refer to a fact or not, whether the subject-matter be vouched for by the reporter, as regards its objective reality and truth, the subjunctive does not tell. It simply represents a statement as reported. If the speaker wishes to set off a statement in its objective truth the indicative with its sub-amplification of fact comes in. The statement then turns out to be a reported fact, whereas with the subjunctive it is report and nothing more."

With these facts in mind, we now proceed to an examination of the indirect constructions following the various verbs of this class.

Cweðan.

Cweðan is the most generally used of verbs of direct utterance and the most consistent in calling forth the subjunctive.

1. Parenthetically inserted, with no conjunction. Instances of this usage are not numerous. *CP.*, 389, 11, sio winestre hand Godes, he cwæð, *wære* under his hæfde; *BH.*, 171, 5, oðer *is*, ic cweðe, se æresta apostel. The connection with the verb of saying is here very weak and the subjunctive is by no means as frequent as elsewhere.

2. The dependent sentence is the grammatical subject of *cweðan*. *CP.*, 235, 21, is wel gecweden þætte þæt flæsclice lif *sie* ðære heortan hælo; *AH.*, 1, 546, 11, Nis he nanum oðrum halgan gecweden þæt heora ænig ofer engla werod ahafen *sy; CP.*, 141, 2, wæs swiðe wel gecweden þæt se efsi-

gende *efsode* his heafod; 95, 23, wæs wel gecweden þætte se wer *wære* unclæne; 217, 11; 219, 9; 279, 11; 285, 11; 383, 13; 389, 16; 465, 33; *AH.*, I, 310, 2; *Or.*, 36, 12; *BH.*, 161, 20; *W.*, 93, 2.

A few indicatives are met with, as *LS.*, 18, 138, þis is þæt gecweden is, þæt God *is* æghwær eall; *AH.*, I, 322, 1, swa swa gecweden is be þam eadigan Job, þæt he *wæs* bilewite. Two reasons may be given for the use of this mood; the reference is to well-known biblical facts, and the time of writing was in the late Anglo-Saxon period when there was a decided tendency to pass over to the indicative. We should undoubtedly have found the subjunctive in the *Cura Past.*

3. The dependent sentence is the object of *cweðan*. *AH.*, I, 4, 17, se deofol cwyð þæt he sylf God *beo; LS.*, 148, 26, cwæð þæt seo dæd *nære* him geðafenlic; *CP.*, 115, 20; *AH.*, I, 94, 17; 152, 14; 184, 14; *LS.*, 34, 172; 100, 191; *Or.*, 82, 25; 174, 25; *Boe.*, 228, 10; *Beow.*, 92, etc. From these examples one can see that the subjunctive is used in a merely formal manner to denote that the content of the dependent clause is a mere report, or that truth is dependent upon the character of the speaker.

In *CP.*, 107, 18, ic cwæð þæt æghwelc monn *wære* gelice oðrum acenned, ac sio ungelicnes hira gearnung hie *tieh*ð sume, we have the only clear example of the indicative after *cweðan* in the *Cura Past;* although the corresponding Latin verb is in the indicative ["variante meritorum culpa *postponit*], I attribute the anomalous use of this mood to the fact that the clause in which it is contained is separated from the governing verb by a preceding clause; hence the subordinating force of the main verb has been much weakened and the construction approaches direct narration. Similar transitions to the indicative are met with, as *Bede*, 390, 8, cwið seo boc þæt he *upastode* and *ongunne* hliapettan and in þæt tempel *eode* and aa *wæs* gongende; likewise *AH.*, II, 160, 16. Complete transition to the direct construction is occasionally found, as *AH.*, II, 96, 19, He cwæð þæt he cuðe sumne man on

Romebyrig, his nama wæs Seruulus; se læg bedryda, etc.; similarly *W.*, 233, 2; *AH.*, II, 528, 30; *Gen.*, 276.

The subjunctive is expressly used to denote a future event in past time, as *BH.*, 159, 26, wæs cweðende þæt his sæd *oferweoxe* ealle þas woruld; and especially in late Anglo-Saxon to express what is false or doubtful, as *John*, XIX, 7, he cwæð þæt he *wære* Godes sunu [false as it seemed to the speakers]; likewise in *John*, V, 18; VIII, 54.

The indicative is employed when a statement whose reality is to be emphasized is contrasted with another which is either false or doubtful, as *Boe.*, 210, 4, Ne cweðe ic na þæt þæt yfel *sien*, ac ic cweðe þæt hit *is* betere þæt mon swege þone scyldigan; 184, 22, ic nat nu þæt þu wille cweðan þæt þa godan *onginnon*—ac ic cweðe þæt hit *bringeð* simle forð.

In later Anglo-Saxon, however, the use of the indicative is more and more on the increase; as *LS.*, 34, 163, cwæð to þam wife þæt ða gewilnunga þyssere andweardan worulde *synt* swyðe swycole and þæs lichoman lustas gelome *be-þæreð* and to sarnissum *gelædað;* similarly *AH.*, I, 82, 26; 84, 26; 100, 30; 190, 33; 230, 11; 236, 8, 35; 364, 30; *W.*, 191, 3. By a comparison of these examples with *AH.*, I, 172, 11, crist cwæð þæt he *wære* middangeardes ealdor (a use of the genuine A.-S. indirect construction), it cannot be said that these indicative forms are to be explained simply on account of the objective representation of the statement, but they are in great measure due to the gradual disuse of the subjunctive in the later language.

When *cweðan* takes on the meaning "to admonish," "command," the subjunctive is freely used at all periods of the language, as *AH.*, I, 166, 13, cweð to ðisum stanum þæt hi *beon* awende to hlafum; but to make the jussive force more prominent, the usual method is to employ the periphrastic expression with *sculan*, as *CP.*, 63, 23, cwæð se uplice stemn to Moyse þæt he *sceolde beodan;* 93, 6; 95, 2, 12; 139, 11; 219, 9; 249, 25; 329, 8; 375, 3; *LS.*, 46, 358; 54, 398; 90, 13; 142, 389.

There are occasional examples of the direct statement after the conjunction, as *W.*, 210, 16, Drihten cwæð þæt six dagas *syndan* þæt eow is alefed eowre weorc on to wyrcenne; *AH.*, I, 162, 22; 236, 35; II, 394, 31.

The auxiliary *sculan* is used in the dependent sentence to express a future idea, as *CP.*, 91, 18, cwæð þæt hie *sceoldon* leasunga witgian; likewise *Bede*, 432, 28. Closely connected with this is its use as an exponent of prophecy, as *AH.*, I, 236, 23, se apostel Paulus cwæð þæt we *sceolon* arisan of deaðe; *LS.*, 510, 374; *BH.*, 167, 15. It is sometimes employed to indicate simple report, as *LS.*, 526, 613, cwæð þæt þær wære an man þe gold *sceolde* findan.

The construction with *willan* has also various applications: as an expression of promise, *CP.*, 397, 29, he cwæð þæt he *wolde* geðafian; *AH.*, II, 26, 9; 172, 9; *Gen.*, 47,—to denote volition, design, or intention, as *Beow.*, 199, cwæð he guðcyning ofer swan-rade secean *wolde;* 2940; *AH.*, II, 298, 31,—to express a future action, as *CP.*, 387, 26, he cwæð þæt hie *woldon* weorðan forlorene; *An.*, 1110; *W.*, 99, 24,—in prophecies, as *AH.*, I, 220, 6, se swica cwæð þæt he *wolde* arisan of deaðe on þam ðriddan dæge. It also serves as an exponent of customary action, as *CP.*, 243, 14, he cwæð þæt þæs Halgan Gastes lar *wille* fleon leasunga.

The use of the auxiliaries *magan* and *motan* requires no special notice; they are generally employed after *cweðan* in their normal function as periphrases of the potential subjunctive, as *CP.*, 308, 9, swelce he openlice cwæde þæt hine ne *meahte* nan scur þære hwarfulnesse astyrigean; *LS.*, 202, 130, cwæð þæt nan læce hi lacnian ne *moste.*

Cweðan is quite frequently used to render the Latin *num* and *numquid.* There are three varieties of constructions in these expressions:—

1. With *þæt* and the subjunctive, as *John*, IV, 12, *cwyst þu* þæt þu si mærra þonne ure fæder iacob? [*numquid* major es patre nostro iacob?]; similarly VII, 52; VIII, 53.

2. With *hwæðer* and the subjunctive, as *Bede*, 130, 8, *cwyst þu* hwæðer þu his monunge onfon wille? [*num* ejus saltitaria suscipere consentis?]; *Matt.*, XXVI, 25; *John*, VII, 26.

3. The most frequent construction is the omission of the conjunction and the inversion of the clause following *cweðan;* in this case *cweðan* may be regarded as having lost in great measure its force as a verb of saying and is simply used as an an introductory particle to an interrogative; as *John*, IV, 29, *cweðe ge* is he Crist? [numquid ipse es Christus?]; similarly VI, 37; VII, 31, 35, 41, 51; VIII, 22; XVIII, 17, etc.

Statistics for the constructions following *cweðan* may be found in the following table:—

	CP.	*Or.*	*Boe.*	*Bede.*	*Chr.*	*W.*	*LS.*	*AH.*	*Gosp.*	*BH.*
Ind.....	1	0	4	5	0	5	18	49	12	2
Subj.....	29	17	33	31	4	10	23	78	9	21
Willan.....	4	2	0	5	6	3	24	31	3	1
Sculan.....	18	0	3	4	2	1	21	17	0	2
Magan.....	1	4	1	3	1	0	9	12	0	2
Motan.....	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	4	0	1

Cyðan.

The indirect construction after *cyðan* is very different from that after the preceding verb. We must distinguish these constructions according to the two different significations of the governing verb.

1. *Cyðan*, as a verb of announcement, possesses a strong objective force; the statement is presented as a bold reality, and hence the subjunctive of simple reported statement is seldom found, and the more objective indicative takes its place.

The dependent sentence is either the subject of *cyðan*, as *Exod.*, 419, God is gecyðed þæt þu wið waldend *wære* healde; *Jud.*, 155, þæt gecyðed wearð þæt eow *ys* wuldor-blæd torhtlic toweard; *Boe.*, 42, 28; 54, 15; *Beow.*, 701,—or its object, as *CP.*, 409, 19, He cyðde þæt hit *is* se hiehsta cræft; *Beow.*,

257; *El.*, 607; *CP.*, 3, 2; *AH.*, I, 222, 16; *An.*, 700; *Jud.*, 55; *LS.*, 66, 262.

Instances of the genuine indirect construction with the subjunctive are very infrequent, as *AH.*, I, 128, 10, cyðdon þæt his sunu gesund *wære;* 468, 29, þa cydde sum man þam cyninge þæt his mæsta god Baldað *fealle*, and sticmælum *to-burste*. In these sentences *cyðan* merely chronicles a report. In *Bede*, 62, 31, þæt hie sceoldan secgan and cyðan þam biscope þæt Ongelþeod *hæfde* onfongen Cristes geleafan and þætte he to biscope gehalgod *wære*, the final idea in the sentence, the association with *secgan*, and the influence of the corresponding Latin subjunctive (*referrent*), all contribute to the employment of the subjunctive. In *LS.*, 174, 89, cydde hyre freondum þæt heo forscylgod *wære* for his Cristendome, the subjunctive expresses a future idea in past time. In *CP.*, 405, 16, gecyðde, gif we æfter þam hryre gecyrden, þæt us *wære* gero his mildsung, the subjunctive clause is the regular apodosis of the ideal condition; similarly in *Bede*, 374, 25, and *BH.*, 181, 35. In *CP.*, 213, 19, ðeah ðæm cyðe ðæt se domes dæg neah *sie*, the concessive idea pervades even the dependent clause.

A substantive is frequently connected with *cyðan*, with which the dependent clause is in apposition; as *Beow.*, 1971, Higelace wæs sið Beowulfes snude gecyðed, þæt þær lindgestealla lifigende *cwom;* likewise *Luke*, VII, 22; *John*, IV, 44; *Dan.*, 760.

2. As the expression of a wish contained in a command or admonition, *cyðan* is usually followed by the subjunctive. In this sense, *cyðan* is found in the *Cura Past.* almost exclusively in the gerundial form *to cyðanne*, as *CP.*, 189, 1, is þæm to cyðanne þæt hi hie *warenigen* ægðer ge wið þa ungemetlican blisse; 201, 18; 253, 8; 281, 23; *Matt.*, XXVIII, 10, cyðað minum broðrum þæt hig *faran* on Galileam.

Sculan is often employed in the dependent sentence after *cyðan* to express a prophecy, as *AH.*, I, 152, 17, cyddon ongean ðone blindan þæt he suwian *sceolde; W.*, 22, 5; 250, 17; *Cr.*, 297; *AH.*, I, 24, 24; 202, 3. In *Chr.*, 315, E. 19,

sculan expresses mere report: hæfde gecydd þæt hit *sceolde* beon mare gyld ['that it had been more his fault'].

Willan is used in the indirect sentence to indicate a promise but also with the notion of design or intention, as *AH.*, I, 192, 22, cydde se Ælmihtiga God þæt he *wolde* mannum ahreddan; *CP.*, 353, 4; *Bede*, 46, 11. It is also employed in a future or prophetic sense, as *LS.*, 104, 240, wearð gecydd þæt þa seofon gebroðra *woldon* on þam cwearterne þrowian; *Chr.*, 278, C. 4; *AH.*, II, 482, 31.

Owing to the strong assertive force of *cyðan*, moments of contingency or possibility are seldom to be found, and hence the use of *magan* and *motan* is extremely rare.

The statistics for the constructions after *cyðan* are as follows:—

	CP.	*Or.*	*Boe.*	*Bede.*	*Chr.*	*W.*	*LS.*	*AH.*	*Gosp.*	*BH.*
Ind.	8	—	5	2	0	4	5	6	5	10
Subj.	6	—	0	4	0	5	2	5	2	1
Sculan.	0	—	0	0	1	2	1	3	0	0
Willan.	1	—	0	2	2	0	3	5	0	1
Magan.	0	—	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Motan.	0	—	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Secgan.

Secgan occupies an intermediate position between *cweðan* and *cyðan;* like *cweðan* it is followed mostly by the genuine indirect construction with the subjunctive, but the moment of subjectivity is by no means so strong as with the latter verb, and hence there is more extensive employment of the indicative.

The indirect sentence is the grammatical subject after the collocations, *is to secganne* and *is gesæd;* for the most part, however, it is used as the object of *secgan*.

Secgan like *cyðan* is employed with two distinct meanings—as a simple introduction to a reported statement, and as a verb

of command. The use of the indicative after *secgan* in the early writings is, I think, due in great measure to the effort to distinguish between the two meanings of this verb. It is to be noted that this mood occurs most frequently in the present tense; now, the use of *secgan* in the monitory sense is most common in the present; hence the most natural way to avoid ambiguity is to limit the employment of the subjunctive to expressions of admonition, reserving the indicative for the general expression of indirect discourse. In the preterite *secgan* rarely occurs in the jussive sense, and the regular subjunctive of indirect discourse is found with few exceptions. A few examples will illustrate this point: *CP.*, 301, 16, secgað ðæm upahæfenum þæt hie *afeallað* on þa bisene ðæs aworpnan engles; 231, 4, is to secganne þam wellwillendum mannum þæt hie *habbað* swa micle mede; 235, 10, is to secganne þæm æfstegum þæt heo *forleosað*. In the sense of command,—*CP.*, 231, 10, þæm wellwillendum is to secganne þæt hie eac *þencen* to him selfum; 215, 6, þæm unðyldigum is to secganne þæt hie ne *agimleasigen;* likewise 181, 14; 220, 24; 261, 3. In the preterite, however, the regular subjunctive of indirect statement is the rule, as *CP.*, 71, 2, hie sædon þæt hie *wæren* wiese; *Or.*, 70, 19, sædon þæt hie *hæfden* bet gewyrht; likewise *CP.*, 337, 6; 409, 20; *Or.*, 19, 32; 40, 9. This principle is quite faithfully adhered to in Alfredian prose, but in writings where *secgan* occurs seldom in the jussive sense no ambiguity could follow the use of the subjunctive; here then we have the regular construction of indirect discourse; as *AH.*, I, 100, 29, sume secgað þæt sum orfcyn *sy;* 364, 16, sume secgað þæt þu *sy* Helias.

The indicative is usually employed in universal truths; the present tense is generally found even though the governing verb be of the past; as *AH.*, II, 72, 24; 372, 1; *Boe.*, 202, 24; *W.*, 19, 2; 81, 2. The numerous instances of this mood after the first person of *secgan* indicate a tendency to preserve the speaker's own statements in as nearly the direct form as possible; as *Boe.*, 38, 7; 104, 15; 154, 23; 246, 31; W., 230,

9; *Bede*, 328, 24; 408, 16; 462, 28; 464, 31; *Matt.*, XI, 24, etc.

Remark. Hotz (§ 94) makes the following statement: "It is a fact worth notice that, when the subject-matter happens to be recorded from the Holy Scriptures, the indicative comes in with great regularity,—an eloquent testimony to prove how that book was to them the authority par excellence." This statement is made in the discussion of *secgan*, but, if true, must apply to all such indirect quotations. After a careful examination of three representative religious works (the last half of *Cura Past.*, and the first parts of *Ælfric's Hom.* and *Blick. Hom.* respectively), I present the following statistics. In *Cura Past.*, of 39 scriptural quotations in Indirect Discourse, 19 are introduced by *cweðan* and 20 by *awritan;* in these there is not a single instance of the use of the indicative. In 15 scriptural quotations in *Blick. Hom.* introduced by *awritan*, *cweðan*, and *secgan*, there is only one instance of the use of the indicative. In the 46 quotations in *Ælfric's Hom.*, I, the subjunctive is employed in 15, the indicative in 17, and the mood of the rest cannot be determined. Wulfstan also agrees essentially with Ælfric in this construction; with both writers the occurrences of the indicative in such instances are hardly more numerous than the ordinary use of the indicative in indirect statements in late Anglo-Saxon. Hence Hotz's statement cannot be substantiated and, when scriptural passages are indirectly quoted, the Anglo-Saxon does not depart from the ordinary construction in Indirect Discourse. When the author wishes to specially emphasize such a quotation, the paratactic construction is used. [See above.]

The subjunctive is often caused by the presence of moments of condition, concession, negation, and interrogation in the expression; as *Bede*, 374, 25, þa sægdon hie þæt him þæt *licede* and leof *wære*, gif hit his willa wære; *AH.*, II, 234, 12; *Luke*, XX, 5, 6; *W.*, 3, 3; *Matt.*, XXVII, 64. This mood is also used, when the statement is considered to be untrue, as *John*, IX, 19, is þis eower sunu þe ge secgaþ *wære* blind

acenned? The subjunctive is set over against an indicative, when a false or doubtful statement is contrasted with one of which the reality is beyond question; as *AH.*, I, 328, 18, ne sæde þæt halige godspel þæt se rica reafere *wære*, ac *wæs* uncystig; 364, 16; *Boe.*, 240, 26.

There are occasional instances of transition from the subjunctive to the indicative in the second or third coördinate clause of the dependent sentence; as *Or.*, 19, 24; *LS.*, 62, 202; *Boe.*, 140, 18, ic þe sæde þæt sio soðe gesælþ *wære* god and of þære soðan gesælþe *cumaþ* eall þa oðre god. Complete transition to direct narration is not infrequent; as *Matt.*, V, 32, Ic secge eow þæt ælc þe his wif forlet, be deð þæt heo unrihthæmeð; and se unrihthæmeð þe forlætene æfter him genimð; likewise *W.*, 222, 4; 223, 8; *AH.*, II, 372, 1.

There are sporadic occurrences of the accusative and infinitive after *secgan*, as *Bede*, 340, 19, hie sæde *heora modur* of worulde *geleoran* and mið engla þreatum *astigan* [nuntiavit Hild migrasse et ascendisse]; likewise 398, 15. This is an obvious imitation of the Latin. A somewhat similar Anglo-Saxon construction is that of the accusative object and predicative adjective; as *Cr.*, 136, *þone clænan* eac sacerd soðlice sægdon *toweard;* likewise *BH.*, 165, 3.

The construction with *sculan* is found after *secgan* in the sense of command; as *Or.*, 44, 8, het secgan þæt hie *sceoldan* þæt land æt him alesan; *W.*, 300, 16,—in a future or prophetic sense, as *LS.*, 152, 79, ic secge þe þæt þu *scealt gewitan* on þam sixteoðangeare; *BH.*, 69, 18; 143, 21; *LS.*, 400, 264; 510, 374; *W.*, 19, 1; 238, 10; *AH.*, II, 298, 4,—to express duty, as *AH.*, II, 604, 22,—to indicate an unvouched-for statement; as *CP.*, 431, 15, sæde Solomon þæt man *sceolde* cweðan.

Willan is employed with a distinct idea of volition or intention; as *LS.*, 406, 372; *AH.*, II, 504, 1. In *LS.*, 174, 71, there is a special notion of futurity present: sæde þæt he *wolde* þæs ærran brydguman æþelan truwan æfre gewemman. The moment of prophecy is thus expressed in *W.*, 250, 17; and a fixed custom is described in *Bede*, 318, 14, secgaþ men þæt heo næfre linnum hræglum brucan *wolde.*

The statistics for the constructions after *secgan* may be thus tabulated :—

	CP.	*Or.*	*Boe.*	*Bede.*	*Chr.*	*W.*	*LS.*	*AH.*	*Gosp.*	*BH.*
Ind.....	5	5	20	11	2	23	17	38	71	10
Subj.....	15	35	38	56	6	26	22	24	31	17
Sculan..	1	4	4	0	0	11	4	10	2	4
Willan.	1	5	3	1	1	4	3	5	1	2
Magan..	0	1	8	3	0	1	5	2	1	1
Motan...	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0

Awritan.

Indirect Discourse after *awritan* agrees essentially with that after *cweðan* and *secgan*. *Awritan* is extensively used to introduce a quotation from the scriptures or from the patristic writings, and is not generally employed except in works of a homiletic character.

The indirect sentence is the grammatical subject of *awritan* in the passive; *awriten is* ('it stands written') is followed either by the present or preterite of the dependent verb; as *CP.*, 217, 11, be þam is awriten þæt betera *beo* se geðyldega wer ðonne se gielpna; 339, 3; *AH.*, I, 166, 19; *Ælfric de Vet. Test.*, 1, 23,—*AH.*, I, 136, 27, hit is awriten þæt he *cwæde* dæghwamlice; *CP.*, 195, 19; 225, 4; *Matt.*, IV, 6, etc, *Awriten wæs* requires the regular sequence of the preterite, as *CP.*, 157, 16, hit wæs awriten þæt þa heargas *wæron* atiefrede.

When the indirect sentence is the grammatical object, *awritan* is almost always used in the preterite, as *AH.*, I, 120, 9, Matheus *awrat* þæt se Hælend *niðereode* of anre dune. The dependent verb generally observes the regular sequence in the preterite, unless it expresses a universal truth, in which case the present is most commonly found, as *AH.*, I, 106, 11, se sealmsceop awrat be Criste þæt he *is* se hyrn-stan þe gefegð, etc.

In the indirect clause after *awritan* we notice the same variation of mood according to the time of composition as

was observed after *cweðan* and *cyðan;* there is a marked transition from the exclusive use of the subjunctive in *CP.* and the predominance of this mood in *Or.*, *Boe.*, and *Bede*, to the increasing frequency of indicative forms in *BH.* and *AH.*, until we meet with the employment of the latter mood alone in the *Gospels.* Compare *CP.*, 415, 14, hit is awriten þæt Dina *wære utgangende*, with *AH.*, I, 314, 3, Lucas awrat þæt se halga hyred *wæs wunigende* anmodlice, and *BH.*, 21, 33, awriten is þæt se mon ne *bið* Godes leof.

When the indirect sentence is conditional, or when *awritan* has the sense of command, the subjunctive is almost always used, as *Luke*, XX, 28, Moyses us wrat, gif hwæs broðor dead bið, þæt his broðer *nime* his wif and his broðor sæd *wæcce;* similarly *Mark*, XII, 19. This mood is noticeably frequent in scriptural quotations introduced by *awritan;* these are very common in *Cura Past.*, of less frequency elsewhere, as *Bede*, 66, 2; *BH.*, 21, 33; 27, 11.

The construction with *sculan* is used in a prophetic sense in *CP.*, 93, 6, Hit is awriten þæt he *sceolde* beon gehired his sweg [scriptum est ut audibetur sonitus]. It is frequent when the idea of command is present, as *AH.*, I, 174, 4, Hit is awriten þæt nan man ne *sceall* hine gebiddan to nanum deofolgylde; *CP.*, 403, 1. It expresses a pre-determined event in *AH.*, I, 340, 26.

Willan is used in a distinct sense of volition in *AH.*, I, 136, 24, Hit is awriten þæt fela witegan *woldan* geseon Cristes tocyme. It expresses the moment of futurity in *CP.*, 257, 25, is eac awriten þæt se wund *wolde* halian. It serves to denote a threat in *W.*, 206, 1, and describes a habit in *CP.*, 419, 26, is awriten þæt se hund *wille* etan þæt he ær aspaw and seo sugu *wille* aspirian.

Tacnian.

Tacnian sets forth the indirect statement in a more objective manner than the ordinary verb of saying, and, when thus used, is followed by the indicative. It is often, especially in

Cura Past., used as an introduction to a command or admonition and is accordingly followed either by the subjunctive or by the periphrastic expression with *sculan*.

1. The dependent verb in the indicative: *CP.*, 295, 23, þæt getacnaƀ þætte þara lareowa tungan þonne *wundigaƀ; AH.*, I, 116, 10, seo myrre getacnode þæt he *wæs* deadlic; *CP.*, 279, 25. In the expression of a universal truth the present tense is the rule in the dependent sentence, as *AH.*, I, 116, 8, þæt gold getacnode þæt he *is* soƀ cyning; *CP.*, 309, 8.

2. The dependent verb in the subjunctive: *CP.*, 85, 5, Tacnaƀ þæt eall *sie* ('must be') ymb þone heofonlican lufan; 81, 22, 23; 87, 3; 249, 21.

3. The use of *sculan* in the dependent clause: *CP.*, 81, 20, þæt tacnaƀ þæt þæs sacerdes weorc *sculon* beon asyndrod; *CP.*, 218, 6; 397, 35; 449, 19. *Sculan* emphasizes the implied idea of duty.

The headings of chapters introduced by *þæt* with no governing verb expressed may be supposed to depend upon some such verb as *tacnian*. In these constructions the Anglo-Saxon writer follows mainly the rules mentioned above, but, as there is here a closer adherence to the Latin model, the language moves in a more formal channel.

1. Anglo-Saxon indicative corresponds to Latin indicative: *CP.*, VII, þætte oft þæs lareowdomes ƀegnung *biƀ* gewilnad [quod nonnumquam prædicationis officium et nonnulli laudabiliter *oppetunt*].

2. Anglo-Saxon indicative corresponds to Latin subjunctive; here may be classed the chapter-headings in *Bede*, as X, Ðæt Pelagius unrihtlice lare *onfeng* [ut P. superba bella *susceperit*].

3. Anglo-Saxon subjunctive corresponds to Latin subjunctive; as *CP.*, I, þætte unlærede ne *dyrren* underfon lareowdom [ne venire imperiti ad magiterium *audeant*]; similarly XIX, etc.

4. Anglo-Saxon *sculan* answers to Latin *debere;* the mood of *sculan*, however, appears to vary at pleasure; as *CP.*, XX, þætte se reccere *sceal* georn lice wietan [quod scire Rector *debet*];

LXIV, þætte þa untruman mod ne *scyle* læran [quod infirmis mentibus non *debent* alta prædicari].

Indirect expressions after *tacen* and *getacnung* follow the same laws as those after *tacnian;* as *AH.*, I, 232, 13, for þære getacnunge þæt ælc cristen man *sceal* lufian his nextan; similarly *Or.*, 204, 8.

Gesweotolian.

Gesweotolian sets forth the statement in a clear, objective manner, and hence the usual mood in the dependent sentence is the indicative; as *AH.*, I, 290, 20, geswutelode God þæt he *wæs* swa geæmtogod; *Boe.*, 256, 6; *AH.*, I, 516, 26; II, 54, 11; 58, 17; 72, 7; *W.*, 99, 22.

The subjunctive is found only when ideas of negation, interrogation, futurity, and the like enter into the expression; as *AH.*, I, 328, 26, ne geswutelode ('would not have declared') þæt godspell þæt he *wære* mid purpuran geglencged; similarly *AH.*, I, 564, 22, wearð him geswutelod þæt he æt Gode *abæde.*

The construction with *sculan* is generally used in expressions of obligation; as *AH.*, I, 382, 17, Min Drihten me geswutelode þæt ic *sceolde* his fotswaðum fylian. It is also quite common in the prophetic sense; as *LS.*, 56, 89, þam wearð geswutelod þæt Basilius *sceolde* beon bisceop æfter him; 446, 97; *AH.*, I, 498, 15.

Willan is not frequently found in the dependent clause; it expresses a future action with a trace of volition, as *Matt.*, XVI, 21, he ongan swutelian his leorning-cnihtum þæt he *wolde* faran to hierusalem.

Sprecan.

Although *sprecan* is very extensively employed with the direct quotation, it is surprisingly seldom used as an introductory to indirect discourse. The true subjunctive of indirect narration is quite consistently employed in the dependent clause; as *Or.*, 48, 26, monega þeoda sprecað ymb þone cris-

tendom þæt hit nu wyrse *sie;* similarly 68, 8; *Boe.*, 200, 11; *Bede*, 296, 22. When *sprecan* is used in the sense of command, the subjunctive is of course the rule; as *CP.*, 59, 7, Hwæt is ma ymb þis to sprecanne, buton þæt he to *foo* gif he niede scyle, and se þe swylc ne sie þærto æt ne *cume;* similarly *LS.*, 450, 137.

The indicative is, however, sometimes found after *sprecan*, as *Bede*, 152, 2, spreca̋ þæt he fædera weg *wæs fylgende;* so *Wid.*, 107. This mood is specially common in the expression of a universal truth, as *LS.*, 10, 11, se hælend spræc þæt he *is* ordfruma.

The construction with *willan* denotes future action with, however, a strong retention of the idea of design; as *LS.*, 506, 332, spræcon þæt hi *woldon* martyrrace awritan; *Chr.*, 50, E. 1, sprecon þæt hi *wolden* an mynstre areccan Criste to love. It expresses a promise in *Byr.*, 274. The use of *willan* is very frequent after the collocation, *sprecan him betweonan.*

Rædan.

Rædan has in general two distinct meanings: (1) to read, (2) to counsel, advise. It is commonly used as an introduction to Indirect Discourse only by the later writers, and the indicative is the usual mood in the dependent clause; as *AH.*, I, 58, 9, hit is geræd þæt Crist *wear̋* to his gyftum gela̋od; *Matt.*, XII, 5, Ne rædde ge on þære æ þæt þa sacerdas *gewemma̋* þone reste-dæg?; *AH.*, I, 152, 3; 244, 15; 306, 35; 308, 10; 608, 22; II, 44, 23; 153, 18; *W.*, 146, 8.

In the sense of advice or counsel (*ge*)*rædan* is mostly followed by the subjunctive; as *AH.*, I, 538, 8, halige lareowas ræddon þæt seo geleaffulla gela̋ung þisne dæg Eallum Halgum to wur̋mynte *mærsige* and *freolsige; Chr.*, 272, C, 27; 297, E, 19; *AH.*, II, 356, 19; 420, 1. *Sculan* is occasionally employed to express duty imposed by the adviser, as *Chr.*, 250, C, 20, se cyning gerædde þæt man *sceolde* habban gemot. When the subject remains the same in the dependent clause, the moment of design is present and *willan* is used; as *Matt.*,

XXII, 15, ongunnon þa pharisei rædan þæt hi *woldon* þone hælend on his spræce befon; similarly *AH.*, I, 162, 3.

In *Chr.*, 315, E, 41, the attention is directed to the result of the advice given, and the indicative is employed: þa geræddon þa witan þæt man þa ælces yfeles *geswac.*

The construction of the dependent clause after the related substantive *ræd* is similar to that above; as *Exod.*, 269, is on beteran ræd þætte ge *gewurðien* aldor; *AH.*, I, 316, 23; 502, 24; *BH.*, 205, 12; *Ælfric de Vet. Test.*, 2, 4.

Ætiewan, owing to its strong objective force, is generally followed by the indicative, as *LS.*, 128, 201, æteowian þæt he *is* þine edstaðeligend; *AH.*, I, 38, 8. In *CP.*, 241, 22, the subjunctive is used to express the falseness of the claim, he ætiewð þæt he forðæm næfre þæt yfel ne *ongunne.* When a command is implied *sculan* is regularly found in the dependent clause, as *CP.*, 222, 5, he ætiewde mid þæm wordum þæt we hie *sculen* milde mode lufian.

Andettan is followed by the true subjunctive of indirect discourse, as *AH.*, I, 116, 23, we ondetton þæt he soð cyning *sy;* or by the indicative after a strong affirmation, as *Bede*, 136, 16, ic openlice ondette þæt on þysse lare þæt sylfe soð *scineð; AH.*, I, 440, 27. The auxiliaries are employed as usual, as *willan* in the sense of volition, *Bede*, 136, 21; 220, 29.

Andswarian and *Andwyrdan* are very consistently followed by the subjunctive, as *AH.*, II, 248, 22, hie ealle andwyrdon þæt he scyldig *wære* to deaðe; similarly 122, 2; 334, 33; *Bede*, 120, 13; 328, 8; 424, 13. The construction with *sculan* is used with the sense of duty, as *AH.*, I, 454, 23. Similar constructions followed the related expressions *andwyrde secgan, Or.*, 44, 13, and *andswaru onfon, Luke*, II, 26.

Began (pretend) is naturally followed by the subjunctive, as *BH.*, 181, 12, begæð þæt he hit *wite.*

Bodian introduces a strong, emphatic statement in the indicative, as *AH.*, I, 246, 16, bodade þæt him *wæs* Godes grama onsigende.

Forleogan (belie) is followed by the construction with *sculan* in *LS.*, 396, 196, to express the falseness of the charge: forlugon Naboð þæt he *sceolde* wyrigan God.

Forsecgan (accuse) is followed by *sculan* in the same sense in *LS.*, 274, 181, he cwæð þæt sum men wære þe his wif forsæde þæt he *sceolde* hie sceandlice forlicgan.

Gefrege wesan is followed by the regular subjunctive of indirect discourse in *El.*, 967, wæs gefrege þæt Cristes rod fyrn foldan begræfen funden *wære.*

Gemunan, referring to a past event whose reality is unquestioned, is generally followed by the indicative; as *Boe.*, 164, 18, Ic geman þæt þu me ær *rehtest* sum wunderlic spell; similarly *CP.*, 333, 32; 397, 8; *AH.*, II, 250, 31; *Dan.*, 119; *John*, II, 22; *Luke*, XXII, 61. There are some examples, however, of the true indirect construction with the subjunctive; as *CP.*, 413, 13, swa swa he gemunde þæt hit oftor *wære* adrugod; *Dan.*, 625. When *gemunan* is used in the sense of advice ('remember to do'), the subjunctive is regularly employed in the dependent clause; as *BH.*, 73, 26, gemunon we simle þæt we þa god *don.* In *Bede*, 522, 19, there is an instance of the accus. with the infin. under the influence of the Latin: ic gemon *mec* geo *beran* þa iedlan byrðenne [me memini pondera portare].

Gielpan is followed by the usual subjunctive after expressions denoting a pretention; *W.*, 99, 18, se deofles man gealp þæt he eac swa *wære.* Similar constructions follow the noun *gielp, Gen.*, 25, and the phrase *to gielpworde habban, Or.*, 96, 29.

Licettan (pretend) is likewise followed by the subjunctive; as *Boe.*, 68, 1, þeah he ær licette þæt he uþwita *wære.*

Leogan is followed by a similar construction, whereby the falseness of the claim is indicated: *AH.*, I, 246, 2, þu lihst þæt þu God *sy.*

Onwreon is generally followed by the indicative, as *Cr.*, 95, Crist onwræh þæt *is* Evan scyld eall forpynded. With reference to a future event, either the subjunctive or the periphrastic

construction is employed: as *AH.*, I, 470, 11, onwreah se apostol þæt he biscophad *onfenge;* 480, 24.

(*ge*)*Reccan* is generally followed by the indicative; as *Boe.*, 160, 1, þu gerehtest me þæt hit *wæs* God; 176, 19; *AH.*, II, 96, 17. Instances of the subjunctive of indirect statement are, however, not infrequent; as *Boe.*, 164, 19, þu me rehtest þæt hit *wære* eall an; 182, 29, 31.

Settan is purely objective in sense and is regularly followed by the indicative; as *LS.*, 256, 308, se apostol Paulus sette on his pistole þæt we *synd* ures scyppendes gefylstan; *AH.*, I, 142, 4; 440, 25; II, 14, 6; *Gu.*, 459.

Seðan (prove) makes an emphatic statement and hence is generally followed by the indicative; as *AH.*, II, 414, 9, þa soðlice seðað þæt se *is* Hælend Crist.

Singan is followed by the subjunctive of indirect statement in *Or.*, 72, 20, swa hit sungen is þæt gind middan-eard *wære* caru.

Tellan is very consistent in requiring the subjunctive of indirect discourse, as *Bede*, 326, 30, þa tealde he þæt he hit *wære;* 374, 20; *Boe.*, 158, 12. In *BH.*, 203, 27, þa gesawon hie and tealdon þæt þær *wæs* eac syx hund manna mid þy lege anum, the use of the indicative is probably caused by the presence of the strongly objective word *geseon.*

Tæcan generally requires the subjunctive of indirect discourse; as *Boe.*, 146, 19, ic þe tæhte þætte ðæt *wære* þæt hehste god; *Exod.*, 527. The indicative is sometimes found, as *Boe.*, 198, 29, Ic mæg tæcan oþer þing hit is þæt þa yfelan *bioð* micle gesæligran, probably due to the emphatic form set off by the impersonal *hit is.* When *tæcan* is used in a monitory sense it is followed by the construction with *sculan*, as *AH.*, II, 278, 24, or by the inflected infinitive, as *AH.*, II, 216, 21.

(*ge*) *Witegian* is occasionally followed by the subjunctive expressing a future event in past time, as *AH.*, II, 42, 22, hit wæs gewitegod þæt he on þære byrig acenned *wurde.* It is mostly followed by periphrases with *sculan* or *willan* in the prophetic sense; as *BH.*, 177, 9, þæt witgodon þæt him heora

god *wolde* beodan his halgan sunu; similarly by *sculan*, *AH.*, II, 86, 6; *John*, XI, 51.

Wiðcweðan and *wiðsacan* take the usual subjunctive sequence of negative expressions; as *AH.*, I, 56, 3, ne wiðcweðe we þæt hit micel geðearf ne *sy;* 116, 16.

Word in such collocations as *to worde habban* is followed by the regular subjunctive of indirect speech; as *Or.*, 40, 7, þa hæfdon monige unwisse menn him to worde þæt sio hæte *nære* for heora synnum.

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2. *Verbs of Saying with the subjective Element of Design or Volition.* Such verbs are *beodan*, *biddan*, and *hatan*, with their compounds; *manian*, *swerian*, *healsian*, etc.

Owing to the presence of the strongly subjective idea and the fact that the result toward which the action of the verb extends is not realized, the subjunctive is almost universally employed in the indirect sentence; occasionally the indicative is found to indicate accomplished action.

Beodan; be-, ge-, on-, for-, beodan.

These verbs, expressing in general the idea of command, refer not to an actual occurrence, but to an event which is to take place according to the will or design of the subject of governing verb; the dependent sentence contains, therefore, either the simple subjunctive or the construction with *sculan* to emphasize the necessary performance of the action.

Beodan is generally followed by the subjunctive; as *CP.*, 63, 23, þæt he sceolde beodan þæt nan man hiera cynnes ne *offrode*, ne to his þegnunga ne *come; AH.*, I, 42, 3; *LS.*, 456, 225; *Chr.*, 58, C, 40; examples are frequent in *Wulfstan*. There are occasional examples of *sculan;* as *AH.*, I, 246, 20, bead þæt ælc man swa don *sceolde; AH.*, II, 372, 15. This verb is followed by the simple infinitive in *AH.*, II, 254, 16, him budon *drincan* gebitrodne windrenc, also 262, 9.

Bebeodan is the most frequently occurring of the compounds of *beodan*. The dependent sentence is quite common as subject after *is* or *wæs beboden;* more usual, however, is its function as grammatical object. The simple subjunctive is met with in the subordinate sentence; as *AH.*, I, 166, 20, englum is beboden þæt hi þe on hira handum *ahebban; LS.*, 502, 253, he bebead þæt hi swa *slepon; Or.*, 120, 5; *LS.*, 316, 128; *BH.*, 145, 31; 155, 12; *Bede*, 228, 11; *AH.*, II, 8, 10; *Dan.*, 99, 449; *Cr.*, 1500; *An.*, 729; *El.*, 710; *Boe.*, 146, 13; *Matt.*, IV, 6. The construction with *sculan* is still more frequent, the preterite referring to a specific action, the present to a general command applying to any time; as *AH.*, I, 310, 26, God bebead Moyses þæt he and ealle Israhela folc *sceoldon* offrian an lamb; 446, 23, God us bebead þæt we *sceolon* hine herian; other examples of this construction are *AH.*, I, 92, 30; 482, 11; *LS.*, 488, 28; 490, 47; *BH.*, 213, 21; *An.*, 1698; *W.*, 13, 4; 17, 12; *Gen.*, 800. It is almost exclusively used after *is* or *wæs beboden;* as *BH.*, 183, 21; *W.*, 6, 1; 283, 24; 291, 27; 304, 16; *AH.*, II, 282, 2.

The simple infinitive occasionally follows *bebeodan;* as *An.*, 774, þa se þeoden bebead þryðweorc *faran* stan stræte of stedewange and ferð *gan;* 779; *El.*, 1018. A curious use of both this construction and the subordinate clause is found in *El.*, 979, sio cwen bebead ofer eorl-mægen *aras fysan, sceoldon* Romwarena ofer heanne holm hlaford *secean.* In *AH.*, II, 296, 2, *bebeodan* is followed both by the regular indirect subjunctive and by the direct imperative: Ic þe bebeode þæt þu *gewite* of þyssere stowe and *far* to westene. In *Or.*, 262, 19, the indicative is found in the dependent clause, since attention is here directed, it seems, rather to the fulfilment of the command than to the action itself: he bebead Tituse þæt he *towearp* þæt templ on Hierusalem.

Gebeodan is generally followed by the simple subjunctive; as *Or.*, 94, 23, þa gebudon him Perse þæt hie *hæfden* III winter sibbe wið hie; 104, 14; *Dan.*, 449, etc. The construction with *willan* is occasionally used when the subject of both

clauses is the same and the intention of the speaker is made prominent; as *Or.*, 54, 21, he gebead þæm æðelinge þæt he him fylstan *wolde; Bede*, 454, 9.

Onbeodan has a precisely similar sequence to that above; as *Or.*, 208, 34, hit Scipio oftrædlice onbead þæt hie hit ne *onginnen; Or.*, 146, 30, þa onbead he him þæt he him ðæs *getygdian wolde; Bede*, 58, 5.

Forbeodan is usually followed by the subjunctive and the negative particle *ne* is generally used in the dependent clause; as *CP.*, 211, 24, we sculen him forbeodan þæt hie swa ne *don; Chr.*, 53, 38; *Mark*, III, 12; *W.*, 211, 25. The negative particle is, however, at times omitted; as *CP.*, 451, 2, þæt us on oðerre stowe forbiet þæt we hit beforan mannum *don;* 451, 5. It is to be noted that in the translations there is a general agreement of the Anglo-Saxon negative with the Latin dependent clause introduced by *ne*. There are occasional examples of the inflected infinitive after *forbeodan;* as *AH.*, I, 218, 30, circlice þeowas forbeodan *to secganne* ænig spel. The accus. and infinitive is rarely found; *Matt.*, XIX, 14, nelle ge *hig* forbeodan *cuman* to me [nolite eos prohibere ad me venire].

Biddan.

After *biddan* and its compounds the subjunctive of the dependent verb is the almost universal usage; as *LS.*, 6, 74, ic bidde þæt he wel *gerihte* and þær namare betweox ne *sette;* 188, 319, þa bebæd Constantia hi to Gode þæt he hie hira bena *gehirde; Bede*, 400, 7, þa abæd ic geornlice þætte me *wære* eac lefnes sald to ærnenne; similarly *AH.*, I, 128, 6; 166, 6; *LS.*, 106, 291.

The construction with *sculan* is rarely met with after *biddan* and serves the purpose merely of a periphrasis of the subjunctive; as *LS.*, 150, 55, hine bæd þæt he him sendan *sceolde;* 36, 211; *AH.*, I, 246, 3; *Bede*, 242, 27.

As the subject of the subordinate is always different from that of the principal clause, the occurrence of the construction

with *willan* in the former is extremely rare; when used there is generally implied a certain degree of deference to the will of the person addressed, almost equivalent to the modern phrase, 'if you please'; as *LS.*, 506, 300, we biddaþ þe, leof hlaford, þæt þu gehyran *wylle* ure word; similarly 532, 732. In *Bede*, 100, 15, bædon þæt eft oðer seonad *wære* and heo þonne *woldon gesecan*, the second subordinate clause is not dependent on *bædon* but on a verb of saying to be supplied.

The auxiliary *motan* is often found in the dependent clause, as *LS.*, 138, 335, þa bæd Tiburtius þæt he beon *moste* mid þam papan. The infinitive is very frequent after *biddan*, especially in poetry; as *LS.*, 76, 439, bæd hine ealle *warian; AH.*, II, 182, 11; *Bede*, 38, 30; *Dan.*, 542, 559; *Byr.*, 170; *An.*, 1614; *El.*, 1101. In the *Blick. Hom.* there are a few examples of the indicative after *biddan;* as 191, 13, ure bædon and lærdon Romane þæt ic *gewat* heonon onweg; here the result attained is probably emphasized.

Biddon is frequently used simply as an introductory word to a direct petition, as *LS.*, 324, 71, ic bidde þe, onfoh mine sawle; 486, 225. The direct and the indirect constructions are often interchanged at pleasure, as *Luke*, XIV, 18, ic bidde þe þæt þu me *beladie;* 19, nu bidde ic þe, *belade* me. There is also observable a ready transition to the direct imperative in the same sentence, as *AH.*, I, 334, 25, ic bidde eow þæt ge *beon* gemyndige and *doð* swa swa, etc.

The statistics for the principal constructions after *biddan* are as follows:—

	CP.	*Or.*	*Boe.*	*Bede.*	*Chr.*	*W.*	*LS.*	*AH.*	*Gosp.*	*BH.*
Subj.	4	26	6	64	11	27	77	85	36	26
Sculan.	1	0	0	2	5	0	2	7	0	0
Motan	0	2	0	4	6	0	8	10	1	4

Remark. Wulfstan is most consistent in the use of the subjunctive after *biddan*, while Ælfric shows a tendency to the use of the periphrastic forms.

(*ge*)*Læran.*

(*ge*)*Læran* is frequently used by all Anglo-Saxon writers, especially by Wulfstan; the subjunctive is almost universally used in the dependent clause; as *CP.*, 189, 15, þa underþieddan mon sceal læran þæt hie ne *sien* genæt; *Or.*, 124, 2, he gelærde ealle Crecas þæt hie Alexander *wiðsocen; BH.*, 173, 28; *Bede*, 224, 13; *W.*, 67, 1; *Gu.*, 109; *El.*, 522. The construction with *sculan* is sometimes found, as *CP.*, 131, 3; þa þa he lærde þæt þære ciricean þegnas *sceoldon* stilnesse ðære ðenunga habban; *W.*, 68, 7.

There are a few instances of the use of the indicative in the dependent clause; special stress seems to be placed here upon the result of the advised action; as *Or.*, 148, 4, heo gelærde þone cyning þæt he hiene swa up *ahof; W.*, 9, 5, ongan he beswican and gelæran þæt se man *abræc* godes bebod; *Jul.*, 574. *Læran*, however, often has a weakened meaning, so that it signifies little more than the ordinary verb of saying and is followed by the indicative, as *Mark*, VIII, 31, þa ongann he hi læran þæt mannes sunu *gebyreð* fela þing þolian; similarly *Bede*, 372, 15, he wæs in gaste gelæred þæt he *wæs* from Dryhtne tigðe þære bene.

In *Bede*, 460, 3, the accus. and infin. is an obvious copy of the Latin. In *Bede*, 226, 26, we meet with the rare construction of the inflected infinitive: heo lærde *to healdænne* regollice lifes þeodscipe.

Hatan; be-, ge-hatan.

Hatan is usually followed by the infinitive, either alone or accompanied by a substantive, pronoun, or clause which bears to the infinitive the relation of subject or object. The use of the infinitive alone is not common, as *LS.*, 62, 195, se casere het sendan ongean þone ealdorman. When the object of the infinitive is a pronoun, the usual arrangement of words is

object-verb, as *Bede*, 34, 25, het *hine secan;* when, however, the object is a substantive or clause the order of words is most frequently reversed; as *LS.*, 42, 298, het *acwellan þone cristenan Philippum;* 30, 113; *El.*, 214.

When the subject of the infinitive is expressed, we meet with the subject-accusative construction after verbs of petition and command, a construction which is common to Anglo-Saxon, Old Saxon, and Old High German.[1] The subject of the infinitive generally precedes it, as *LS.*, 58, 214, se gerefa het *þa cnyhtas cyðan* þe þison; 64, 235; 462, 342; 488, 20; *BH.*, 217, 25; 219, 15; *Bede*, 260, 32; 266, 2; 462, 18; *W.*, 206, 14; 235, 15; *AH.*, II, 32, 22; 144, 2; 196, 19; *Gen.*, 39, 121, 145; *Cr.*, 1375; *An.*, 1575. The order, infinitive-subject, is very rare, due mostly to poetical inversions, as *Gen.*, 44, heht þa geond þæt rædlease hof *weaxan witebrogan;* 156, 2783, *Cr.*, 1025. When the infinitive has also an object the subject still retains its precedence, the object, if a pronoun, preceding the infinitive, and following it if a substantive: *AH.*, II, 86, 1, he hæt his *underþeoddan hine belifian;* 66, 12, het *hi geedstaðelian þa burh* Hierusalem; similarly *W.*, 237, 1; *AH.*, II, 134, 35; 196, 4; 246, 24; 342, 11; *Gen.*, 345; *Dan.*, 231; *Byr.*, 2. In only one instance does the subject follow the infinitive and this is obviously due to the poetic form: *Byr.*, 74, het þa hæleþa hleo *healdan* þa bricge *wigan wigheardne.*

There are also numerous instances of the subordinate sentence introduced by *þæt.* In *Or.* this construction is employed almost half the time; it is also very frequent in *Bede*, *AH.*, and *W.* The usual mood is the simple subjunctive; as *LS.*, 26, 11, het þæt he *heolde* þa romiscan gesætnysse; *Or.*, 170, 8; 204, 32; *LS.*, 406, 359; 442, 37; 464, 373; *Bede*, 254, 5; 320, 22; 388, 10; 454, 17; 462, 21; *W.*, 176, 16; 220, 12, 16; *Gen.*, 500; *An.*, 1505; *Chr.*, 230, A, 20. Occasionally the jussive sense is strengthened by the use of *sculan;* as *AH.*, I, 16, 3, het þæt heo *sceolde* forðlædan cuce nytenu; *LS.*, 200,

[1] Krickau, *Der Accus. mit dem Infin. in der Englischen Sprache*, p. 4.

92; 400, 261; *AH.*, II, 488, 25. At times the infinitive and the subordinate clause are both found in the same expression; as *W.*, 287, 23, God ne het us *gemelgjan* þa hælbendan, ac *þæt we þæm wædligendum gefultumodan;* similarly *An.*, 795; *Jul.*, 333, hateð þræce *ræran*, gif we gemete sin on mold-wege, *þæt hi usic binden and suslum swingen.* The last example is an excellent illustration of a common feature in Anglo-Saxon style, by which the unity of the construction is sacrificed for the sake of clearness.

Behatan and *Gehatan* have essentially the same meaning and differ only in relative frequency of use by different writers; the former is almost universal in *W.* and very frequent in *AH.;* the latter is preferred in *BH.* and *Bede.*

In most cases the will of the speaker is present in the action of the subordinate clause and hence the regular occurrence of the construction with *willan;* as *AH.*, I, 22, 8, þa behet God þæt he *wolde* næfre eft eall mancynn acwellan; 264, 2; *BH.*, 201, 36; *Bede*, 234, 31; 294, 23; 416, 10; *W.*, 37, 13; 75, 15; 109, 16; 144, 8; *AH.*, II, 50, 14; 176, 27; 212, 15; 224, 3; *Dan.*, 316; *Cr.*, 142; *Byr.*, 246; *Boe.*, 126, 9; *Beow.*, 2635; *Chr.*, 147, F, 10; 208, D, 20; 270, C, 2. When the subject of the dependent clause is different from the speaker, either the simple subjunctive is employed, as *Gu.*, 427, ðа þu gehete þæt þec halig gast *gescilde;* or the construction with *sculan*, as a threat, *Gu.*, 205, 542, or in a prophetic sense, *AH.*, I, 204, 17, God behet Abrahame þæt on his cynne *sceolde* beon gebletsod eal mancynn. In *Bede*, 242, 31, the simple subjunctive and the periphrastic forms are both used: gehat geheht þæt he *wolde* liif in elþeodignesse lifigan and þæt he alne saltere *asunge*, etc.

In *LS.*, 214, 79, se apostel behet þæm þe healdað clænnysse þæt hi *synd* Godes tempel, and *AH.*, I, 542, 19, he him behet þæt hi on þam miclan dome ofer twelf dom-setl *sittende beoð*, the introductory verb has little more force than the ordinary verb of saying and is followed by the indicative.

Swerian.

Swerian is followed either by the subjunctive of the dependent verb or by the construction with *willan*, since the moment of design or intention generally pervades the subordinate clause; as *Or.*, 190, 22, swor þæt him leofre *wære; W.*, 207, 12, Crist swor þæt se mon *wære* aweriged; *LS.*, 314, 97, swor þæt he mid mislicum witum hine *wolde* fordon. *Swerian* is frequently connected with its complementary object *aðas*, as *Chr.*, 142, A, 30; *Or.*, 70, 15; 162, 10; *W.*, 209, 26; *Ælfric de Novo Test.*, 18, 36. Either of the two constructions may be employed at pleasure; in *Chr.*, 114, 22, MSS. *A*, *D*, and *E* read "hem þa aðas sworon þæt hie hrædlice of his rice *faren*," while *B* and *C* have "þæt hie hrædlice of his rice *faran wolde*."

The construction with *sculan* is occasionally found in the dependent clause as the exponent of a threat, as *El.*, 685, ic þæt geswerige þæt þu *scealt* cwylmed weorðan buton þu forlæte þa leasunga; or in a prophetic sense, as *AH.*, I, 426, 6, ic swerige þæt þu *scealt* geoffrian.

Swerian is employed as a forcible means of emphasizing a simple statement and, when so used, is followed by the indicative; as *W.*, 214, 7, wit swergað þæt hit *is* soð þæt wit secgað; similarly 224, 29; 259, 7.

Closely connected both in sense and regimen with *swerian* are collocations with *að*, as *aðas sellan* (*Chr.*, 212, A, 24); *mid aðum gefæstnian* (*Chr.*, 192, B, 11); *aðas sendan* (*Chr.*, 147, F, 7); *aðum benemnan* (*Beow.*, 1098); *að syllan* (*Luke*, I, 73).

Æ wesan is an expression of command and hence is followed by the subjunctive, as *CP.*, 219, 13, is æ þæt mon *hæbbe* lufe.

Æteowian, as an expression of admonition, is followed by the subjunctive, as *Luke*, III, 7, hwa ætywde eow þæt ge *fleon* from þam towerdan yrre?

Arœdan, bearing reference to some contemplated action, is followed by the construction with *sculan* in *Bede*, 254, 22, aræddon þæt se abbod his latteow beon *scolde*.

Bena wesan, a poetical expression of petition is followed by the periphrasis with *motan* in *Beow.*, 364, hi benan synd þæt hi wiþ ðe *motan* wordum wrixlan.

Beornan on mode, indicating intense desire, is followed by the subjunctive in *AH.*, I, 17, bearn me on mode þæt ic þas boc of Ledenum spræce to Engliscre spræce *awende*.

Beotian, like *gehatan*, is followed either by the subjunctive or by the construction with *willan;* as *Exile's Complaint* (*Cod. Ex.*, 442, 32), ful oft we gebeotedan þæt unc ne *gesœlde* nemne deaþ ana; *BH.*, 95, 3, beotaþ he þæt he *wile* þa sawla sendan on ece wita; *Or.*, 72, 29, 30; 144, 33.

Bewerian is mostly followed by the periphrastic construction with *motan*, as *Bede*, 78, 6, ne sceal heo bewered beon þæt heo *mote* in circan gongan; 76, 17; 222, 18; seldom by the inflected infinitive, as *Bede*, 80, 7, seo æ monig þing bewereþ *to etanne*. A few instances are found of the sequence with the simple infinitive, probably under Latin influence, as *Bede*, 78, 31, ne sceal him bewered beon geryne *onfon* [mysterium percipere debet *prohiberi*].

Bicnian serves as a verb of petition in *Luke*, II, 7, and is followed by the subjunctive: hi bicnodon hyra geferan þæt hi *comen*.

Bysn sellan, as an expression of counsel or command, is generally followed by the construction with *sculan*, as *AH.*, II, 230, 15, he sealde soðe bysne þæt hi *sceoldon* forswerian heora unðeawas; similarly 232, 13. A similar construction follows *bysn astellan: AH.*, II, 40, 23; *BH.*, 33, 21; and *gebysnunga settan*, *AH.*, II, 242, 27. When an actual occurrence is described, the indicative is found in the indirect sentence, as *AH.*, II, 116, 14, is geseald bysen þæt þa unsprecendan cild *beoð gehealdene* on fulluhte.

Clypian requires the subjunctive in the dependent clause; as *AH.*, I, 452, 33, utan clypian to þære Godes meder þæt

heo us to hire Bearne *geðingige;* 70, 27; 254, 17; *LS.*, 98, 150; 184, 270; 390, 114; 408, 400; 452, 169; *AH.*, II, 70, 9.

Cneow bugan, a figurative expression of petition, is followed by the subjunctive in *AH.*, 408, 18, ic bige mine cneow þæt ge *beon gewyrtrumode.*

Deman, expressing command, is followed either by the simple subjunctive, as *Bede*, 476, 24, he gedemed hæfde þætte Ceolwulf æfter him cyning *wære;* or by the periphrasis with *sculan*, as *AH.*, I, 24, 25.

Fæstnunga sellan is followed by the construction with *willan* in *LS.*, 500, 211, þa sealdon hi heom fæstnunga betweonum þæt hi ealle þis *woldon* healdian.

Forgiefan is usually followed by the periphrastic expressions with *motan* and *magan;* as *Bede*, 56, 18, þæt he him forgeafe þæt he *moste* þone wæstm heora gewinnes geseon; similarly *AH.*, II, 48, 2; *Cr.*, 391; *Bede*, 84, 25; *LS.*, 346, 142, he forgeaf his apostolum þæt hi *mihton* gehælan; similarly 346, 142; 458, 282; *AH.*, II, 286, 27. It is rarely followed by the simple subjunctive, as *Jul.*, 729; or by *sculan*, *Ph.*, 377; *AH.*, II, 48, 11. Occasionally the indicative is employed, when attention is directed to the result of the action, as *Ph.*, 175, Hafað þæm treow forgiefen þæt he ana *is* beorhtast geblowen; *LS.*, 460, 297.

Gebann settan is followed by the subjunctive, as *AH.*, I, 30, 1, sette geban þæt *wære* on gewritum asett eall ymbhwyrft; *LS.*, 192, 396. The construction with *motan* is also found, as *LS.*, 96, 107.

Gescrifan requires the construction with *sculan* in *El.*, 1047, wyrd gescreaf þæt he swa geleafful in woroldrice weorðan *sceolde.*

Gesettan is followed by the subjunctive in *BH.*, 193, 3, hie þæt gesetton þæt he on witnunge stowe swa lange swungen *wære;* similarly *Or.*, 30, 34. The periphrasis with *sculan* is also found, as *AH.*, I, 150, 26; *Bede*, 448, 12; *Or.*, 164, 15. Like constructions with the subjunctive follow the related

expressions, *gesettan þone canon*, *AH.*, II, 94, 29, and *stent gesetnys*, *AH.*, II, 50, 20.

Gesprecan and *Gestihtian*, denoting agreement or determination, require the strengthened construction with *willan;* as *Or.*, 138, 3, hi him betweoxum gespræcon þæt hi *woldon* on Romane winnan; 264, 19; *Bede*, 112, 33, gestihtedon þæt heo *woldon* þære wisan ende gebidan.

Getemian (permit) is followed by *sculan* in *LS.*, 538, 809, þu ne mihtest getemian þæt mire andetnysse leoht-fæt *sceolde* acwyncan.

Geþafian is followed most consistently by the subjunctive; as *BH.*, 45, 11, þæt hie ne geþafien þæt hi heora lif on woh *lifgean; AH.*, I, 168, 6; *LS.*, 324, 72; 348, 169; 376, 179; *Bede*, 374, 5; *W.*, 22, 19; *AH.*, II, 40, 34; *An.*, 402. Occasionally, however, auxiliary constructions are found, with *motan: W.*, 85, 17; 96, 15; with *sculan: AH.*, II, 234, 27; 508, 25.

Geunnan is generally followed by the construction with *motan;* as *Beow*, 961, uðe ic swiðor þæt þu hine sylfne geseon *moste; W.*, 142, 23; 181, 32; 289, 24; *AH.*, II, 128, 10; 152, 18; *Gu.*, 902; *Byr.*, 175. The subjunctive is also met with; as *Chr.*, 219, D, 19, God him geunne þæt his goddæda swyðran *weorðen;* 217, D, 16. Occasionally the indicative is found in the dependent sentence expressing the resulting state; as *Beow.*, 1662, me geuðe yldra waldend þæt ic on wæge *geseah* wlitig hangian eald sweord-eacen; *AH.*, II, 594, 15; *Beow.*, 2875.

Gyrnan, expressing intense desire, is followed by the simple subjunctive, as *Ph.*, 462, glædmod gyrneð þæt he godra mæst dæda *gefremme; Matt.*, XXIII, 8; *Luke*, XXII, 31,—or by the periphrasis with *motan: AH.*, I, 142, 23, ne gyrnde na þæt he *moste* Crist gehyran sprecan; similarly *Chr.*, 53, E, 7; 317, F, 20,—or by that with *sculan: Chr.*, 92, E, 19, he geornde æt se kyning þæt he *scolde* from his mynstre; 52, E, 41; 53, E, 31.

Hæs requires *sculan* in the dependent clause in *AH.*, I, 402, 23, him com to Godes hæs þæt hi *sceolden* from stowe faran.

Healsian is very consistently followed by the subjunctive; as *CP.*, 137, 17, ic eow halsige þæt ge *feden* Godes heorde; *Or.*, 178, 14; *LS.*, 148, 24; *AH.*, I, 422, 20; 426, 31; *BH.*, 189, 7; *Bede*, 372, 7; *Gu.*, 1176; *AH.*, II, 248, 17; 490, 30; *Cr.*, 23. There are occasional examples of the periphrasis with *sculan*, as *AH.*, II, 146, 12. *Healsian*, like *biddan*, serves as an introductory to a direct petition, as *Descent into Hell*, 118, ic halsige þe, oferwurpe mid þy wætre ealle burgwaran.

Hryman, as a verb of petition, is followed by the subjunctive; as *AH.*, I, 156, 22, we sceolon hryman to þæm hælende þæt he *todrœfe* þa yfelan costnunga from urum heortum.

Læran and *Laðian*, expressing incitement to an action, are followed by the subjunctive, as *Bede*, 44, 18, lærdon þæt hi fæsten *worhten;* 44, 34; *Jul.*, 149; *Ælfric de Novo Test.*, 21, 29, þu woldest me laðian þæt ic swiðe *drunce.*

Lyfan. The indirect sentence is often used as the logical subject introduced by *hit is* or *wœs alyfed;* as *AH.*, I, 142, 6; 522, 12. Elsewhere it is the object of *lyfan.* The simple subjunctive is very frequent in the dependent clause; as *Matt.*, XXII, 17, is hit alyfed þæt man casere gafol *sylle?; Mark*, X, 4; *John*, V, 10; *BH.*, 189, 22; *W.*, 285, 28; *AH.*, II, 94, 25; 100, 13. There is, however, a great fondness for the use of the periphrasis with *motan;* as *Gen.*, 2518, lyfað me þæt we aldornesse on sigor up secan *moten; Ph.*, 667; *Bede*, 400, 2; *W.*, 218, 17; 285, 5; *AH.*, II, 216, 11; *Gu.*, 380. There are sporadic instances of the inflected infinitive; as *AH.*, II, 348, 24, is alyfed to lybbenne; 520, 16. Similar constructions follow the related expressions, *leafnesse syllan*, *Bede*, 60, 14; 460, 25; and *lyfnesse forgyfan*, *Bede*, 328, 34.

Manian is almost without exception followed by the subjunctive. In the *Cura Past.* it occurs seldom except in the form *is to manianne*, employed very frequently as an introductory expression to the chapters on duties; as 191, 12, eac sint to manianne þa underþioddan þæt hie huru hie selfe *gehealden; W.*, 225, 13, þonne manaþ us þis halige gewrit þæt we simle *sion* gemynegode; similarly *LS.*, 496, 146; *Seaf.*,

36; *Bede*, 210, 15. In *Seaf.*, 50, we note the rare sequence with the infinitive: gemonaþ modes fusne *feran* to siðe. The related noun *monung* is likewise followed by the subjunctive, as *Bede*, 350, 1.

Mynegian regularly requires the subjunctive in the dependent sentence; as *AH.*, I, 56, 20, þa yfelan we mynegiaþ þæt hi from heora yfelnessum hrædlice *gecyrren;* 88, 22; 262, 12; *W.*, 171, 16; *AH.*, II, 492, 18. When the verb refers to an actual occurrence with the meaning 'to mention,' it is followed by the indicative, as *Bede*, 44, 7, þe we gemynegode þæt Severus *het* þwyrs gedician.

Myntan is followed by the subjunctive, as *Gen.*, 2182, fæste mynteð þæt me æfter *sie* eaforan sine grefeweardas; or by the simple infinitive, as *Cr.*, 1058, se ðe gode mynteð *bringan* beorhtne wlite.

Neadian (urge) is followed by the construction with *sculan* in *Bede*, 262, 1, nedde him þæt he ridan *sceolde.*

Onbœrnan (encourage) requires the usual subjunctive; *Bede*, 146, 10, wæs onbærnende þæt heo in þæm geleafan soðfæstnisse fæstlice *astoden.*

Tœcan, in its admonitory sense, is followed by the subjunctive, as *AH.*, II, 68, 2; or by the construction with *sculan*, as *AH.*, I, 372, 31.

Tiean is generally followed by the subjunctive, as *LS.*, 98, 130, ic þe tihte þæt þu þam godum *geoffrige;* 134, 294; 162, 249; 204, 149. Occasionally the periphrasis with *sculan* is found, as *LS.*, 144, 435.

Tiþian with the subjunctive: *AH.*, II, 600, 1, getyða us þæt se ylca wisdom ure heortan ma *onbryde;* 172, 33; *LS.*, 444, 40, 66. Occasionally followed by *motan*, as *AH.*, II, 600, 7. In *LS.*, 298, 204, the subjects of both clauses are the same and *willan* is used: him tiðode God þæt he *wolde* hi fordon.

Geþingian, regularly with the subjunctive, as *Cr.*, 342, geþinga us þæt he us ne *læte.*

Warnian, expressing in general advice against a certain course of action, is followed by the subjunctive, as *LS.*, 160, 211, het hine warnian þæt ne *nære* on þam mynstre nefre eft gesewen; 184, 255; *AH.*, I, 120, 16; II, 34, 33; 536, 5; 602, 24; *Gen.*, 527. When the indirect expression simply relates the danger against which the advice is directed, the indicative is used, as *Chr.*, 262, C, 24, þa gewarnode man þæt þær *wæs* fyrd gegaderod æt Sundene.

Wedd, as an expression of command, requires the subjunctive, as *AH.*, I, 90, 28, þis is min wedd þæt ælc hyse-cild *beo ymb-sniden*. *To wedde syllan*, as a promise, is followed by *willan*, as *Bede*, 124, 4.

Wyscan is followed by the subjunctive, as *Deor.*, 25, wyscte þæt þæs cynerices ofercumen *wære;* or by *sculan*, as *AH.*, II, 310, 4.

B. Verbs of Thinking, Believing, etc.

In this class are included verbs that express simple supposition, as *wenan*, *þencan*, *þyncan;* those that express thought directed to the accomplishment of an action, as *smeagan* and *hogian;* verbs of belief or trust, as *geliefan*, *truwian;* of doubt, uncertainty, and the like, as *tweogan*, *hopian*, etc. In these expressions the moment of subjectivity is always present in full force, and the subjunctive or its equivalent is regularly found.

Wenan.

Of all verbs introducing Indirect Discourse *wenan* is the most consistent in requiring the subjunctive of the dependent verb. I attribute this to the fact, that in these expressions the event or action contained in the dependent clause is not considered to take place at all, and its existence is merely a conjecture in the mind of the speaker or writer; it is conceived, therefore, from a wholly subjective view-point and is

expressed by the ordinary mood of subjective conception—the subjunctive. *CP.*, 209, 10, hie wenaþ þæt þæt *sie* þæt beste; *AH.*, I, 124, 14, sume men wenaþ þæt him *genihtsumige* to fulfremedum læcedome; *Or.*, 150, 26, þa wende man þæt þæt gewinn geended *wære*.

There are occasional examples of the use of the indicative, and it is a matter of some difficulty to explain these few anomalous constructions as opposed to the vast array of subjunctive forms. The most plausible explanation of these forms is as follows: accepting the subjunctive as the mood of subjective reflection, it is at least supposable that the reality of the event conceived would be more emphasized when this conception is in the mind of the speaker himself or of the person directly addressed, than when reference is made to the thought of a third person; hence, if the moment of objectivity enter at all, we should expect it to be present when *wenan* is used in the first or the second person; and, in truth, it is only after these forms that the indicative is found in the dependent sentence. Furthermore, owing to the frequency of their employment, *ic wene* and *wenst þu* (or *wenstu*) have apparently suffered a weakening of their original signification. Some examples may be given; as *AH.*, I, 580, 26, ic wene þæt þas word ne *sind* eow full cuðe; 378, 4, ic wene wit *sind* oferswiðde; here the omission of the conjunction and consequent breaking of connection favors the use of the indicative; *Boe.*, 146, 29, wenst þu nu þætte ealle þa þing for ði gode *sind* þy hi habbaþ; 16, 27, gif þu wenst þæt þære eorðan wæstmas þine *synd; AH.*, I, 396, 5, wenst þu þæt hi *beo*þ asyndrode from þam dome?. The distinction given above is well illustrated by the following example in *Boe.*, 86, 9, wenst þu þæt þa dysiende *wena*þ þætte þæt þing *sie* ælces weorðscipes betst wyrðe? In *Boe.*, 44, 15, ic wat þæt ge wenaþ þæt ge nan god ne gesælþa *habba*þ, the presence of *witan* probably contributes to the use of the indicative.

For the most part, however, *wenan* in these persons retains its usual sequence of the subjunctive, as *CP.*, 459, 10, hwa

wenstu þæt *sie* to þæm getreow?; *AH.*, I, 424, 29; *Or.*, 58, 28. Indeed, the requirement of the subjunctive by *wenan* is so strong that even in close renderings of a Latin original, the indicative in the Latin has no effect upon the Anglo-Saxon mood, as *John*, XIII, 29, wendon þæt se hælend hit *cwæde* be him [putabant quia *dicit* ei iesus].

Owing to the almost universal employment of the subjunctive, the auxiliaries *sculan* and *willan* seem to make a near approach to the expression of the future idea after *wenan*. The sense of duty or obligation is, however, still present in *sculan*, as *Ælfric de Novo Test.*, 17, 11, wende þæt he *sceolde* þurhwunian on gastlicum þeawum; *BH.*, 183, 31, wenstu þæt ic *sceole* sprecan to þissum men?; *CP.*, 281, 14, hwylc wite wene we þæt se fela sprecea *scyle* habban? Determined future action is thus expressed in *W.*, 244, 1. As usual after verbs of thinking, it denotes the result of the efforts of the designer [Lüttgens, p. 19], as *Or.*, 244, 11, þæt he sume hwile wende þæt hine mon *gefon sceolde;* 112, 10; 160, 29; 190, 4; *AH.*, I, 594, 10.

The future idea is much more truly expressed by *willan*, as *AH.*, I, 480, 1, wende þæt hi *woldon* his cynedom forseon; *CP.*, 201, 1, swelce he wene þæt his hlaford deman *wolde; Or.*, 196, 6; *AH.*, I, 334, 17; II, 582, 24; *LS.*, 426, 181; *Chr.*, 278, C, 10; 300, C, 17. In such cases as *CP.*, 113, 25, hu micele wenstu þæt hit *wolde* gif þær wlence and se anweald wære gemenged, *willan* gives a more distinct expression to the action indicated than would be done by the simple verb [Lüttgens, p. 25].

The omission of the conjunction after *wenan* does not as a rule affect the verb of the indirect clause: *Boe.*, 98, 23, wenst þu *mæge* his rice hine þær on lande wyrðne gedon?; similarly 40, 31; *John*, XXI, 25; *BH.*, 85, 16.

There are sporadic instances of the A.-S. subject-accusative construction after *wenan*, as *AH.*, I, 590, 25, þæt þu wenst *me* for tintregum ðа *geopenian* ðа godcundan gerynu; *Beow.*, 933, þæt ic ænigra *me* weana ne wende *gebidan; Bede*, 430,

24. The simple infinitive also occurs in *Beow.*, 2240, wende þæs *yldan.*

The constructions after *wenan* are thus tabulated:—

	CP.	*Or.*	*Boe.*	*Bede.*	*Chr.*	*BH.*	*LS.*	*AH.*	*W.*	*Gosp.*
Subj.....	53	11	20	1	1	8	10	22	8	10
Ind.....	0	0	4	3	0	1	0	4	1	0
Sculan.....	4	4	1	3	1	1	1	2	1	1
Willan.....	2	10	3	4	3	3	4	5	0	0

The related substantive *wen* is precisely similar, in the constructions that follow it; together with the verb "to be" it has the general meaning of 'perhaps' [Latin *forsitan*, see *John*, VIII, 19]: *AH.*, I, 580, 5, wen is þæt eower sum *cweðe* to him sylfum; similarly *CP.*, 93, 19; *BH.*, 231, 23; 243, 19; *Bede*, 408, 26; 414, 18; *Beow.*, 1846; *W.*, 140, 14; *LS.*, 376, 187.

Gelyfan.

The indirect sentence after *gelyfan* displays a marked variation in mood. All shades of expression seem present in this verb, from the pure subjectivity of mere conjecture to the objective statement of a universal truth. There is, therefore, observable a great diversity in the constructions following it, and, what is more, these constructions vary to a considerable extent with the writer.

In *Cura Past.* there is a steady adherence to the subjunctive, as 111, 11, he gelief*ð* þæt he *sie* swelc; 379, 10, etc. In the one example of the use of the indicative the statement is set forth in a strong, objective manner: 413, 32, hie sint to manianne þæt hie gelefen and baldlice getruwien þæt hi *ða* forgiefnesse *habbað* for þære hreowsunge. Ælfric, on the other hand, employs the indicative quite frequently in the subordinate clause, and it is well-nigh impossible to draw any hard and fast lines of distinction between the moods; the use of the indicative appears to be occasioned simply by the desire of the

writer to set forth one statement more objectively than another, as will be seen by comparing the two following examples: *AH.*, I, 214, 12, we gelyfað þæt we *beon* gehealdene þurh Cristes gife, and 292, 25, we sceolon gelyfan þæt ælces mannes sawul *bið* þurh God gesceapen. Variation in mood is often found after the same introductory word, as *AH.*, I, 284, 15, swa þæt he secge oððe gelyfe þæt twy Godas *syndon* oððe ænig had on þære halgan þrynnysse *sy* unmihtigra þonne oðer.

The following observations may, however, be accepted as indicating the chief distinctions in the use of moods after *gelyfan*. The subjunctive finds its proper place in expressions of a purely subjective character, as in the following pious confession, *El.*, 795, ic gelyfe þe sel þæt he *sie* sawla nergeridi; it is found when the statement contains the moment of uncertainty, either in past or in present time, as *AH.*, I, 226, 19, gelyfdon hi þæt he oferswiðed *wære;* 344, 1, we gelyfað þæt of mancynne swa micel getel *astige* swa; it is very frequent also when a negative or conditional idea is present in the expression or when an indefinite future action is implied, as *BH.*, 153, 18, ne gelyfeð on Hælend Crist þæt he *sy* Godes Sunu; likewise *LS.*, 458, 275; *BH.*, 37, 16; *Cr.*, 656, 753; *John*, IX, 18; *Bede*, 396, 24, cwæð þæt he gelefde þæt gif he his handa hiene on sette, þætte him sona wel *wære;* similarly *AH.*, I, 590, 27; *BH.*, 151, 29; *W.*, 220, 2; *Bede*, 392, 10, gelefde þæt hire sona wel *wære; Dan.*, 447, 578. It is sometimes due to a certain assumption made in the statement, as *Chr.*, 294, C, 11, nu is to gelyfenne þæt hi *blissien* bliðe mid Criste þe wæron buton scylde acwealde. It is found also after a final clause, as *John*, VI, 30, and when the content of the subordinate clause is supposed to be false, as *John*, IX, 18.

The indicative is quite regularly employed when mention is made of the established doctrines of religious belief, as *AH.*, I, 26, 8, þæt men mihton gelyfan þæt he *wæs* Godes Bearn; 198, 14; 228, 20; 230, 8; 234, 29; II, 422, 16; 426, 16. A very effective use is made of this distinction in mood in the following example: Ælfric [*Hom.*, I, 116, 15, 24] is contrasting the

doctrines of heretics with those of orthodox christians; in the former case the subjunctive is used, in the latter the indicative, sume gedwolmen gelyfdon þæt he God *wære*, gelyfdon þæt he soð cyning *wære* . . . we gelyfdon þæt he æfre God *wæs*, we gelyfdon þæt he *wæs* deadlic. The indicative is used to express an actual fact, as *AH.*, II, 366, 28, hig gelyfdon þæt þu me *sendest;* 204, 33; *Matt.*, IX, 28; *John*, X, 38; XI, 27, 42; XIV, 10; XVI, 27; XVII, 8, etc. I attribute the great use of this mood in the *Gospels* partially to the influence of the Latin, as *Mark*, XI, 24, gelyfað þæt ge hit *onfoð* [credite quia *accipietis*].

The construction with *sculan* is employed with reference to an event sure of fulfillment in the future, as *AH.*, I, 294, 1, we sceolon gelyfan þæt ælc lichama *sceal arisan;* *W.*, 126, 18, 20.

Willan is used with a personal subject and approaches very near the simple future expression, as *An.*, 1285, ic gelyfe to þe þæt þu me næfre *wille* anforlætan; similarly *CP.*, 5, 2; *LS.*, 454, 218.

The allied adjective *geleaflic* is generally followed by the subjunctive, as *AH.*, I, 446, 3, is geleaflic þæt seo eadige cwen oðre *oferstige;* likewise 518, 3.

Þencan and *Geþencan.*

As an introductory verb of indirect discourse *þencan* has in general two distinct meanings: (1) it expresses intent or design with also the element of volition; (2) 'to remember,' 'to recount.'

1. With the former meaning (that most frequently met with) the simple subjunctive is generally employed in the dependent clause, as *CP.*, 235, 9, þohte þæt he hine *ofsloge;* *Or.*, 92, 22; 188, 13; *Matt.*, VI, 27; *W.*, 284, 10; *CP.*, 119, 3. The idea of design is emphasized by the use of the auxiliary *willan*, as *AH.*, I, 196, 16, þohte þæt he *wolde* hi diglice forlætan; *John*, XI, 53.

The force of *þencan* is, however, at times much weakened, the idea of design is almost entirely eliminated, and the verb

conveys little more meaning than would be given by *wenan;* in these cases, *sculan* is generally used in the subordinate clause, expressing the fact that the contents of the subordinate clause are in subjective dependence [Lüttgens, p. 19]; as *CP.*, 55, 19, he þinceð þæt he *sciele* monig god weorc ðæron wyrcan; *Or.*, 166, 29; 200, 10; 216, 15; *Beow.*, 692, nænig heora þohte þæt he þanon *sceolde* eft eardlufan æfre gesecean. This is a near approach to the simple future.

The simple infinitive is occasionally found after *þencan;* as *Jud.*, 58, þohte þa beorhtan idese mid widle and mid womme *besmitan;* likewise *El.*, 297.

2. With reference to a past event *þencan* means 'to remember;' as applied to a present action, it may also be rendered 'to bear in mind, consider.' The mood of the dependent verb is the indicative, as *CP.*, 53, 17, is to geþencenne þæt he *underfeng* martyrdom; *Matt.*, v, 23, þu þær geðencest þæt þinbroðor *hæfð* ænig þing agen þe; *CP.*, 55, 20; *Deor.*, 31; *W.*, 246, 7; 291, 14; *Boe.*, 62, 27. The subjunctive in *Boe.*, 134, 20, is owing to the occurrence of the verb in the protasis of an ideal condition. The transition to direct expression is easy and is occasionally found, as *BH.*, 51, 17, huru ne magon we geðencan þæt seo eorðe *is* Godes and Godes *is* þæt yrfe, and we ealle *syndon* his, etc.

Beþencan has generally the meaning 'to remember, consider,' and hence is followed by the indicative, as *Cr.*, 821, scyle gehwilc beþencan þæt us milde *becwom* meahta waldend æt ærestan. The moment of design is occasionally present, and the subjunctive is used, as, *Nicod.*, 20 (*B–T.*), hig beþohton þæt hig hym seofon weras *gecuron; Jul.*, 155.

þyncan.

The reality of the statement introduced by *þyncan* is dependent only upon the opinion of the object of *þyncan;* hence the verb of the dependent clause is usually in the subjunctive, as *Gen.*, 169, ne þuhte þa gerysne rodora wearde þæt Adam leng

swa *wære; CP.*, 85, 26, oðrum monnum þyncð þæt hie mæste scande *ðrowigen;* 113, 10; 115, 19; 203, 14, 20; 231, 20; 241, 4; 285, 4; 293, 6; 321, 24; 415, 31, 34; *Or.*, 246, 25; *AH.*, I, 236, 11; II, 160, 18; *Bede*, 430, 12; *W.*, 49, 7; 79, 11; 184, 18; *Dan.*, 498, 505; *Boe.*, 66, 2; 72, 18; 96, 29; 202, 18; *Matt.*, XXV, 29; *John*, VIII, 53.

There is the usual occurrence in the dependent clause of the modal auxiliaries with the exception of *willan;* as *Or.*, 84, 12, se þe him ær geþuhte þæt him nan sæ wiðhabban ne *mehte;* 98, 2; 118, 17; *CP.*, 57, 6, swa þincð him þæt he hie him niedscylde *sceolde* se þe hie him sealde. The mood of these auxiliaries varies, as *Boe.*, 76, 13, þæt me nu þincð þæt no þæt an þas onwyrð aræfnan *mæg;* 124, 4, him þincð þæt he ne *mæge* ðone welan gehealdan.

There are a few instances of the indicative in the dependent clause; in most cases the truth of the statement thus made is regarded as beyond doubt, and the usual subjective signification of *þincan* is decidedly weakened; as *Ælfric's Pref. Gen.*, 22, 8, nu þincð me þæt þæt weorc *is* swiðe pleolic me oððe ænigum men to underbeginenne. The greater or less degree of reality probably causes the difference in mood in the two following almost contiguous passages: *Boe.*, 164, 12, me þincð þæt þu me *dwelige* and *dyserie*,—16, me þincð þæt þu me *hwurfest* sum sunderlice spræce. The indicative is also found occasionally in a dependent clause which is separated from *þyncan* by a preceding clause, as *CP.*, 85, 26, oðrum monnum ðyncð þæt hie mæstne demm *ðrowigen* and hie forswencte *bioð* for worulde; similarly *AH.*, I, 48, 35.

Swelce is occasionally employed instead of the usual *þæt*, as *LS.*, 304, 300, þincð him arleasum *swylce* hi æfre motan libban; *W.*, 148, 12; *LS.*, 436, 65.

Gyman, expressing designed action, is followed by the subjunctive, as *Bede*, 346, 16, eornestlice gemde þæt he men from heora synnum *atuge; AH.*, II, 34, 32.

Gehihtan (to hope), with the subjunctive, as *Bede*, 404, 22, wæs gehihtende þæt he his lichamon *tolesed wære.*

Gehogian has the regular sequence with the subjunctive, as *AH.*, I, 484, 6, we sceolon hogian þæt we simle ðone maran gylt *forfleon;* 528, 4; *Gen.*, 2892; *Dan.*, 218; *Beow.*, 633; *AH.*, II, 558, 18. *Willan* is sometimes found when the personal intention is prominently set forth, as *Dan.*, 687, þæt gehogode Meda aldor þæt he Babilone abrecan *wolde; Bede*, 234, 25.

Hopian has a like construction, as *Luke*, XXIII, 8, he hopede þæt he *gesawe* sum tacen; *AH.*, II, 416, 14; *Luke*, XXIV, 21. There is liberal use made of the auxiliary forms, especially *willan*, as *LS.*, 314, 111, ic hopige on Drihten þæt he me ungederodne *wylle* ahreddan. *Sculan* as almost simple representative of the subjunctive but with a future force, as *W.*, 152, 20, hopode þæt heo gehyran *sceolde* hyre suna stemne. *Motan* is also met with, as *W.*, 147, 23.—The related noun, *tohopa*, has a similar regimen, as *Or.*, 104, 28, to þam tohopan þæt hie sume siðe God þanon *adoo* to heora agnum lande; *AH.*, I, 568, 8.

Hycgan is very consistently followed by the subjunctive, as *Gen.*, 397, We þæs sculon hycgan þæt we on Adame sume andan *gebetan*. Likewise *ahycgan*, *Gen.*, 2031, and *gehycgan*, *Cd.*, 217 (*B-T.*); the latter is also followed by *willan*, *Bt. Met.*, 19, 34, and by *magan*, *Gen.*, 562.

Lætan (suppose) has the regular subjunctive, but is peculiar in the employment of *swilce* instead of the usual *þæt*, as *LS.*, 514, 439, hi leton *swilce* hi on æfen *slepon;* 526, 634. The conjunction *þæt* is, however, sometimes found.

Ondrædan. The idea of volition is present in *ondrædan*, in that the will is directed not to the fulfillment but rather to the non-fulfillment of the action contained in the indirect clause. There is, therefore, almost exclusive employment of the subjunctive or of the auxiliary constructions; as *CP.*, 49, 19, oðer ondred þæt he *forlure* ða gestidon, oðer ondred þæt he *ongeate* on his swygean; 107, 17; *Or.*, 144, 16; *BH.*, 41, 21; *Bede*, 294, 26; 410, 28; *AH.*, II, 122, 27; 132, 3; *Bede*, 190, 15, ongan ondrædan þæt he to helle locum gelæded beon

sceolde; similarly 350, 14; 354, 29; *Or.*, 78, 14, ondredon þæt mon þa brycge forwyrcan *wolde;* likewise 150, 9. One instance of the indicative occurs, *AH.*, II, 70, 14, we ondræda̋ us þæt ge þa foresædan getacnunga to gymleaste *dő*, gif we eow swiðor be þam gereccað; this mood is probably due to the tendency, so often observed in logical conditions after verbs of present time, to use the mood and tense of direct discourse.

Orwena, with the subjunctive; *Gen.*, 2222, ic eom orwena þæt unc seo eðylstæf æfre *weorðe* gifeðe ætgædere.

Secan, usually with the subjunctive; as *John*, VII, 4, secð þæt hit ofen *sy; AH.*, II, 308, 9.

Smeagean is comparatively seldom used as introductory to the indirect declarative sentence. It is followed most commonly by the construction with *willan,* as *AH.*, I, 206, 19, smeadon þæt hi *woldon* ofslean þone Lazarum; *Matt.*, XXVI, 16; *John*, X, 13. The simple subjunctive is also found, as *Mark*, XII, 12, þa smeadon hi þæt hi *gefengen* hine. In *CP.*, 55, 21, we find the inflected infinitive: smeageað monig god weorc *to wyrcanne.* When *smeagean* has the meaning, 'to think,' 'consider,' it is followed by the indicative, as *AH.*, II, 96, 12, hwæt wille we furðor smeagan buton þæt se *hæf*ð þa mede ðe he geearnað.

Spanan, usually with the subjunctive, as *Or.*, 146, 7, hine spon þæt he on Umenis unmyndlenga mid here *become.* Occasionally *willan* is employed when the wish or design is prominent, as *Bede*, 316, 22, gesponan þæt heo brucan *wolde* hys gesynscipes.

Teohhian, as an introductory word to indirect discourse, is frequently employed by *Boe.* and at times in *Cura Past.*, rarely elsewhere. The subjuuctive generally follows, as *Boe.*, 84, 12, 13, he teohhaþ þæt him *sie* betst, þonne tihhaþ he þæt he *mæge* beon swiðe gesælig; 82, 9; 98, 32; *CP.*, 286, 2. *Sculan* is used in recording a future event in *Boe.*, 92, 26, and expresses the falseness of an idea in *CP.*, 302, 3, tiochhiaþ þæt þæt *scyle* beon for eaðmettum [tacere se æstimant ex humilitate].

Truwian when pointing to an undetermined or future event is followed by the subjunctive or by the auxiliary constructions,

as *AH.*, II, 310, 28, þæt he truwode on God þæt he *nære ascyred; Or.*, 72, 16, getruwedon þæt hie *sceolden* sige gefeohtan; similarly by *willan*, *CP.*, 57, 22; *Or.*, 148, 17; or by *magan* and *motan: CP.*, 447, 9; *Or.*, 76, 9; 86, 4; *Beow.*, 2954. When it is desired to express an actual state in an objective manner, the indicative is used, as *CP.*, 413, 32, þæt hi getruwien þæt hie þa forgiefnesse *habbaþ* for ðære hreowsunga; *AH.*, II, 24, 6; 428, 1. Expressions containing the related substantive *truwa* are generally followed by the subjunctive, as *AH.*, I, 378, 30, næfð nænne truwan to Ælmihtigan þæt he him *foresceawige; Ælfric de Novo Test.*, 17, 9, mid fullam truwan þæt he geleafful *wære.*

Tweogan, Twynan, Tweo, Twynung. As these are strong expressions of doubt and uncertainty, a consistent use of the subjunctive would be expected after them; in most cases, however, a negative idea is also present which not only eliminates the element of doubt, but changes the expression into a strong affirmation. Hence, the usual mood in the dependent clause is the indicative, as *CP.*, 47, 10, nys þæs nan tweo þæt þæt *bið* soð eaðmodnes; *Boe.*, 160, 11, ne mæg nænne man þæs tweogan þætte God *ricsað* ofer hi; *Bede*, 64, 10; *Boe.*, 178, 4; *Cr.*, 961. The periphrases with *sculan* and *willan* have little more than a simple future signification, as *BH.*, 83, 7, þæt nænigne tweogan ne þearf þæt se wyrd on þas ondweardan tid geweorþan *sceal;* 65, 8, nis nan tweo þæt he forgyfnesse syllan *nelle.* In some instances, however, even when the negative element is present, the original idea of uncertainty comes forward expressed by the use of the subjunctive, as *Boe.*, 164, 5, nænne man nu ne tweoþ þæt God *sy* swa mihtig; *AH.*, I, 160, 21; 610, 13; *Boe.*, 176, 15; 190, 8. One example is found of the accus. and infin. modelled after the Latin: *Bede*, 190, 21, ne twygeo ic *mec gelæded beon* [nec dubito me sapiendum esse].

C. Verbs of Direct Perception and Simple Introductory Expressions.

Of the introductory words of the third class there are two distinct divisions: (1) Verbs of Direct Perception; after these expressions the events recorded are displayed before the reader as simple, undeniable realities, the element of subjectivity is almost entirely excluded, and hence the indicative is the predominant mood in the dependent clause. (2) Introductory words to simple indirect narration of events; with these I have included expressions of custom, since the latter merely record events of frequent occurrence. Here also the objectivity of the statement is strongly felt and the indicative is the rule in the indirect sentence.

1. *Verbs of Direct Perception.*

In this class are included *witan, ongietan, geseon, gehieran, oncneowon, geacsian, sceawian,* and the like.

Witan.

This verb, expressing in general simple intellectual cognition, is followed very consistently by the indicative, as *CP.*, 149, 3, sceal se reccere witan þæt þa unðeawas *beoð* oft geliccette; 121, 2; 143, 1; 191, 5; 201, 17; 220, 16; 273, 21, 24; 355, 21; *Or.*, 58, 21; 74, 31; 242, 32; *LS.*, 4, 41; 166, 308; *AH.*, I, 96, 2; 198, 19; 284, 12, etc. The dependent clause has the function of subject after the expression *is to witanne*, as *CP.*, 157, 14, is to witanne þæt ærest *bið* se woh ðurhðyrelod; 273, 3; *AH.*, I, 110, 6; *LS.*, 424, 155; *W.*, 201, 23.

Almost all occurrences of the subjunctive after *witan* are due to the presence of ideas of contingency and the like, that enter in to modify the expression; as, *e. g.*, the conditional

element, *CP.*, 30, 11, we witon þæt he *nære* eaðmod gif he underfenge ðone ealdordom; *El.*, 459, gif hi wiston ær þæt he Crist *wære* cyning on roderum; *Boe.*, 242, 6; *Luke*, XII, 39. It is likewise due to a concessive idea, as *CP.*, 199, 7, þeah hie witen þæt hie elles altæwe ne *sien; BH.*, 225, 7. The subjunctive is caused at times by the element of duty or obligation expressed in the dependent clause, as *CP.*, 273, 24, eac sculan weotan þa þe . . . . þæt hie hiera sorge ne *geiecen;* similarly *W.*, 120, 16; *Boe.*, 170, 8; *CP.*, 459, 6. The subjunctive in *LS.*, 520, 542, is due to the negative character of the statement, and in *CP.*, 385, 12, to the influence of the governing subjunctive construction with *oþ:* oþ þu wite þæt ðin spræc *hæbbe* ægðer ge ord ge ende. In *BH.*, 183, 18, a false claim is thus set off from a true statement: wite þu þæt ic *beo* Godes sunu; compare 17, wite þu þæt ic *eom* dry. In *Boe.*, 116, 3, we have a rare instance of the simple subjunctive of indirect statement following *witan:* we witon þæt he *sie* buton þonne ealle þa oðre cræftas. In the introductory expression *witan þeah* ('very probably') there is no conjunction and the following verb is in the subjunctive regularly after *þeah;* as *Boe.*, 100, 10, ic wat þeah þu *wene;* 224, 27.

Sculan is frequently met with in the subordinate clause—to express sure action in future time, as *Or.*, 80, 35, we witun þæt we ure agen lif forlætan *sceolon; CP.*, 395, 22; *LS.*, 84, 570; 164, 291; *W.*, 248, 4; *Gen.*, 708,—or obligation and necessity, as *W.*, 298, 2, nyte ge ful georne þæt ælc man *scel* hyran his hlaforde?; *AH.*, II, 608, 15; *Or.*, 96, 14.

Willan is generally used with a personal subject in the future sense, as *Or.*, 80, 20, wiste þæt hie *woldon* geornfulran beon þære wræce þonne oðere men; 78, 23; 288, 15; *Beow.*, 1832. It expresses customary action in *AH.*, II, 552, 31, ic wat þæt þu eart styrne mann and *wilt* niman þæt þu ær ne sealdest and *wilt* ripan þæt þu ær ne seowe.

It is worthy of observation that the omission of the conjunction is very frequent in complex indirect sentences after *witan,* and it is often difficult to determine when the clause is

to be regarded as direct and when as indirect discourse. All things tend to show that the subordinating power of *witan* is considerably weaker than that of verbs of saying and thinking, and that there is a constant tendency to use this verb as a simple introductory expression like the Modern English 'you know.'

The following irregular constructions are to be noted: The subject-accusative construction is occasionally found, as *Wid.*, 101, wisse goldhrodene *cwen* gife *brittian; An.*, 183, 941; *Bede*, 36, 17. There are a few instances of the use of the accusative of the substantive and of the predicative adjective, as *Seaf.*, 92, wat his inwine æðelinga *bearn* eorðan *forgiefene;* similarly *Bede*, 82, 12; *Gu.*, 976, 1059; *Rid.*, XXXVI, 3. In *BH.*, 191, 36, the following curious construction occurs: wite þu þæt *Neronem þysne wyrrestan cyning* æfter þara apostola cwale þæt he becom on hatunga; the accusative *Neronem* is due probably to its being regarded by the careless or ungrammatical writer as the object of *witan.*

The statistics for the constructions after *witan* are as follows:

	CP.	*Or.*	*Boe.*	*Bede.*	*BH.*	*W.*	*LS.*	*AH.*	*Gosp.*
Ind.	24	9	23	28	35	27	14	46	28
Subj.	5	0	5	0	7	7	3	0	1
Sculan	1	2	1	0	5	5	5	0	0
Willan	0	3	2	1	2	2	2	2	1

Ongietan.

This verb is in frequent use in all the works of the Alfredian period, especially in the *Boethius;* it is, however, more sparingly used in later Anglo-Saxon and least of all by Ælfric who employs mostly *oncnawan* and *undergietan. Ongietan*, like *witan*, expresses its statement in a purely objective manner and the indicative is predominant in the subordinate clause, as *CP.*, 101, 13, he ongeat þæt he *oferstag* hine sylfne; 109,

14; 113, 14; 115, 4; 165, 20; 181, 21; 213, 4; 321, 6; *Or.*, 222, 1; 268, 14; *Bede*, 440, 30; *BH.*, 67, 5; 109, 10; *Boe.*, XII, 4, etc.; *Gen.*, 1474; *Jud.*, 168; *Cr.*, 1160; *An.*, 899; *El.*, 289; *AH.*, II, 136, 33.

The subjunctive in the dependent clause is always due to the influence of moments of condition, concession, and the like, which enter into the expression, as *CP.*, 69, 20, gif þæt ondgiett ongiett þæt hit self dysig *sie;* similarly 49, 21. It is due to the imperative nature of the statement in *CP.*, 119, 12, and to the negative character of the sentence in *CP.*, 195, 15, ne mæg furðum ongietan þæt hit ænig yfel *sie.* In *Boe.*, 56, 7 and 150, 17, the dependent sentence is also an ideal or unreal condition. The subjunctive is also frequent in hypothetical and assumed expressions, as *CP.*, 379, 18, se þe ongiete þæt *sie* gecieged mid godcundre stemne; 151, 14, þæt hie ongieten þæt hie men *tæle;* 281, 11; 419, 34; 441, 13. It is to be noted that in these instances the governing verb is generally in the subjunctive mood and the influence of this mood upon the dependent clause is doubtless to be looked upon as contributing to the use of the subjunctive in the latter; as also in *CP.*, 159, 7, ðylæs þe hie *ongieten* þæt he *sie* onstyred; similarly 449, 25. The strong objective nature of *ongietan*, however, often preserves the indicative, even when one or more of these moments of contingency, condition, etc. enter, as *CP.*, 201, 16, gif hie ne ongietaþ þæt þa *beoð* hira gelican. In *Boe.*, XII, 4, sæde he swytole ongieten hæfde þæt hit eal soð *wære*, and 156, 25, þu sædest þæt þu ongeate þætte God *weolde*, the subjunctive is really due to the indirect construction after *secgan.* Lastly, the interrogative nature of an expression frequently causes the use of the subjunctive, as *Boe.*, 208, 8, hwæðer þu ongite þæt ælc yfel-willende mon *sie* wites wyrðe?

Sculan has its well-known use as an exponent of duty, as *CP.*, 205, 10, þa he ongeat þæt hie mon mid sumum bisnum manian *sceolde* [cum trahendos cernet]; *Bede*, 188, 14. It is used in a prophetic sense in *Bede*, 198, 9, ic ongeote þæt he of þissum life leoran *sceal.*

Willan expresses little more than the simple future idea in *Boe.*, 66, 7; 76, 22; *BH.*, 135, 22. The original idea of volition is, however, seen, as in *CP.*, 457, 25, þa hie ongeaton þæt he gafol wiþ bæm friðe habban *wolde.*

The accus. and infin. is rarely met with and is an obvious imitation of the Latin, as *Bede*, 330, 15; 340, 14.

Undergietan is similar in meaning to *ongietan*, but is not so frequently used, for the most part only by later Anglo-Saxon writers, especially Ælfric. In its constructions it differs in no respect from the preceding verb; as *LS.*, 250, 207, þa undergeat he þæt se an *wæs gegeald* to þam cynehelmum; similarly *AH.*, I, 424, 33; 430, 12; II, 160, 12; 270, 9; *Chr.*, 270, C, 19.

Geseon.

The statement set forth by *geseon* possesses the full reality of direct perception and is expressed most consistently by the indicative, as *CP.*, 447, 32, þæt hi geseon þætte þis mannes lif swiðe hrædlice *gewit;* similarly *Or.*, 140, 22; 246, 29; *LS.*, 252, 218; *AH.*, I, 80, 12; 182, 4; 208, 3; *BH.*, 189, 5; *Bede*, 412, 28; *Byr.*, 203; *Boe.*, 94, 30.

The subjunctive is rarely found in the dependent clause. In *BH.*, 45, 8, ne sy eow nænigu cearu þæt ge geseon þæt þeos eadige Maria *sy* geceged to deaðe, the adhortative idea occasioning the subjunctive of *geseon* exercises its influence in the subordinate clause; similarly *Bede*, 438, 18. The subjunctive occurs also when *geseon* in the passive has the meaning 'seems,' corresponding to *videtur*, as *Bede*, 344, 23, þa wæs him eallum gesegen þæt him *wære* heofonlic gifu forgifen [visum est omnibus celestem ei concessam esse gratiam]; 396, 19.

Sculan expresses certain fulfillment in future time, as *AH.*, I, 534, 13, swa hi gesawon þæt he hrædlice gewitan *sceolde.* *Willan* retains its strong sense of volition in *AH.*, II, 302, 15, geseah þæt hi *noldon* heora synna behreowsian.

The subject-accusative construction is remarkably frequent after *geseon;* an action or event is in this way most vividly described as taking place immediately before our eyes; as *Bede*, 112, 7, heo þa gesegon *þone biscop mæssan mærsian* in Godes ciricean; *Gen.*, 2777, þæt wif geseah for Abrahame *Ismæl plegan; Bede*, 386, 8, he *us* sceawode and geseah in gewinne *gesette beon* [the Latin uses here the accus. with the infin.]. Similarly *John*, xx, 5, 6; *El.*, 243; *An.*, 847, 992, 1004, 1009, 1448, 1492, 1690; *Rid.*, xii, 1; *Wand.*, 46; *Cr.*, 498, 506, 511, 740, 925, 1154; *Dan.*, 726; *Gen.*, 669; *AH.*, ii, 272, 16; 468, 8; *W.*, 199, 13; *Bede*, 440, 21. This construction is thus seen to be a favorite one in the graphic language of Anglo-Saxon poetry; the Modern English equivalent is the present-participial construction.

Gehyran.

Gehyran, like *geseon*, is usually followed by the indicative in the dependent sentence, as *CP.*, 265, 24, hie sculon gehieran þæt on him *biþ* gefylled Salomones cwide; 357, 22; *LS.*, 254, 284; *AH.*, i, 220, 30; *BH.*, 161, 6; *Bede*, 370, 26.

The subjunctive is more frequently used than after *geseon;* besides its employment in expressions containing ideas of condition, concession, and the like, as *CP.*, 211, 19, it is very common after *gehyran* when this verb serves merely to introduce an indefinite statement, thus agreeing precisely with the usual subjunctive of reported statement after verbs of saying; as *Or.*, 138, 18, ic hierde þæt hi na *nære* on þam dagum mid Romanum buton gewinne; *Byr.*, 117; *Bede*, 190, 32, we geherdon þæt *wære* wundorlice halignesse cyning [audivimus quia fuerit rex mirandae sanctitatis]; in the last example the Latin subjunctive may have had some influence upon the Anglo-Saxon mood.

The construction with *sculan* in the sense of duty is found in *AH.*, ii, 544, 27, and in a prophetic sense in *BH.*, 5, 22.

Instances of the use of the infinitive after *gehyran* are few and confined mostly to the collocation *secgan hyrde, Beow.*, 1347; see also *Beow.*, 38, 582, 1843, 2024. There are a number of obvious imitations of the Latin accus. with infin. construction, as *Bede*, 310, 3, gehyrde Theodor *þone geleafan* þurh gedwolan swiðe *gedrefde beon* [audiens T. fidem per heresiam multum esse turbatam]; 232, 30, gehyrdon *heora biscop forð farendne and bebyrgedne* [cum ergo episcopum defunctum ac sepultum audirent]. The use of this construction for the purpose of vivid description is not so frequent as with *geseon: Cr.*, 797, gehyred rodora *dryhten sprecan reðe word;* similarly *El.*, 538.

On-, Ge-, and To-cnawan.

The indicative is almost exclusively used after these verbs, as *CP.*, 181, 16, we magon oncnawan þæt se eaðemodnesse lareow na ne *cwæð;* 181, 18; *AH.*, I, 128, 13; 372, 24; 426, 27; 466, 7; II, 60, 35; *Mark*, V, 30; *Luke*, I, 22; *LS.*, 392, 130; *Bede*, 114, 31; 330, 11; *An.*, 1517; *El.*, 807; *BH.*, 115, 19; it is specially frequent in *John's Gospel.*

The few forms of the subjunctive are due to external influences,—as, the final nature of the governing clause, *LS.*, 250, 193, þæt men oncnawon þæt we to þe *clypodon* and we *beon* gehealdene; *BH.*, 191, 27, þæt oncneowon þæt hie buton me *beon* þa þe habban; or the negative character of the expression, as *An.*, 714, soð ne oncneowon þæt hit drycræftum gedon *wære* scingelacum.

Tocnawan is not so generally employed as an introductory word as the other forms. Some examples of its use are *AH.*, I, 370, 16, þæt eal þeodscype tocnawe þæt swa hwa swa .... þæt him ne *bið* getid; 568, 23; *LS.*, 258, 342; 298, 216; *AH.*, II, 496, 9.

Behealdan is followed regularly by the indicative, as *AH.*, I, 84, 1, he beheold þæt God *gesihð* ure yfelnessa and ure

gyltas *forðgyldaδ*. The dependent clause frequently refers to a substantive object of the governing verb, as *AH.*, II, 446, 28, ne beheolde þu minne þeowan Job þæt nan man *nis* his gelica on eorðan; similarly 452, 14.

Cuδ, *Sweotol*, and *Gesiene*, with the verbs *weorðan*, *beon*, or *don*, form strongly objective expressions and the indicative is used almost without exception in the dependent clause, as *Or.*, 158, 13, wearð Pirruse cuð þæt Agaðocles *wæs gefaren* on Sicilia þam londe; similarly *LS.*, 138, 327; *AH.*, I, 206, 13; *Boe.*, 84, 4; *Beow.*, 150; *BH.*, 167, 18; *CP.*, 153, 8, bið hit sweotol þæt se lacnigende *forlies*ð þone cræft; similarly *CP.*, 83, 20; *LS.*, 139, 327; *Boe.*, 80, 17; 98, 6; *Or.*, 252, 29, hit wæs eac gesyne þæt hit *wæs* Godes stihtung; *Beow.*, 3059. *Willan* is used in the subordinate clause in the sense of design, as *Or.*, 146, 13, wearð Macedonium cuð þæt Perdican broðor *wolden* winnan on hie. There are very few instances of the subjunctive sequence; as *Boe.*, 138, 19, caused by the interrogative nature of the expression: Hu ne wære hit genoh sweotol þæt hiora *nære* nauþer þæt oþer.

Geacsian, expressing the result of inquiry, sets this forth as an unquestioned fact; hence the indicative is the mood of the dependent clause. This verb is used as an introductory word almost wholly in Anglo-Saxon prose; only a few instances are found in the poetry. *Chr.*, 282, C, 15, þa se cyning geahsode þæt se here uppe *wæs; Or.*, 148, 16; 150, 11; 160, 1; 196, 9; 200, 11; 230, 4; 282, 7; *Bede*, 46, 12; 146, 5; 288, 30; *AH.*, II, 186, 2; *Beow.*, 433; *Ph.*, 393. *Willan* with a personal subject conveys the meaning of intention or design, as *Or.*, 80, 28, Leoniþa þæt þa geascade þæt hiene mon swa beþridian *wolde*. *Sculan* is used in the prophetic sense in *W.*, 197, 8. There is one example of the subject-accusative construction used for the purpose of vivid portrayal in the graphic style of Wulfstan: *W.*, 2, 1, we geacsedon his *geceasterwunan beon* godes englas and we geacsodon þæra engla *geferan beon* þa gastas soðfæstra manna.

Gefrignan is similar to the preceding verb both in sense and in sequence. This distinction is, however, to be noted: while *geacsian* is used mostly in Anglo-Saxon prose, *gefrignan* is a common poetic expression and acts as a favorite introduction to a poem [see *Beow.*, 2; *Ph.*, 1; *Dan.*, 1]. Examples of its use are *Cr.*, 201, we þæt gefrugnon þæt gefyrn be þe *sægde* sum wodbora; *Beow.*, 695, hie hæfdon gefrunen þæt ær to fela micles in þæm winsele waldend *fornam* Deniga leode.

With *gefrignan* there are numerous instances of the subject-accusative, as *Dan.*, 1, gefrægn ic *Hebreos* eadge *lifgan* in Hierusalem, goldhord *dælan*, cyningdom *habban; An.*, 1094, ic lungre gefrægn *leode* tosomne burgwaru *bannan; Beow.*, 1970, *geongne guðcyning godne* gefrunen hringas *dælan;* similarly 2485, 2695, 2753, 2774; *Cr.*, 78; *Jud.*, 7.

Geleornian contains in some degree the peculiarities of simple verbs of indirect discourse like *cweðan* and *secgan*, in that the true subjunctive of reported statement is frequently found in the subordinate clause, as *BH.*, 117, 25, we leorniaþ þæt seo tid *sie* to þæs dagol; 131, 15, swa we on Godes bocum leornodon þæt drihten selfa to his gingrum *cwæde; BH.*, 133, 36; *Bede*, 164, 21; 174, 4; *W.*, 20, 12; 123, 12; 127, 8. The objective force is, however, quite strong and the indicative is frequently found, as *BH.*, 125, 8, þonne leorniaþ we þæt seo stow *is* on Olivetes dune ufewearde; 125, 13; *Chr.*, 66, F, 10; *Bede*, 100, 26; *LS.*, 344, 124. The construction with *sculan* implying obligation is found in *Bede*, 76, 7, þu þæt geleornadest þætte *sceolde* heo ahabban from Godes huse 33 daga [debeat abstinere]; similarly 62, 21. There are a few examples of the subject-accusative, as *Bede*, 90, 15, þe he ær geara geo geleornade ealde *Romanisce weorce geworhte beon* [factam fuisse didicerat]; similarly *Bede*, 404, 21.

Gemettan is regularly followed by the indicative, as *John*, XI, 17, gemette þæt he *wæs* forðfaren. The subject-accusative after the model of the Latin is found in *Bede*, 246, 14, þa

gemetton heo *þone cærcebisceop geleoredne* of worulde [invenerunt *archiepiscopum migrasse* de saeculo].

Gewita beon, with the indicative, as *CP.*, 54, 2, he bið gewiota þæt he *wilnað* him selfum gilpes; similarly 379, 13. The same construction follows the phrase, *is to gewitnesse*, *CP.*, 165, 13; 451, 16; *AH.*, II, 492, 16; *Matt.*, XXIII, 31.

Onfindan, with the indicative, as *Wid.*, 131, ic þæt onfand þæt se *bið* leafast londbuendum; similarly *Or.*, 52, 6; 148, 7.

Sceawian, like *geseon*, is followed by the indicative, as *AH.*, I, 490, 1, sceawiað þæt nan stede *nis* ures lichaman; *El.*, 58. The dependent clause refers to a substantive object in *Luke*, XII, 24, Besceawiað þa *hrefnas* þæt hig ne *sawað*.

Understandan, as a simple expression of cognition, is followed by the indicative. It is of frequent occurrence in Wulfstan and also in the works of Ælfric, taking the place in great measure of *ongitan* and *oncnawan*, the usual expressions of Alfredian prose; as *W.*, 20, 6, understandað þæt ælc cristen man *ah* micle þearfe; 32, 6; 37, 6; 108, 2; 112, 14; 128, 1; 151, 27; 155, 1; *AH.*, II, 28, 27; 210, 3; 458, 10. The element of advice or injunction is frequently present in *understandan;* at such times it is followed by the subjunctive, as *W.*, 28, 12, understandað þæt ge æfre *habban* rihtlice geleafan on ænne ælmihtigne God; similarly 118, 5; 155, 3; 167, 11.

2. *Simple Introductory Expressions.*

In this class are included *gelimpan*, *gebyrian*, *beon*, *geweorþan*, *ðeaw* and *gewuna wesan*, and the like.

Gebyrian and *Gelimpan.*

Since the element of subjectivity does not enter into the expression, the indicative mood is the rule in the subordinate clause, as *AH.*, I, 30, 10, þa gelomp hit þæt hire tima *wæs* gefylled; *Boe.*, 54, 3; *LS.*, 264, 51; *Bede*, 226, 13; *El.*, 272; *AH.*, II, 142, 18; *W.*, 214, 16. The following distinction

between these two verbs may be noted: as the simple introduction to an indirect statement, *gebyrian* and *gelimpan* are both in frequent use at the time of Alfred; in later times, however, *gebyrian* was less and less used in this way, having now generally assumed the meaning of fitness, propriety, suitability, and its place as an introductory particle is taken by *gelimpan*. Taking *CP.* and *AH.* as representative works of these two periods, we find that *CP.* contains twenty-five examples of *gebyrian* to four of *gelimpan;* on the other hand, in *AH.* there are over forty instances of *gelimpan* while *gebyrian* in this sense is almost if not entirely wanting.

The subjunctive in the dependent clause is due to external influences, as *CP.*, 199, 13, ac gif hwæm gebyrige þæt he his hlaford *befoo;* 341, 1, ðylæs him gebyrige þæt hi *werðen; W.*, 273, 11, þeah þæt gelimpe þæt men sume hwile *syn* her on worulde; similarly *CP.*, 199, 22; *W.*, 227, 9; *El.*, 441. In *Boe.*, 112, 20, the dependent clause is an unreal conditional sentence: þæt hwilum gebyrede þæt him betere *wære* þæt he bearn næfde þonne he hæfde.

It appears that the subordinating force of *gelimpan* is comparatively weak; hence there is ready transition to direct discourse, as *LS.*, 488, 16, þa gelamp hit þæt he ferde into anre byrig and of þære byrig he for into Cartagine; þa he gefrunen, etc.; similarly 388, 69; *AH.*, II, 446, 24; *Bede*, 400, 26.

A curious mixture of the Anglo-Saxon and the Latin constructions is seen in *Bede*, 382, 11, þa gelamp *him* þurh reliquias Cudbryhtes *gehælednе beon* [contigit *eum* per Cudbereti reliquias *sanari*].

Geweorþan.

Geweorþan is a favorite introduction to an indirect statement; its stylistic value is apparent; it is used not only to vary a long succession of direct statements, but also serves to prepare the reader for a statement about to be made. The mood of the dependent clause is the indicative, as *W.*, 18, 8, hit gewearð ymb XL daga þæs þe he of deaðe aras þæt him *com* of heofonum

ongean mycel werod; *CP.*, 111, 25; 197, 14; *Or.*, 98, 30; 108, 4, 24; 160, 23; 248, 4; *Chr.*, 356, E, 9; *W.*, 66, 9; *Boe.*, 52, 26; *Mark*, II, 15. The perfect tenses, *is* or *wæs geworden*, denoting a resulting state in present or past time, form a frequent introduction, especially in the *Gospels;* as *W.*, 164, 15, is nu geworden þæt men *scamaþ* for godam dædan; *BH.*, 153, 27; 243, 3; *CP.*, 91, 26; *Bede*, 246, 31; 296, 25; 414, 12; *Cr.*, 37; *Matt.*, IX, 10; *Luke*, XVI, 22.

The usual subjunctive is often found after conditional, concessive, and final clauses and the like, as *W.*, 169, 15, gif hit geweorþe þæt se þeodscype *becume* healic ungelimp for manna gewyrhtan; *W.*, 172, 16; *LS.*, 514, 456; *Boe.*, 50, 14; *W.*, 79, 18, 19; 162, 16; 309, 15. The subjunctive of command is seen in *LS.*, 504, 292. The periphrases with *sculan* and *willan* are frequent with their usual meanings, as *Or.*, 178, 7, hit gewearð þæt hie *wolden* to Romanum friðes wilnian; 226, 16.

The conjunction is at times omitted, just as was observed after *gelimpan;* this is specially the case when a subordinate clause precedes the main clause of the dependent expression, as *BH.*, 237, 30, wæs geworden, mid þy þe hie me sendon on þis carcern, ic bæd urne drihten, etc. This omission is very frequent in the *Gospels*, as *Matt.*, XI, 1; XIII, 53; *Luke*, I, 41; VIII, 2.

In a few cases *geweorþan* is used with a personal dative in the sense 'it pleases,' with a final idea; here the subjunctive is used in the dependent clause, as *LS.*, 412, 457, þa gewearð his þegnum þæt hi *acwealden* ['they agreed to kill him']; similarly *LS.*, 278, 232.

Beon and *Wesan.*

As simple introductory expressions these verbs are followed by the indicative, as *Bede*, 98, 13, þa wæs þætte Augustinus *gelaðelode* Bretta biscopas in þære stowe; *CP.*, 353, 17, wæs eac þætte Fines *forseah* his freondscipe; *Or.*, 56, 6; *Bede*, 98, 13; 196, 10; 202, 23; 204, 6; 338, 31; *W.*, 227, 4; *Beow.*, 1763.

With regard to its stylistic value the following peculiarity in the use of this verb is to be noted: When a long subordinate phrase or clause precedes the main clause in ordinary direct discourse, the principal statement loses considerable force by being placed at the end of the expression; it is seemingly to correct this, that reference to the main statement is made by *wesan* at the beginning of the sentence, and, after the intervention of the subordinate expression, the principal statement, already introduced, is made in indirect discourse; this use of *wesan* is specially frequent in *Bede;* as 170, 9, Ða wæs æfter noht manegum . . . . þæt Wine wæs adrifen of his biscopsetle; similarly 104, 12; 108, 21; 176, 8; 186, 23; 192, 25; *BH.*, 115, 29.

The subjunctive in the dependent clause is due to the same causes as after other verbs of this class, as *CP.*, 57, 8, hu mæg hit butan þam beom þætte þæt mod ne *sie* eft to gecerred; similarly *W.*, 283, 28.

þæt is or *wæs.*

The combination of *þæt* with the verb *wesan* is an interesting introductory expression, owing to the variety of its use and the peculiarities of the constructions following it.

This introductory phrase is used in four ways:

1. To explain or amplify a previous statement. The indicative is mostly used in the dependent clause, as *CP.*, 463, 33, þæt is þætte þæt mod, sona swa hit God forsihð, swa *sec*ð his agenne gielp; 293, 16; 301, 24; 355, 5; 377, 14; 389, 26; 433, 20; 463, 33; *Or.*, 74, 15; 78, 4; 128, 26; 254, 8; *BH.*, 9, 32; 11, 23; 223, 17; *Boe.*, 22, 2; 70, 28; *W.*, 93, 2; 176, 1. There are a few examples of the subjunctive in assumptions or indefinite statements, as *CP.*, 349, 13, þæt is þæt hwa *fare* mid his mode æfter his nihstan; or it is due to the influence of a preceding subjunctive, as *AH.*, II, 46, 1.

2. To introduce a command or admonition following upon a preceding statement; the periphrasis with *sculan* is here

generally employed, as *BH.*, 67, 32, wes þu behydig and gemyndig Marian þinga, þæt is þæt þu *scealt* on æghwilce tid Godes willan wercan; similarly 23, 9; *AH.*, II, 464, 30. The simple subjunctive is occasionally used, as *CP.*, 461, 11, þæt is þæt ælc lareow swiðor *lære* mid his weorcum; similarly 461, 18; *W.*, 102, 24.

3. This introductory phrase is inserted between the verb of saying and the dependent sentence for the purpose of directing special attention to the following statement; the construction in the indirect sentence follows the usual rules after verbs of saying, as *Boe.*, 6, 21, þæt þu me geo sædest, *þæt wæs*, þæt nan anweald *nære;* similarly 176, 19; 182, 15; 200, 11; *CP.*, 323, 14.

4. To express the Latin construction of two correlative infinitives the Anglo-Saxon employs two correlative dependent clauses introduced by *þæt is* and *þæt* respectively; the subjunctive is used in both clauses; as, *e. g.*, for the Latin, 'gladium super femur ponere est praedicationis studium voluptatibus carnis anteferre' the Anglo-Saxon writes, '*þæt is* þæt mon his sweord *doo* ofer his hype, *þæt* mon þa geornfulnesse his lare *læte* furður ðonne his flæsces lustas' [*CP.*, 383, 4]; similarly 285, 7; 315, 18; 329, 19; 367, 12; 383, 7, 10; 421, 11. Fleischhauer, in his work on the subjunctive in *CP.* [p. 38], gives the correct explanation of the use of the subjunctive in these constructions: "Die Anwendung dieser Redensarten findet in der Weise statt, dass durch den Subjektssatz der Inhalt des unmittelbar oder mittelbar vorhergehenden Satzes wiederholt und durch den Prädikatssatz näher erläutert wird, und zwar so, dass sowohl der Subjekts als auch der Prädikatssatz kein thatsächliches Ereigniss sondern nur einen angenommenen Fall enthält, woraus sich der Conjunctiv beider erklärt." A modification of this rather artificial construction is occasionally observable, in which the regular indicative is used, as *CP.*, 413, 27, Todælu wæteru we *lætaþ* ut of urum eagum ðonne we for synderlicum synnum synderlæca hreowsunga *doð;* 425, 22.

A somewhat similar construction is observed in Ælfric's writings, when the indirect clause introduced by *þæt is* serves to define and explain a preceding substantive; as *LS.*, 358, 314, an is temperantia þæt is þæt mon *beo* gemetegod and to mycel ne *ðicge;* 358, 321, 326; 360, 334. When the conjunction is omitted the indicative is found, as *LS.*, 356, 300, se seofoða leahter is jactantia gecweden, þæt is, þonne se mon *bið* lofgeorn and mid licetunge *færð*.

Gewuna and *þeaw*.

These words together with the verb 'to be' are employed as introductory expressions to statements of customary action. The indicative is generally found in the dependent clause, as *CP.*, 337, 18, manigra manna gewuna wæs þæt hie hie mid þissum wordum *ladiað* and *cweðað;* similarly 461, 1; *Or.*, 100, 8; 156, 21; 164, 34; *Bede*, 64, 12; 76, 28; 148, 24; 370, 25; *Boe.*, 52, 30; *AH.*, I, 600, 8; II, 366, 15; *Beow.*, 1247; *An.*, 177; *Mark*, XV, 6; *John*, XVIII, 39.

In some instances, however, it seems that the very vagueness implied in an habitual action finds its most appropriate expression in the subjunctive, as *Wand.*, 11, ic wat þæt bið in dryhten ðeaw þæt he his ferhðlucan fæste *binde; Mark*, XV, 6. The usual subjunctive of ideal condition is found in *AH.*, II, 454, 13.

The periphrasis with *sculan* is occasionally employed in the dependent sentence; the primitive signification of this construction was that the continuous observance of a certain course of action caused its further performance to be looked upon as an obligation to be fulfilled; this earlier meaning has in great measure disappeared and the auxiliary *sculan* is simply a relic of this former idea: *Or.*, 21, 10, þæt is mid Estum þeaw þæt þær *sceall* ælces geðeodes man beon forbærned: gif þar mau an ban findeð unforbærned, hi hit *sceolon* miclum gebetan; similarly 70, 23; *AH.*, I, 218, 1. In Mark, XV, 6, the simple subjunctive is used in the indirect clause after the

abstract expression *wæs gewuna;* in the corresponding passage in *Luke*, the introductory expression has a personal subject, *hig hæfdon to gewunan*, and the duty imposed by this subject (the people) upon the magistrate is expressed by the use of *sculan* in the indirect clause: hig hæfdon to gewunan þæt se dema *sceolde* forgifan þam folce ænne forwyrhtne man [consuerat praeses dimittere].

Willan is also found in the dependent clause; though it had primarily the idea of volition, the meaning passed over to express a tendency toward a certain course of conduct and hence serves as a good expression of customary action [Lüttgens, p. 72]: *Or.*, 112, 19, heora gewuna wæs þæt hie *wolden* of ælcere byrig himself anweald habban; similarly *AH.*, II, 138, 3.

In *Bede*, 82, 1, the dependent clause and the infinitive are both employed, an obvious confusion with the Latin construction: wæs Romana gewuna þæt heo clænsunge bæðes and þweales sohton and fram cirican ingonge *ahebban* [R. usus fuit et lavari purificationem quaerere et ingressu ecclesiae *abstinere*].

The adjective *gewunelic* is followed by precisely similar constructions, as *AH.*, I, 40, 44; 60, 26; 478, 8; II, 228, 1. Likewise *healdan on gewunan*, *AH.*, II, 252, 8.

Cuman, *Gegan*, *Agan*, *Gesælan*, *Getidan*, and *Getimian*, all used in the general sense of 'to happen,' are followed by the indicative, as *CP.*, 437, 27, þonan cymð oft þæt mod him ærest na ne *ondræt* ða lybban scylda; *Gen.*, 1562, þa þæt geeodc þæt se eadiga wer on his wicum *wearð* wine druncen; *BH.*, 195, 1, oft hit gesæleþ þæt his æhte weorþaþ on onwealde; *Boe.*, 124, 13, getideð oft þæt he *næfð* nauþer ne þisse onweald; *AH.*, II, 168, 34; 426, 1; 430, 31.

Toweard wesan, a common introduction to a prophesy, is also followed by the indicative: *AH.*, I, 78, 35, toweard is þæt Herodes *smeað* hu he þæt cild fordo.

II. The Indirect Interrogative Sentence.

The indirect interrogative sentence is a question stated in dependence upon a governing word, phrase, or clause, which describes the time, manner, and the various circumstances connected with the interrogative expression; it is introduced by an interrogative pronoun, adverb, or conjunction, is to be found after most verbs which serve as introductions to the indirect declarative sentence, and is in a marked degree subject to the same regulations for moods, tenses, etc.

The divisions of introductory verbs of the indirect declarative sentence are also in force in indirect interrogative expressions; here, however, we meet with an additional class— *Verbs of Inquiry.* The interrogative particles are: (1) interrogative pronouns, *hwa* and *hwilc*, with their various paradigmal forms; (2) interrogative adverbs, as *hwonne*, *hwider*, *hwanon*, *hu;* (3) interrogative conjunctions, *hwæðer* and *gif.*

A. Verbs of Inquiry.

Almost all verbs introducing the indirect question may exercise the function of verbs of inquiry, yet most of these retain in the main the characteristics of the special classes to which they belong, and hence they cannot properly be discussed elsewhere. Under this head I shall only consider those verbs which are used simply as expressions of inquiry, as *axian*, *frignan*, *fandian*, etc. These verbs form the best and purest type of the indirect question and are quite consistently followed by the subjunctive in the dependent clause.

Acsian.

The dependent verb is usually in the subjunctive; as *LS.*, 10, 9, þa iudeiscan axodon *hwæt* he *wære;* 532, 723; *AH.*, 1, 152, 14; *BH.*, 219, 10; *W.*, 141, 13; *Bede*, 96, 29; 114, 30;

Boe., XII, 19; *Matt.*, II, 4; *Luke*, VIII, 9; *Or.*, 182, 19, ahsige eft *hu* lange sio sibb *gestode;* likewise *Or.*, 214, 11; 224, 26; *LS.*, 84, 578; *AH.*, II, 310, 14,—with *hwi*, *AH.*, I, 18, 12; 208, 30; *LS.*, 118, 44; 206, 178; 234, 236,—with *hwær*, *W.*, 152, 17,—*LS.*, 76, 455, axode þone cempan *gif* he *oncneowe* þæt gewrit; likewise 474, 40,—with *hwæðer*, *LS.*, 104, 264; 404, 330; *AH.*, II, 186, 1; *Boe.*, 134, 5.

Sculan generally contains a distinct idea of futurity and in such connections very often takes the place of the simple subjunctive, as *AH.*, I, 14, 22, axode Adam hu heo hatan *sceolde;* *Or.*, 80, 16; *LS.*, 140, 370; *W.*, 220, 13. The construction with *sculan* seems frequently to alternate at pleasure with the subjunctive form or is used by reason of the desired variety of expression, as *W.*, 88, 20, agunnon hi hine acsian hwænne þæt *geweorþan sceolde*, and eac be hwylcum tacene man agytan mihte and hwænne his sylfes tocyme *toweard wurde*, and hwænne þisse worulde geendung *weorðan sceolde*. *Willan* has the true sense of futurity in *LS.*, 104, 244, and its proper sense of volition in *Or.*, 224, 26. The periphrases with *magan* and *motan* are quite frequent, as *CP.*, 48, 8; *LS.*, 38, 224.

Frignan, befrignan.

Frignan and its compound *befrignan* vie with *acsian* in frequency of employment; the latter is the favorite form in *LS.*, *Boe.*, *W.*, and *Gosp.;* the former forms are, with few exceptions, always employed in *BH.* and is specially frequent in Ælfric's writings and in the poetry. *AH.*, I, 502, 23, hi heora biscopes ræde befrunon *hwæt* him he þam to donne *wære;* similarly *LS.*, 174, 16; 200, 102; 204, 162; *Bede*, 96, 21; *Dan.*, 528,—with *hwilc*, *El.*, 849; *LS.*, 226, 117; *AH.*, I, 78, 17; 82, 8; 128, 11; *Or.*, 182, 16, frine hie mon *hu* monegum wintrum sio sibb *gewurde;* similarly *Bede*, 348, 13; *AH.*, II, 130, 26,—with *hwi*, *Or.*, 222, 14; *Bede*, 392, 11; *AH.*, II, 310, 1,—with *hwær*, *AH.*, I, 78, 11; 452, 2; *Gen.*, 1002,—with *hwonan*, *Jul.*, 258. *LS.*, 74, 410, befran *gif* hit soð *wære;* *AH.*, II,

120, 23, befran *hwæðer* þæs landes folc cristen *wære;* 244, 6; *Beow.*, 1320.

Sculan in the sense of duty or obligation is seen in *CP.*, 103, 10, frigne hwæt hi don oððe læran *scylen;* or in a prophetic sense in *Bede*, 296, 8, frugnon hi be his stealle hu be him geweorþan *sceolde. Willan* retains its usual sense of intention or design, as *AH.*, II, 30, 7, befran hwider he *wolde gan*, *AH.*, I, 298, 10.

Fandian and its Compounds.

These verbs express an investigation, the results of which are future with reference to the time of the governing verb; they are therefore followed by the subjunctive, as *Gen.*, 1436, fandode hwæþer sincende sæflod þa gyt *wære* under wolcnum; *AH.*, I, 268, 15, swa afandaþ God þæs mannes mod hwæþer he anræde *sy; Or.*, 164, 28, þæt hie moston gefandian hwæðer hie heora med selþa oferswiðan *mihte;* similarly *Gen.*, 2410; *AH.*, I, 168, 15; *Or.*, 17, 7, 10.

The investigation is frequently made concerning a course of action dependent upon the will of another, and *willan* indicating preference is used in the dependent clause, as *LS.*, 376, 171, afandian hwæðer his mod *wylle* abugan from Gode; 338, 39, þæt he moste his afandian hwæðer he þurhwunian *wolde* on his godnesse oððe he *wolde* from Gode abugan; similarly *Gen.*, 2229.

Cunnian, expressing experimental investigation [*probare, tentare*] is also followed by the subjunctive or by the auxiliary constructions, as *Gen.*, 2846, cunnode georne hwilc þæs æðelinges ellen *wære; Chr.*, 239, E, 37, sceolon cunnian gif hi *mihton* þone here betreppan; *Dan.*, 531, cunnode hu hi cweðan *woldon;* similarly *AH.*, II, 68, 28; *LS.*, 154, 117.

Fricgean has in general similar constructions to other verbs of inquiry, as *Gen.*, 1834, fricgen hwæt *sie* freondlufu. In *El.*, 157, the conjunction is omitted and the interrogative expression is in inverted order: þæs fricgean ongan folces aldor, *wære* þær

ænig yldra oððe gingra. Occasionally the indicative is found in the dependent clause when a question is asked about a real event in present or past time, as *Cr.*, 92, fricgað hu ic fæmnan had mund inne *geheald.*

Hleotan, denoting the means by which the investigation is conducted, agrees with the preceding verbs of inquiry in the constructions following it, as *Or.*, 202, 33, þa hluton þa consulas hwelc hiera ærest þæt gewinn *underfenge;* similarly the phrase *hlot sendan, BH.*, 229, 2, hi sendon hlot him betweonum hwyder hyra gehwylc *faran sceolde* to læranne.

B. Verbs of Direct Statement.

1. *Verbs of Simple Report.*

Cweðan.

Cweðan, in its ordinary use as a verb of saying, is rarely followed by the indirect interrogative sentence; the *Cura Past.* furnishes a few instances of it, as 443, 19, næs him no þa giet to gecweden hwæt he mid rihte ðanon forð *don scolde.*

In most of its occurrences in this connection it is evident that the usual signification of *cweðan* as a verb of saying is greatly weakened, and that with the post-posited personal pronoun of the first or second person, this verb is employed merely as an interrogative introductory particle corresponding to Latin *numquid.* The verb of the interrogative clause is generally in the subjunctive; as *CP.*, 175, 5, hwæt cweðe we þonne hwelce *sin* þa inngeðoncas monna? The usual interrogative conjunctive particle is *hwæðer*, as *John*, VII, 26, cweðe we *hwæðer* þa ealdras *ongyten* þæt þis is Crist? [numquid cognoverunt principes, etc.]; *Boe.*, 130, 8, cwist þu *hwæðer* þu his þa halwendan monunge onfon *wille?* [num ejus salutaria suscipere consentis?]. In form alone are these expressions to be regarded as indirect interrogative sentences; they are logically direct questions, but

introduced as they are by *cweðan*, the laws of syntax require the indirect form. Besides the above construction after *cweðan* there are, as has been noted before,[1] two others in frequent use—the dependent clause introduced by *þæt* and the direct interrogative inversion; the latter construction is interchangeable at pleasure with the interrogative introduced by *hwæþer*, as, *e. g.*, Latin 'numquid ego sum' is rendered in *Matt.*, XXVI, 22, by 'cwyst þu *eom ic hyt?*' and in XXVI, 25, by 'cwyst þu *hwæðer ic hyt sy?*'

An indication of the great weakening that has taken place in the signification of *cweðan* under these circumstances is to be found in the numerous instances where this formal introductory word is not employed, but the clause introduced by *hwæþer* remains intact; as *John*, IV, 33, þa cwædon his leorning-cnihtas him betweonan: *Hwæðer* ænig mon him mete brohte? [numquid aliquis attulit ei manducare?] Such constructions are specially frequent in *Boe.*, as 96, 25, hwæþer þu woldest cweðan þæt, etc.; 104, 2, *hwæðer* þe me þince þæt se mon anweald hæbbe?; 120, 6, *hwæðer* þu nu fullice ongite?; 140, 21; 176, 19; 208, 8; 236, 21. This construction persisted and was very common in Middle English, as, *e. g.*, Wiclif in *Matt.*, XXVI, 22 and 25 (quoted above), reads 'Whether Y am?'; *John*, VII, 26 (above), 'Whether the princes knewen verili that this is Crist?'; I. *Cor.*, IX, 1, 'Whether Y am not fre?'; *Mark*, VI, 3, 'Whether this is not a carpenter; whether hise sistris ben not here with us?' etc.

The nearest Latin equivalent to this construction is the Latin direct question introduced by *an*, as *Boe.*, 120, 6, hwæþer þu nu fullice ongite forhwi hit swa seo? [*an* etiam causas cur id tu sit deprehendisti?]; it corresponds, however, to Latin expressions introduced by *num*, as *Boe.*, 236, 21, and by *ne*, as *Boe.*, 176, 19.

Somewhat similar to this construction is the indicative clause introduced by *hu*, as *John*, VI, 42, Hu *nis* þis se Hælend?

[1] See *cweðan*, Indirect Declarative Sentence.

[nonne hic est Iesus?]; XVIII, 26, Hu ne *geseah* ic þe? [nonne ego te vidi?].

Cyðan.

The strongly assertive power of *cyðan* as noted in the indirect declarative sentence is also observable in the indirect interrogative sentence; hence, the indicative is the prevailing mood of the dependent clause in the latter as in the former expression,—*CP.*, 401, 26, he gecyðde hwelc sio scyld *bið;* similarly 465, 18; *AH.*, I, 124, 27; *CP.*, 281, 6; 163, 11, he him gecyðeð hu sio byrðen *wiexð* and *liefegað;* similarly 163, 15; 419, 10; 441, 11; *AH.*, I, 66, 31; 70, 18; 242, 34; II, 142, 20; *LS.*, 392, 154; 466, 400; *El.*, 175; *Ælfric de Novo Test.*, 13, 13; *W.*, 153, 6; *Beow.*, 256; *Or.*, 100, 8.

There is, however, a readier employment of the subjunctive than in the indirect declarative sentences; whenever the interrogative idea is prominent, or when moments of command, condition, negation, and the like, enter, the subjunctive is the rule, as *LS.*, 494, 116, gehwa moste openlice cyðan hwæðer him leofre *wære* þe he þæm witum ætwunde þe he hi for Godes naman acome; *Bede*, 178, 1, hwelc þæs cyninges geleafa *wære*, þæt æfter his deaðe wæs gecyðed; *El.*, 860, ne mihte hire Judes gecyðan be þam sigebeame on hwylcere se hælend *wære;* *Bede*, 328, 20, gif he him þæt gecyðan wolde hwæt he *wære;* likewise *An.*, 800; *Bede*, 90, 29.

The auxiliary constructions are employed with their usual significations, as *sculan* in the sense of duty, *CP.*, 173, 14, nu we willað cyðan hu he læran *sceal;* 103, 3; 409, 21; *willan*, *AH.*, I, 82, 17; *magan*, 163, 3; *motan*, 409, 3.

In *Chr.*, 58, C, 20, the indirect declarative and interrogative sentences both follow *cyðan:* cyðde him *hu* his breðre hæfden wroht an minstre and *þæt* hi hæfden gefreod wið kyning.

Secgan.

A noticeable feature in the indirect interrogative sentence after *secgan* is the frequent employment of the indicative, as *Or.*, 24, 21, nu hæbbe we gesæd ymbe ealle Europe landgemæro hu hi *tolicgaþ;* nu wille we ymbe Affricam [secgan] hu ða landgemæro *tolicgaþ; Or.*, 210, 27, nu ic wylle secgan hulucu heo *wæs; CP.*, 225, 23, gif he him sægð hwonan þæt *cymð* and hu se lytega diaful *styreð* gewinn; *Or.*, 178, 22, þa asædon his geferan hu he heora ærenda *abead.* This frequent use of the indicative is to be explained by the fact that, though interrogative particles are here employed, the interrogative idea is at its lowest point and the dependent clause is no more than an expression of time, place, or manner, with reference to a known object. Indeed, in many cases, these constructions are on the border-line between indirect questions and adverbial or relative clauses, and frequently, when there is identity in the conjunctive particles of these two kinds of expressions, it is impossible to make any clear demarcation.[1] Additional examples of this construction are *Or.*, 250, 28, ic wille eow secgan hwelc mildsung and hwelc geþwærnes siþþan *wæs; CP.*, 163, 8, eac gesægð þæm mannum hu him eac hwilum *eahiað* ða costnunga; 401, 15; *Or.*, 100, 10; 250, 26; *LS.*, 10, 1; 174, 93; 190, 344; 192, 375; 220, 19, 23; 254, 266; 326, 104, 106; *AH.*, I, 116, 31; *John*, XX, 15; *Bede*, 580, 19; *W.*, 192, 13.

There is, however, even here a ready employment of the subjunctive, when negative, imperative, or similar ideas are present either in the main or dependent clause; as *AH.*, I, 386, 13, þær ðe bið gesæd hwæt ðe *gedafenige* to donne [compare *CP.*, 401, 15, ic eow secge hwæt arwyrðlicost *is* to beganne]; *Or.*, 156, 20, hit næs na gesæd hwæt Pirruses folces gefeallen *wære; LS.*, 532, 723, gif ge me secgan woldon hwær Decius

[1] See Mätzner: *Englische Grammatik*, III, 443, *b.*

sy; similarly *Or.*, 3, 13; 194, 24; 260, 6; *LS.*, 308, 24. The subjunctive is regularly found in the genuine indirect question introduced by *gif* or *hwæðer*, as *Matt.*, XXVI, 63, Ic halsige þe þæt þu secge me gif þu *sy* Crist; *Boe.*, 26, 9, gesecge hwæðer þe betere *þince;* similarly 28, 7; 38, 5; *BH.*, 179, 31.

Sculan is frequent in the dependent clause as an exponent of duty and prophecy, as *Or.*, 126, 29, sæde hu he him on his gewill anwyrdan *sceolde; CP.*, 73, 19; 443, 25.

There are numerous examples of the indirect interrogative sentence in addition to a substantive object, as *W.*, 237, 22, secgan ymbe his tocyme and hu he mihte, etc.; *LS.*, 422, 128. The clause serves often to describe the object, as *W.*, 292, 4, secgan be sunnan-dæg-halignesse hu se ælmihtiga God hine gehalgode; similarly *Exod.*, 24; *Wid.*, 54.

Ætiewan.

Ætiewan is distinctively objective in its nature; the interrogative character of the subordinate clause is comparatively weak and it is used mainly for the purpose of narration or description; hence the indicative is generally employed, as *CP.*, 161, 22, ðonne hie ætiewað hu manega him *wiðfeohtað* and hu æghwylc syn *bið* sætigende; *Jud.*, 174, het ætiewan hu hyre æt beaduwe *gespeow;* similarly *AH.*, II, 186, 13; 558, 10.

The subjunctive is, however, by no means infrequent; it is due to the final character of the expression, as *Bede*, 292, 33, þæt heo æteowode hu micel leoht Cristes þa halgan in heofonum *ahten* and hwylc gifu heora mægenes *wære;* similarly *CP.*, 161, 15; or to the imperative idea, either in the main clause, as *CP.*, 77, 14, he scealt ætiewan on his lifes gestæððignesse hu micle gesceadwisnesse he *bere* on his breostum, or in the subordinate clause, as *CP.*, 179, 11, buton we ætiewen hwæt hie *healden* ['what they are to lock up']; similarly *Luke*, XII, 5.

When the element of admonition is specially prominent, the periphrasis with *sculan* is employed, as *AH.*, II, 250, 4, wolde

him æteowian hu he oðrum *sceolde* mannum gemiltsian on mislicum gyltum; *BH.*, 237, 12; *Bede*, 350, 34; *AH.*, II, 542, 13.

The chapter-headings introduced by an interrogative particle, mostly *hu*, may be considered as governed by some such verb as *ætiewan*. There are two classes:—

1. Expressions which cannot be regarded as genuine indirect questions, but are merely simple statements, though in an interrogative form. The constructions are as follows:—(1) The indicative, as *CP.*, IV, hu oft sio bisgung ðæs rices *toslit* þæt mod þæs recceres; similarly VIII, IX. (2) The subjunctive of *sculan*, as *CP.*, III, Hu he *scyle* eall earfoðu forsion. [These correspond mostly to Latin *quod* and indicative.] (3) The indicative of *sculan*, as *CP.*, XIII, Hu se lareow *sceal* beon clæne on his mode; similarly XIV, XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII. [These answer to Latin *ut* and subjunctive.]

2. Expressions which are more interrogative or exclamatory in character; *sculan*, answering to Latin *debere*, is here used in either mood, as *CP.*, XII, hu he þæron drohtian *scyle;* XXII, Hu swiðe se reccere *sceal* beon abisgod; likewise XXI, XXIII. Under this head may be included the expressions introduced by *hwelc*, as *CP.*, X, hwelc se beon sceal; similarly XI. They correspond to the true indirect interrogative construction in Latin.

Reccan and its Compounds.

The indirect interrogative clause after these verbs is merely a descriptive statement with almost entire disappearance of the interrogative element. The indicative is, therefore, the usual mood, as *Boe.*, 150, 11, hwelc mæg areccan ures scyppendes anweald hu his gesceafta *weaxaþ* and eac hwæthwegu anlice *beoþ;* *CP.*, 333, 14, gif se lareow him gerecð hu fleonde þis andwearde lif *is*. The strong objective force of the governing verb demands the indicative, even when the indirect interrogative idea is felt, as *Boe.*, 34, 6, ic eow mæg gereccan hwæt se hrof *is* eallra gesælþa; *BH.*, 173, 6, he him rehte hu

mycle scipboran he *gebad* on þam siþe; similarly *CP.*, 441, 12; *AH.*, I, 28, 26; 46, 10; *Or.*, 10, 4; *W.*, 147, 17; *BH.*, II, 436, 19; *Cr.*, 220; *El.*, 648; *Boe.*, XVI, 34; 34, 6; 134, 2; *Mark*, V, 16; *Beow.*, 2096.

The subjunctive occurs at times, due to the negative character of the expression, as *W.*, 28, 6, or to the imperative element, as *Rid.*, XXXIII, 13, rece hwæt sio wiht *sie*. When the idea of duty or command is prominent, *sculan* is used, as *CP.*, 73, 22, we willaþ reccan hu he þæron libban *scyle;* similarly 73, 21; 173, 14.

Bodian and *Geopenian* have strong objective power and are generally followed by the indicative, as *CP.*, 163, 1, ne sceal he no þæt an bodigan hu ða synna him *wiðwinnaþ; AH.*, I, 460, 10; *AH.*, I, 590, 28, þonne geopenige ic þe hu þæt lamb on his rice *þurhwunaþ* ansund; II, 460, 29; *Boe.*, 72, 3.

Eahtan (judge) is followed by the subjunctive in *Cr.*, 1074, as the future idea is strong: wille fæder eahtan hu gesunde suna sawla *bringen* of edle.

Geswutelian is generally followed by the indicative, as *AH.*, I, 272, 24, is geswutelod hu swiðe God *lufaþ* innysse; *W.*, 175, 18, geswutelode hu ure drihten wiþ his þegenas *spæc;* similarly 288, 4; *AH.*, II, 6, 18; 400, 16. The interrogative character of the clause at times requires the subjunctive, as *AH.*, I, 50, 35, is geswutelod hu miclum *fremige* þære soðan lufe gebed; similarly 404, 2. This mood is probably due to final nature of the sentence in *AH.*, II, 180, 22, þæt he him geswutelode hwæt se Benedictus *wære*, and to the future moment in *John*, XVIII, 32, he geswutelode hwylcon deaðe he *geswulte*. The dependent clause introduced by *gif* requires the usual subjunctive, as *AH.*, I, 480, 7, Geswutela me gif þu self *wylle* nyðerastigan. The construction with *sculan* is found in a strong injunction, as *AH.*, II, 64, 9, ic geswutelige ðe hwylcne ðu to cyninge gehalgian *scealt;* similarly 534, 5; *LS.*, 512, 406.

Gyddian and *Onwreon* are followed mostly by the subjunctive, the indirect statement and interrogative form favoring the use of this mood, as *Dan.*, 728, þæt gyddedon gumena mænigeo hwæt seo hand *write; El.*, 674, þu scealt wisdom onwreon hwær seo stow *sie;* similarly *BH.*, 185, 14.

Onbeodan (declare) is strongly objective and followed by the indicative in *Cr.*, 1170, ge eac beamas onbudon hwa hy mid bladum *sceop.*

Oþewan is followed by the subjunctive in *Boe.*, 78, 10, influenced probably by the precative character of the governing clause: Ic þe healsige þæt þu me oþewe hwæt sio soðe gesælþ *sie.*

Rædan (read) is generally followed by the indicative, as *LS.*, 210, 11, hit gelamp þæt man rædde þætt godspell hu þæt wif *wearð* gehæled; similarly *Mark*, II, 25; XII, 26; *AH.*, I, 434, 28.

Sprecan is little used to introduce the indirect interrogative clause. In *Or.*, 62, 10, where little more than simple narrative is expressed, the indicative is used; the interrogative nature of the whole expression in *Bede*, 66, 8, favors the use of the subjunctive: Hwæt is to sprecanne hu heo heora ælmesse *dæle* oþþe mildheortnesse *fyllen?*

Tellan and *writan*, in chronicling past events, often use the graphic construction with *hu* with, however, little of the interrogative force; hence the indicative is the rule in the dependent clause, as *Chr.*, 244, F, 6, tealdon þa swyðe ealde menn hu hit *wæs gelagod* sona syððan; *AH.*, II, 306, 18, þus wrat Hieronimus be þære halgan rode hu heo *wearð* gefunden; similarly 84, 23; 360, 1; 468, 4; 486, 4. In an admonitory sense these verbs are generally followed by the construction with *sculan*, as *CP.*, 52, 10, is geteald hwelc he beon *sceal; Chr.*, 244, F, 15, sende gewrit hu he biscopas halgian and on hwylcum stowe hi settan *sceolde.* This construction is also employed to express certain action in the future, as *An.*, 135, hæfdon awriten hwænne hie to mose meteþearfendum weorðan *sceoldon.*

Remark. The assertive force of the introductory words and the interrogative character of the dependent clause produce an interesting conflict in which now the one now the other prevails; hence there is a remarkable diversity in the moods employed after verbs of this class.

2. *Verbs of Saying with the Element of Volition.*

In the following verbs the action of the will is expressed either in the form of a petition or of an injunction. The usual mood, therefore, of the interrogative clause is the subjunctive, with frequent occurrence of the constructions with *sculan*, *willan*, etc.

Anstellan (prescribe) is followed by *sculan* in *W.*, 218, 28, he anstealde hu men *sceoldan* þone halgan sunnandæg healdan.

Bebeodan, with *sculan* in *CP.*, 169, 20, Dryhten bebead hu he *scolde* beran þa earc.

Bysen, as an expression of advice, is followed by *sculan*, as *Bede*, 46, 9, þa sealdon hi him bysne hu hi him wæpen wyrcan *sceoldon*. As a simple reference to a past event, the indicative is used, as *LS.*, 440, 131, manega bysna synd on bocum be swylcum, hu oft weras and wif wundorlice *drohtnodon*.

Gestihtian (appoint) with *sculan* in *CP.*, 99, 11, gestihtode hu men *sceolden* ðærinne bet macian.

Getacnian is followed either by the subjunctive, as *Bede*, 98, 28, þæt he us to getacnode hwelc gesetnes to fylgenne *sy*, or by the construction with *sculan*, as *Bede*, 90, 5, he getacnode hu he *sceolde* oþre biscopas halgian; similarly *CP.*, 451, 10. Used as a simple statement, it is followed by *willan* in the prophetic sense in *John*, XII, 33, tacnode hwylcum deaðe he *wolde* sweltan; similarly XXI, 19.

Læran is generally followed by the periphrasis with *sculan*, as *CP.*, 341, 15, ðonne sint sie siððan to læranne hu hi *scilen* mildheortlice dælan; likewise 389, 18; 441, 6; *BH.*, 19, 14; *Bede*, 64, 12. The simple subjunctive is also found, as *Bede*, 216, 11, lærde hwæt ymb þara hælo to donne *wære*. As a

simple verb of announcement it is followed by the indicative, as *W.*, 242, 13, lærð hwonne seo tid *cymð*.

Rædan, as an expression of advice, is followed either by the simple subjunctive or by the construction with *sculan*, as *W.*, 51, 19 and 57, 15, þe him gerædað æfre hwæt him to donne *sy;* likewise *Bede*, 50, 9. The auxiliary *magan*, expressing possibility, is found in *LS.*, 426, 202, rædde him sona hu he beswican *mihte* his agenne fæder. The same constructions are noted after phrases with *ræd*, as *Beow.*, 172. In the vivid style of poetry the result of advice given is usually emphasized by the use of the indicative in the dependent clause, as *Beow.*, 277, Ic þæs Hroðgar mæg ræd gelæran hu he feond *oferswiðeð*, gif him ed-wendan æfre scolde bot eft cuman.

Sciran, with *sculan* in *AH.*, II, 290, 9, he ne scyrde on hwæðre healfe hi þæt net wurpan *sceoldon*.

Tæcan, as a verb of admonition, is followed by *sculan*, as *AH.*, II, 472, 30, tæhte hwilcere getimbrunge we *sceolon* to heofonum astigan. The simple subjunctive is seen in *An.*, 485, where *tæcan* has the meaning 'to instruct': getæhte hu þu wægflotan sund *wisige*.

Tyhtan is followed by the subjunctive in *W.*, 292, 1, þæt we æfre sculon tyhtan hu ge *agan* her on life rihtlice to libbanne.

Wisian is followed by *sculan* in *Gen.*, 850, him gewisode hu hie on þam leohte forð libban *sceolden;* similarly *W.*, 304, 18; *An.*, 1100.

C. Verbs of Thinking, Believing, etc.

The subjunctive is the usual mood in the interrogative clause after these verbs.

Þencan.

Þencan has two distinct meanings: (1) to devise, (2) to consider, reflect, remember.

In the former meaning, with reference to a certain end to be attained, *þencan* is followed by the subjunctive of *magan*, denoting the final nature of the sentence, as *LS.*, 200, 95, þu beþenc þe hu þu *mæge* ætwindan ðam ecum witum; *CP.*, 239, 12, sceal þencan hu he hie gelicettan *mæge;* similarly *LS.*, 200, 93; *Or.*, 76, 24; *BH.*, 55, 19; *Boe.*, 90, 8. It is also frequently followed by the simple subjunctive or by the periphrases with *sculan* or *willan*, as *Seaf.*, 117, þonne geðencen hu we þider *cumen; CP., 41, 23,* þonne hie þenceaþ hu hi sylfe *scylen* fulfremodeste weorðan; 101, 10, he geðohte hu he *wolde* þæt man him miltsode, 273, 5.

With its second signification, in which the final nature of *þencan* is lost, this verb is followed either by the subjunctive or by the indicative. The subjunctive is employed where the elements of interrogation or futurity are present, as *CP.*, 45, 24, hwæt þencaþ þa hwy hie ðara geearnunga bet *truwigen* ðonne etc; *BH.*, 41, 14, þence hwylcum edleane he *onfo; Boe.*, 250, 5, geþenc nu hwæðer þu ænig þing getiohhod *hæbbe;* similarly *CP.*, 329, 12; *W.*, 303, 33; *Boe.*, 116, 26. The indicative is, however, more generally employed in the dependent clause; it is regularly found when the thought is directed to the consideration of an actual occurrence, as *CP.*, 5, 5, geþenc hwelce witu us þa *becomon* for þisse worulde; 37, 23, ne geþencan ne con hwæt him *losaþ;* 357, 15; 467, 1. The conjunctive particle is generally *hu* and the expression is more properly an indirect exclamation, as *BH.*, 33, 25, to geðencanne *hu* micel Godes geþyld *is* and hu mycel ure ungeþyld *is;* similarly *CP.*, 159, 6; 233, 14; 315, 15; 329, 9; 343, 15; 359, 18; 377, 3; 391, 20; 437, 9; 447, 29; *Or.*, 122, 15; 296, 21; *W.*, 144, 29; *Matt.*, XVI, 9, 10.

In *BH.*, 91, 13, uton we geðencan hwylc andlean we him forð to berenne *habban;* uton we geðencan hu mycel egesa *gelimpeð* eallum gesceaftum, the distinctively interrogative nature of the first subordinate clause is expressed by the subjunctive, while the second clause, having rather an exclama-

tory character with reference to a real event, contains the indicative.

Smeagan.

Smeagan has similar distinctions in meaning to *ðencan* and hence a corresponding variation of constructions in the indirect interrogative clause. In its more usual meaning, 'to devise,' it is followed by the simple subjunctive or by the periphrastic construction with *magan;* when the will of the subject is made emphatic in the dependent clause, *willan* is here used. *AH.*, I, 78, 35, Herodes smeaƀ hu he þæt cild *fordo; LS.*, 514, 452; *AH.*, I, 225, 20, smeaƀ hu he hit gewrecan *mæge; LS.*, 224, 13; *AH.*, I, 12, 1; 16, 31; 18, 34; 26, 22; 192, 15; 286, 29; II, 6, 13; *Boe.*, 2, 17; *W.*, 280, 17. In *AH.*, II, 268, 7, we find both constructions after the same governing verb: smeagaƀ hu se hlaf *mage beon* gewend to Cristes lichaman, oþþe þæt win *weorðe* awend to Drihtnes blode.

When *smeagan* is used with the meaning 'to think, consider, reflect,' there is considerable variation in the moods in the interrogative clause. The indicative is employed when the attention is directed to an event which has actually taken place or whose reality is unquestioned, as *CP.*, 75, 5, þæt he smeage hu micel nied-þearf him *is; AH.*, I, 308, 19, is to smeagenne hu seo clænnys *wæs demde* geond ða geferedan ðenas. When, however, the interrogative nature of the clause is prominent, the subjunctive is regularly employed, as *LS.*, 226, 109, Petrus smeade hwæt his gesihð *gemænde; AH.*, I, 12, 18, smeaƀ hwanon deofol *come;* 340, 20, is to smeagenne hwi *sy* mare blis be gecyrredum synfullum þonne, etc.; similarly 48, 9; 68, 13; 542, 31; *LS.*, 244, 113. In *AH.*, I, 342, 14, is to smeagenne hu micclum se rihtwisa God *gegladige* gif etc, the subjunctive is due to the conditional nature of the clause. *AH.*, II, 228, 20 is a rare instance of the indicative in the interrogative clause introduced by *gif:* smeaga gehwa gif þæs beboda and oþre þillice *habbaƀ* ænigne stede on his heortan.

In the dependent clause after the allied verb *foresmeagan*, the subjunctive is quite consistently found, as *Mark*, XIII, 11, ne foresmeage ge hwæt ge *specan; Luke*, XXI, 14.

Wenan.

A noticeable feature of the interrogative construction with *wenan* is that the whole expression (both principal and subordinate clauses) is interrogative. These are really direct questions and *wenan* is not the principal verb, though it has this grammatical function; it is used simply to express a certain deference to the views of another or to indicate mere probability. The subjunctive is almost always used in the subordinate clause. The indirect interrogative constructions after *wenan* are of two kinds :—

1. The interrogative particle is used before the introductory phrase *wene we* or *wene ge* and also (frequently in a different form) before the grammatically dependent clause, as *CP.*, 353, 10, hu wene we hu micel scyld þæt *sie?; Or.*, 50, 1, hu wene we hwelce sibbe þa weras *hæfden?; Boe.*, 64, 16, hwæt wenst þu hu micelne hlisan Romanisc man *mæge habban?;* similarly *Or.*, 64, 5; 136, 21. When the interrogative adjective and its substantive are placed before *wenan*, the rest of the dependent sentence follows in the indirect construction introduced by *þæt*, as *CP.*, 281, 14, hwelc wite wene we *þæt* se fela spræca scyle habban?; similarly *AH.*, I, 442, 8.

2. The common introductory phrase, *wenstu hwæþer;* as *CP.*, 425, 1, wenstu hwæþer he hine miþ þy gehealdan *mæge?; Boe.*, 102, 10, wenst þu hwæþer hine ænig habban *mæge?* Occasionally the interrogative clause is grammatically independent of *wenstu* and the indicative is used, as *Luke*, I, 66, wenst þu hwæt *byð* þes cnapa? ['What, think you, will this boy be?'].

Apinsian (weigh, estimate). The final idea is not present with this verb; the consideration is directed to the interroga-

tive clause regarded merely as a unit, hence the indicative is used in the latter; as *W.*, 245, 9, hit is to apinsjanne hwæt hit *getacnaþ*.

Carfull, *Carian*, and *Cepan* express attention directed to the attainment of a certain state, and hence the subjunctive follows, as *W.*, 72, 10, weorðe se carfull hu he swiðast *mæge gecweman* his drihtne; *AH.*, II, 78, 2, ða þe cariað hu hi manna sawla Gode *gestrynan; LS.*, 386, 36, cepte hu he *cwemde* Gode; 322, 48.

Costan, implying an investigation into an existing state of things, is followed by the indicative in *Cr.*, 1059, bryne costaþ hu gehealdne *sind* sawle wiþ synnum fore sige deman.

Cyre expresses an alternative whose regular construction is *hwæþer-oþþe* and the subjunctive, as *AH.*, I, 212, 11, gehwilc man hæfð agenne cyre hwæðer he *wille* fylian deofles willan oþþe wiðsacan. A peculiar sequence is that with the correlative *swa-swa*, *AH.*, I, 112, 11, forgeaf he Adame and Evan agenne cyre, swa hi on gesælþe wunodon, swa hi deadlice wurðon.

Efstan, *Geornful*, *Geþeahtian*, *Gieman*, *Hogian*, *Hycgan*, *Ondrœdan*, and *Reccan*, denoting thought directed either to the accomplishment of a certain action or merely to the consideration of a future event, are followed by the simple subjunctive or by the subjunctive of *magan;* the final clause is generally introduced by the conjunction *hu*. *W.*, 138, 8, efsteð hu he synfullum susle *gefremme; AH.*, II, 440, 17, Martha wæs georнful hu heo *mihte* God fedan; *Bede*, 248, 5, geþeahte hwæt to donne *wære; Mark*, III, 6, þeahtedon ongen hine hu hi hine fordon *mihten;* similarly *Gen.*, 92; *Matt.*, XII, 14; *Bede*, 72, 25; 162, 30; 350, 16; *Cr.*, 1569, þæs gieman nele hu þa womsceaðan hyra eadgestreon sare *geseten;* 1553; *Mark*, III, 2; *AH.*, I, 124, 14, hogiað hwilc se *becume* ætforan gesihðe ðæs strecan Demes; 316, 25; *Gen.*, 432, hycgað hie ealle hu ge hi *beswicen; Seaf.*, 117; *Or.*, 138, 5, hi him þæt swiðe ondrædon hu hi wiþ him eallum endemes *mehten;* 88, 13; *CP.*, 447, 27, reccað hwæt him mon ymbe

ræswe; 451, 26. The subjunctive is also always used when the interrogative idea is prominent, as *Rid.*, XXIX, 13, micel is to hycganne hwæt seo wiht *seo;* XXXII, 24; *Dan.*, 130.

Secan is regularly followed by the subjunctive, since the element of interrogation is specially prominent in the subordinate clause, as *Bede*, 158, 1, sohte hwæt þæt *wære; Dan.*, 732, sohton hwæt seo hand *write* halges gastes; similarly 79; *BH.*, 205, 27; *AH.*, II, 448, 9; *El.*, 415, 474; *Mark*, XI, 13; XIV, 1; *Luke*, XII, 29; *Bede*, 124, 19. *Secan* frequently expresses effort directed toward the accomplishment of an action; hence *magan* is often found in the dependent clause, as *CP.*, 227, 14, secð hu he hine *mæge* onfon; 239, 8; *LS.*, 490, 53; 500, 231; *Or.*, 140, 8; *Dan.*, 49; *El.*, 1156.

Sorgian, referring to action in future time, is followed by the subjunctive, as *Bede*, 282, 29, sorgende on hwylcre tide þone dæl þæs mynstres þæt ilce wite *gehrine;* similarly *Seaf.*, 42.

Swician and *Syrwian*, introducing expressions of design with the conjunction *hu*, are followed by the subjunctive or the periphrasis with *magan*, as *LS.*, 252, 220, swicað se deofol embe us hu he *forlære* þa cristenan; 242, 80, þas þry syrwiað hu hi us *beswicen; AH.*, I, 214, 31, syrwedon hu hi *mihton* hine to deaðe gebringan; *Or.*, 144, 35.

Tweon, Tweogan, Twynan, Twynung. The element of doubt and uncertainty is present in full force in the interrogative clause following these expressions, and the subjunctive is the usual mood, as *Or.*, 230, 19, tweode hwæðer hi aweg *comen; W.*, 196, 11, tweonað fela manna hwæðer he *sy* se soða Godes Sunu oððe na ne *sy; BH.*, 205, 10, wæs mycel tweo hwæt hie he þære *don*, hwæðer hii ða cyricean *halgeden*, oþþe hwæt þæs Godes willa *wære;* similarly *Or.*, 192, 15; *AH.*, I, 556, 14; *W.*, 2, 5; 3, 7; *Bede*, 2, 14.

Þyncan is followed by the subjunctive or by the construction with *magan*, as *Rid.*, XXXII, 18, wrætlic me þincð hu seo wiht *mæge lacan.* A construction similar to that with *wenan* is seen in *Or.*, 182, 22, hu þyncð eow Romanum hu seo sibb gefæstnod *wære.*

Ymbhydig, with a strongly interrogative and future sense, is followed by the subjunctive, as *Matt.*, VI, 25, þæt ge ne *syn* ymbhidige eowre sawle hwæt ge *etan* ne eowrum lichaman mid hwæm ge *syn* ymbscrydde; similarly *Luke*, XII, 22.

D. Verbs of Direct Perception.

The indirect interrogative expression after these verbs is either used as a vivid method of representing the events described, or may be looked upon as a mere object toward which the action of perception is directed; in both cases the objective force of the introductory verb is very strong and the interrogative nature of the dependent clause very weak, and hence the prevailing mood is the indicative. The subjunctive, however, enters when the interrogative nature of the sentence is emphasized or when moments of condition, concession, and the like, enter into the expression.

Witan and *Ne Witan.*

The strongly objective character of *witan* is felt in the indirect interrogative just as in the indirect declarative sentence, and the usual mood of the subordinate clause is the indicative, as *Or.*, 214, 1, ic wat hwæt se Romana gelp swiðost *is; CP.*, 343, 21, se ðe wat hwær he hiene *leget;* similarly *AH.*, I, 114, 3; 268, 16; 588, 17; II, 568, 15; *Or.*, 126, 31; 136, 20; 190, 13; *LS.*, 164, 290; 464, 368; *CP.*, 43, 22; *W.*, 123, 17; *Ph.*, 355; *Wand.*, 29.

The subjunctive is to be found, when the dependent clause is a genuine interrogative expression in sense as well as in form, when it treats of general assumptions or vague abstract ideas, and when it is either by nature or attraction conditional, concessive, or hortatory in character. The future idea is expressed either by the subjunctive or by the periphrases with *sculan* and *willan*.

Examples of these constructions are as follows: *Bede*, 432, 27, þæt ic wolde gewitan hwæt he beon *sceolde; W.*, 18, 15, he wille witan hu we him geleanod *habban* ealle; *AH.*, I, 336, 23, gif ic wiste hwæt he *wære; Boe.*, 162, 21, hie woldon witan hu heah hit *wære* to þam hefone and hu dicke se hefon *wære* oððe hwæt þær ofer *wære* [an abstract conception]; *CP.*, 427, 21, þæt men witen hwelce hi *sin; John*, VII, 51, demð ure æ ænine man buton hine man ær gehyre and wite hwæt he *do;* similarly *Beow.*, 2520; *Matt.*, XXIV, 43; *Luke*, VII, 39; XII, 39; *John*, VII, 17, 51; XI, 57; *CP.*, 51, 5; *Bede*, 100, 24. In *Luke*, VII, 39, the indirect interrogative and declarative constructions follow the same verb: gyf þes man witega wære he wiste hwæt and hwylc þys wif *wære*, þæt heo synful *ys*. The difficulty in seeking to establish any fixed rule for mood in these constructions is obvious when we consider the great variation in the use of the moods, even at times in the same sentence, as *Chr.*, 354, E, 36, gif hwa gewilnigaþ to gewitanne hu gedon he *wæs*, oððe hwilcne wurðscipe he hæfde, oððe hu fela land he *wære* hlaford, etc.; *Luke*, X, 22, nan man nat hwilc *is* se sunu ne hwilc *si* se fæder.

Sculan and *willan* are regularly employed with the usual ideas of duty, volition, and futurity, as *CP.*, 65, 11, se ðe wat hwider he gan *sceal; Luke*, XII, 39, gif se ealdor wiste hwænne se ðeof cuman *wolde;* similarly *LS.*, 280, 266; 380, 247; *AH.*, II, 254, 8; *Boe.*, 14, 2.

Ne witan shows the same peculiarities as *witan* in the syntax of the indirect interrogative sentence; the usual mood of the dependent clause is therefore the indicative, as *AH.*, I, 532, 25, he nat hwæðer he wurðe *is* into þam ecan rice; *LS.*, 352, 226, he nat hu he *færð* for his freondlicum drencum; *Chr.*, 305, E, 12, nan man neste hwæt þæs ealles *wæs;* similarly *Or.*, 120, 1; 124, 13; 206, 3; *CP.*, 41, 1; 63, 10; 241, 12; 429, 26; *AH.*, I, 256, 15; II, 104, 9; 236, 35; *BH.*, 17, 12; 223, 16; *W.*, 248, 15; *Seaf.*, 55; *Beow.*, 1332; *John*, IX, 21.

The general uses of the subjunctive are the same as with *witan*, as *LS.*, 454, 206, se oðer nyste hu he ham *come; Boe.*,

160, 3, ðа sæde ic þe þæt ic nyste hu he ealra gesceafta *weolde; LS.*, 490, 44; *W.*, 238, 15; *AH.*, 104, 25; 306, 8. The subjunctive is also used in the dependent clause when the probability of knowledge is implied; as *AH.*, 1, 92, 30, wen is þæt eower sum nyste hwæt *sy* ymbsnidenys. In *Boe.*, 46, 7, þæm neatum is gecynde þæt hi nyton hwæt hi *send*, ac þæt is þara manna unþeow þæt hi nyton hwæt hi *sien*, Hotz explains the difference in mood by the fact that the indicative denotes absolute ignorance, while in the subjunctive there lies the idea of the probability of enlightenment. The subjunctive is found when an alternative is implied, as *LS.*, 256, 293, nyte we hwæþer se weardmann *wære* æfre gefullod [he may or may not have been baptized]; also when there is ignorance expressed with reference to a future event, as *CP.*, 323, 23, hi nyton mid hwam hie hit þe *forgielden; Or.*, 78, 15; 212, 25. The less frequent method of expressing the alternative by *swa-swa* is found in *LS.*, 506, 306, ne we be him naðor nyton *swa* hi þær libban *swa* hi þær deade licgan.

Ongietan.

There is probably more regularity in the use of the indicative in the indirect interrogative clause after *ongietan* than after *witan*. The subjunctive element in the leading verb is here wholly absent and the interrogative nature of the clause is much obscured. *CP.*, 429, 24, hi ongietað hwæt ymb hi gedon *bið; Wand.*, 73, ongitan sceal gleawhæle hu gæstlic *bið; Boe.*, 136, 20, ic ne mæg ongitan forhwi þu eft *segst*. The *hu*-clause is of special frequency, as *Boe.*, 30, 14, þu miht ongitan hu þa mine sælþa *is* oncerred; other examples are *CP.*, 220, 6; 231, 16; 233, 23; 239, 4; 241, 16; 257, 20; 271, 22; 277, 4; 343, 12; 375, 23; 377, 22; 389, 8; 393, 31; 405, 8; 431, 13; 441, 8; 465, 22; *Or.*, 62, 32; 194, 9; *W.*, 252, 5; *Boe.*, 44, 31; 46, 4; 136, 20; 180, 2.

The indicative is very persistent in the dependent clause and a considerable influence is required to change it into the

subjunctive; it is doubtful whether any examples could be brought forward for the use of the subjunctive simply on account of the interrogative nature of the dependent clause. When the sentence is negative, the subjunctive is occasionally met with, as *LS.*, 530, 671, ic ongytan ne mæg hu me *sy* þus gelumpen. The most frequent occurrences of the subjunctive are due to the final or interrogative character of the whole expression, as *CP.*, 75, 7, þæt he ongyte for hwæs geðyncðum þæt folc *sie* genemned heord; *Boe.*, 150, 19, hwæt þu nu ongite forhwy þæt fyr *fundige* up?; similarly *CP.*, 183, 8. The usual subjunctive after *hwæþer* is seen in *Boe.*, 34, 9, miht þu nu ongitan hwæþer þu auht þe deorwyrþre *habbe.*

Gehieran.

As an expression of direct sense-perception *gehieran* is almost invariably followed by the indicative in the interrogative clause, as *CP.*, 299, 13, gehieren hwæt he eft *cwæð; BH.*, 19, 10, gehyran me nu forhwon se blinda leoht *onfeng;* similarly *CP.*, 299, 7, 15, 18, 21, 22; 315, 23; 317, 13, 15, 20, 21, 23; 323, 4, 7; 359, 9; *AH.*, I, 464, 10; II, 300, 5; *LS.*, 10, 11; 24, 1; 363, 375; *BH.*, 165, 15; *Matt.*, XXVII, 13; *Byr.*, 45; *El.*, 514.

In some cases the interrogative idea in the dependent clause claims recognition and the subjunctive is used, as *AH.*, I, 280, 8, uton we gehyran he þam Halgan Gaste hwæt he *sy.* Introduced by *gif* or *hwæðer*, the subjunctive is regular, as *LS.*, 468, 448, mon ne gehyrde gif ænig scypherde *wære.*

Geseon.

Geseon is generally followed by the indicative, as *CP.*, 157, 16, ðu ne miht geseon hwæt þærinne *byð* gehydde; 5, 9, ic geseah hu þa ciricean geond eall Angelcynn *stodon* madma gefyldne; *Gen.*, 666, ic mæg geseon hwær he self *sitteð;* likewise *Exod.*, 83; *W.*, 199, 6; *LS.*, 402, 291; *BH.*, 229, 20;

Cr., 1134. The indicative often occurs even after the conjunctions *gif* and *hwæðer*, as *CP.*, 157, 16, mæg man geseon gif þær hwelc dieglu scond inne *bið*; *AH.*, II, 414, 19, we sceolon geseon hwæðer ðin Iacobus þe *alyst* fram ðisum bendum.

There are a few instances of the subjunctive, mostly when the act of perception is future with reference to the time of the leading verb, as *Boe.*, 58, 4, hine lyste geseon hu seo *burne*; *Mark*, XV, 36, þæt we geseon hwæðer Helias *cume* hine niðer to settanne; *Luke*, XIX, 3, he wolde geseon hwylc se Hælend *wære* [the action is not described as taking place]. The subjunctive is due to the negative character of the sentence in *AH.*, I, 433, 14. *Sculan* has its usual signification of obligation in *CP.*, 365, 14, þæt we magon geseon hwæt we don *scylen*.

In *Gen.*, 1270, the indirect interrogative and indirect declarative constructions follow the same governing verb: þa geseah sigora waldend *hwæt* wæs manna manas on eorðan and *þæt* hie wæron womma þriste inwitfulle.

Ametan (estimate) is followed by the subjunctive in *CP.*, 53, 13, due probably to the final character of the expression: þæt ge ameten hwæt ge *sien*.

Behealdan. The indicative is generally found in the indirect interrogative clause, as *Boe.*, 68, 21, behealde he hu widgille þæs heofones hwearfe *bið*; *AH.*, I, 242, 27, behealde ge hwæðer ge *sint* Godes scep; similarly *Boe.*, 180, 5; *AH.*, I, 582, 12; *LS.*, 494, 107; *Rid.*, XVIII, 5. Occasionally the interrogative character of the dependent clause outweighs the objective nature of *behealdan* and the subjunctive is used, as *Bede*, 288, 14, mid þy heo behealdende wæs hwelcum teonde up ahafen *wære* se wlite þæs wuldorlican lichoman. This is specially so after *hwæðer*, as *AH.*, II, 76, 31, behealde hwæðer he on Godes wingearde *swince*.

Besceawian expresses close observation of certain events which are vividly described by the indicative in the indirect clause, as *Matt.*, VI, 28, besceawiað þa lilian hu hi *weaxað*; *AH.*, I, 488, 20, besceawiað hu wræcfill þis andwearde lif *is*; similarly *Luke*,

XII, 24; *BH.*, 59, 22; *AH.*, I, 486, 17; II, 84, 7. In the sense of a verb of inquiry, *besceawian* is followed by the subjunctive, as *AH.*, II, 500, 32.

Cunnan is generally followed by the indicative, as *Beow.*, 2071, þæt þu geare cunne to hwam siððan *wear*ð hond-ræs hæleþa; 162, men ne cunnon hwyder hel-runan hwyrftum *scriðað; Cr.*, 573; *Ælfric's Pref. Gen.*, 22, 25. The indicative is found even after *hwæðer*, as *Beow.*, 1356. The subjunctive is, however, frequent when ideas of indefiniteness or uncertainty are present, especially when the expression is future or negative, as *Bede*, 136, 6, hwæt þær *foregenge* oððe hwæt þær *æfterfige* we ne cunnon; likewise *El.*, 531; *W.*, 298, 31. *Willan* is used in the sense of design or futurity in *Wand.*, 71; *An.*, 342.

Cuð, Sweotol, Undyrne. The interrogative clause is set forth in the most objective manner by these expressions, and the indicative is used, as *Boe.*, 32, 36, nis hit sweotol hu hwerflice þa woruld-sælþa *sint; Beow.*, 2001, þæt is undyrne hwylc orleg-hwil uncer Grendles *wear*ð on þam wange; similarly *BH.*, 183, 9; *Rid.*, XLIII, 15. In expressions of uncertainty, negation, and the like, the subjunctive or modal auxiliaries are sometimes employed, as *Gen.*, 2709, ne wæs cuð hwæðer on þyssum folce frean Ælmihtiges egesa *wære; BH.*, 51, 35, is swiðe uncuð hwæt ure yrfenweardas don *willen* æfter urum life.

Findan is usually followed by the indicative, as *El.*, 202, þa se æðeling fand hwar ahangen *wæs* rodora waldend; *Ælfric de Vet. Test.*, 2, 47.

Forgietan, essentially a negative verb of perception, is followed by the indicative, as *CP.*, 183, 23, ne sculon we forgietan hu hit *wæs* be Saule. *Sculan* in the sense of obligation is met with in *CP.*, 387, 14.

Ge-, On, To-cnawan. The strongly objective nature of these verbs and the interrogative character of the dependent clause cause an interesting variation of mood. The indicative is, however, mostly employed, as *AH.*, I, 410, 9, þæt heo oncnawe mid hwilcum feondum heo ymbset *bið; CP.*, 349, 24, we magon

oncnawan hu micel yfel sio gesceadwislice gecynd *gefremeð;* likewise *Or.*, 94, 21; *AH.*, I, 588, 8; *W.*, 189, 3. Besides those instances in which the subjunctive is due to the interrogative character of the dependent clause, this mood is quite common when the whole expression is interrogative, as *AH.*, I, 14, 4, hu mihte Adam tocnawan hwæt he *wære?* It is specially frequent after *hwæþer*, as *W.*, 60, 3, man mæg þæne man tocnawan hwæðer him Godes gast on *wunige* oððe ðæs deofles, in which case an alternative is emphatically stated; similarly in *LS.*, 534, 743; *John*, VII, 17. When the alternative is not so strongly felt the indicative at times occurs, as *AH.*, II, 228, 22, ðonne gecnæwð hwæðer he *is* of Gode.

Gefrignan and *Geleornian* are regularly followed by the indicative, as *Beow.*, 1, we Gar-Dena þrym gefrunon hu þa æðelingas ellen *fremedon;* 2404; *AH.*, I, 438, 3, ge geleornodon hu se heahengel Gabriel ðam eadigan mædene Marian æðelinges acennednysse *gecyðde.* The constructions with *sculan* and *magan*, expressing duty and ability respectively, are common, as *CP.*, 101, 9, he geleornode hu he *sceolde* oðrum mannum miltsian; *Or.*, 158, 3, hæfdon geleornod hu hie þa elpendes beswican *mehton.*

Gemunan, To gemynde cuman, Gemyndig beon, Gemyndgan, and *Gemynd genywian*, all having the common signification of remembrance, are followed by the indicative in the indirect interrogative clause; this construction is employed to bring before the mind in a vivid manner various occurrences of past time. The *hu*-clause is almost universal; as *CP.*, 7, 15, þa ic þe gemunde hu sio lar afeallen *wæs* geond Angelcynn; *AH.*, I, 46, 15, gemynd genywode hu Moyses heora foregengan *gelædde* and hu hi on westene *wæron;* similarly 6, 9; 52, 25; 226, 6; *CP.*, 3, 2; 5, 25; *BH.*, 129, 10; 237, 9; *W.*, 258, 8; *Boe.*, 10, 3. There are frequent examples of the use of a substantive object and also of the indirect interrogative clause either to describe the object or to make an additional statement, as *Or.*, 82, 15, Themistocles gemyndgode Jonas þære ealdan fæhðe *hu he hie on his geweald genidde; Wand.*, 34,

geman he sele, secgas, and sincþege, *hu hine on geoguðe his goldwine wenede to wiste; BH.*, 129, 10, hie gemunað þa mycelan eaðmodnesse and *hu luflice he us ærest gesohte;* similarly *Jul.*, 624; *Rid.*, LXXX, 7. The interrogative construction, however, occasionally leads to the use of the subjunctive, as *Dan.*, 110, com on sefan hwurfan swefnes woma hu woruld *wære* wuldrum geteod; *AH.*, II, 22, 21, uton beon gemyndige hu micelre geðincðe *sy* þæt hælige mæden; the vagueness of a vision in the former, and the hortatory character of the latter expression favor the use of the subjunctive.

Hlistan is followed by the subjunctive in *W.*, 132, 8, hliste we on Englisc hwæt þæt Læden *cwæde.*

Locian is generally followed by the indicative, as *Exod.*, 278, ge lociað færwundra sum hu ic sylfa *sloh.* This verb is mostly used in the imperative in an exclamatory sense, corresponding to Latin *ecce*, as *John*, XI, 36, loca hu he hine lufode [ecce quomodo amabat eum]; *Mark*, II, 24, loca nu hwæt þine leorningcnihtas *doð* [ecce quid faciunt]; similarly *Matt.*, XXI, 20; *Mark*, XI, 21; XV, 4. There are sporadic occurrences of the subjunctive, as *AH.*, I, 474, 25, loca hu lange se soða læce hit *foresceawige.*

Scrutnian is generally followed by the indicative in the interrogative clause introduced by *hu*, as *AH.*, I, 582, 25, scrutniað hu deorlice hit *is* to geogenne.

Undergietan and *Understandan* are followed by the same construction as *oncnawan: AH.*, I, 146, 30, understandað hu be hire awriten is; similarly *W.*, 32, 8; 108, 6; 122, 11; 308, 18; *Ælfric's Pref. Gen.*, 23, 32; *AH.*, II, 58, 13; 82, 33; 120, 10; 334, 28. In *LS.*, 372, 132, nellað understandan hu stuntlice hi *doð*, oððe hu se deada stan him *mæge* gehelpan, the indicative denotes entire ignorance of the true character of the men's actions, while the subjunctive implies a doubt as to the efficacy of the stone.

Wlitan and its compounds. The indicative is used in the interrogative clause after these verbs, as *Ph.*, 341, Wlitað hu seo wilgedryht wildne *weorðiað.* The subjunctive is often

used in descriptions of future time, as *Jul.*, 399, þæt ic gehygd eal geondwlite hu afæstnod *sy* ferhð; also after *hwæðer*, as *Cr.*, 1330.

Wundrian. The contents of the indirect interrogative clause after this verb have a genuine interrogative or rather an exclamatory signification; hence the subjunctive is the prevailing mood, as *Or.*, 134, 12, þa wundrode Alexander hwy hit swa æmenne *wære; Cr.*, 1016, nis ænig wundor hu him woruld manna seo unclæne gecynd cearum sorgende *ondrede;* similarly *Boe.*, 40, 4; 172, 5; 244, 20; 248, 2; 250, 19; *AH.*, I, 590, 23; *Bede*, 346, 30; *Mark*, XV, 44.

Indirect interrogative clauses are almost entirely wanting after simple introductory expressions; the nearest approach to this construction is in such sentences as *Ælfric de Vet. Test.*, 7, 38, an is Parabole wisdomes bigspell and warnung and *hu man selost mæg synna forbugan*, and hit stent þurh Godes gyfa *hu us bið æt Gode gedemed.*

III. The Moods in Indirect Discourse.

A. The Moods in the Indirect Declarative Sentence.

1. *The Subjunctive.*

The following general remark may be made with regard to employment of the subjunctive after verbs introducing the indirect declarative sentence: The subjunctive is most consistently used after verbs of thinking and believing [Class B], and of petition and command [Class A, 2]; it varies considerably with the indicative after verbs of simple report [Class A, 1]; and is found least of all after verbs of direct perception [Class C].

There are two varieties of subjunctives in indirect discourse; it is used (1) to denote mere report, (2) to express

design, futurity, uncertainty, and other similar ideas, either contained in the governing verb itself or proceeding from without and affecting both the principal and the subordinate clause. In the later periods of the language there is observable a growing tendency to make less and less use of the subjunctive and to substitute the indicative for it; this tendency, however, did not proceed to the same extent with the two varieties of subjunctives. The feeling against the employment of the subjunctive to express simple report grew strong in course of time, till in late Anglo-Saxon the indicative came to be regarded as the almost universal mood after simple verbs of saying; though there was considerable levelling of the subjunctives of the second kind under the indicative or the periphrastic forms, this tendency is by no means so marked as with subjunctives of simple report.

(*a*) *The Subjunctive of Simple Report.* The subjunctive is frequently employed, especially after verbs of Class A, 1, to signify that the statement made is merely a report, and there is generally combined with this the stronger moment of subjectivity by which the speaker is unwilling to guarantee the correctness of the report, as, *e. g.*, *Or.*, 36, 12, be þam Theuhalion wæs gecweden þæt he *wære* moncynnes to-driend; *CP.*, 71, 2, hie sædon þæt hie *wæren* wiese; 415, 14, hit is awriten þæt Dina *wære* utgangende. These verbs (*cweðan*, *secgan* and *awritan*) are followed very consistently by the subjunctive in the Alfredian period, but there is a general transition to the indicative in the later language. The subjunctive is also found with greater or less regularity after the other verbs of this class, as *sprecan*, *Or.*, 48, 25; *rædan*, *AH.*, I, 152, 3; *andettan*, *AH.*, I, 116, 23. Owing to the strongly objective character of *cyðan* the following indirect statement is mostly in the indicative; yet there are occasional instances of the subjunctive of report, as *AH.*, I, 128, 10, cyðdon þæt his sunu gesund *wære*.

Among the great number of indicative constructions after verbs of perception there are a few scattered examples of the

subjunctive of report, as *BH.*, 117, 25, we leorniað þæt seo tid *sie* toþæs degol; this is most frequent after *hieran*, as *Or.*, 138, 18; *Byr.*, 117. In the following examples it is probable that a feeling for some expression of possible doubt contributed to the employment of the subjunctive, in addition to the attraction to a subjunctival form in the governing clause: *LS.*, 250, 193, þæt men oncnawon þæt we *beon* gehealdene; *BH.*, 145, 8, ne sy eow nænigu cearo þæt ge geseon þæt þeos eadige Maria *sy* geceged to deaðe.

In late Anglo-Saxon, owing to the prevalence of the indicative, the use of the subjunctive is a strong indication that the speaker does not give his warrant to the statement, as *John*, VIII, 54, be þam ge cweðað þæt he *sy* ure God; similarly *Matt.*, XXVII, 64; *Mark*, XII, 18; *John*, IX, 19; *AH.*, II, 234, 4, 9. Especially is this the case with *leogan*, as *AH.*, I, 378, 7, untwylice þu lyhst þæt þu God *sy*. In some instances, as in *Boe.*, 210, 4, a true and a false statement are contrasted by the use of the indicative and of the subjunctive respectively: ne cweþe ic þæt þæt yfel *sy;* ac ic cweþe þæt hit *is* betere, þæt man wrege, etc.

As the subjunctive of simple report is evidently a modification of the subjunctive of subjective reflection, it is interesting to notice the various degrees of probability set forth by this mood. In a passage like *AH.*, I, 116, 19, wiðsocon þæt he deadlic flæsc *underfenge*, the subjunctive expresses what is in the opinion of the speaker a downright falsehood; then, as is well illustrated by the constructions after *secgan* in the Voyages of Othere and Wulfstan [*Bright's Anglo-Saxon Reader*, p. 38 ff.], this mood serves to make reports, the certainty of which is not vouched for by the writer: he sæde þæt Norðmanna land *wære* swyðe lang and swyþe smæl; finally, as is abundantly seen in the numerous scriptural quotations introduced by *awritan*, the subjunctive serves no other purpose than to indicate mere indirect quotation; the subjective element of doubt is here at its weakest, for the Anglo-Saxon translator

of the *Pastoral Care* is too good a churchman to permit us to question his belief in Holy Writ.

(*b*) *The Subjunctive due to the nature of the governing verb.*

(1) The subjunctive indicates an expression of the will contained in verbs of command, advice, admonition, and the like. This variety of the subjunctive is almost always found after verbs of Class A, 2, as *gelæran*, *Or.*, 124, 2, he gelærde ealle Crecas þæt hie Alexandre *wiðsocen;* similarly after *swerian*, *Or.*, 190, 22; *clypian*, *AH.*, I, 425, 33; *geleornian*, *CP.*, 32, 22; *manian*, 191, 12; *healsian*, *Bede*, 372, 7; *tican*, *gesettan*, *warnian*, etc. As most of the verbs of Class A, 1 have the force of commands besides their usual signification of simple utterance, they are also followed by this subjunctive, as *AH.*, I, 166, 13, cweð to þisum stanum þæt hi *beon* awende to hlafum; similarly after *cyðan*, *CP.*, 189, 1; after *secgan*, 215, 6.

(2) Closely related to the use of the subjunctive in expressions of the will is its use in expressions of design or intention. When the idea of design is not present in the governing verb (as with simple verbs of saying), it is generally expressed by the use of the periphrastic construction with *willan* in the dependent clause; but after verbs of design the simple subjunctive is generally employed, though the moment of intention is frequently emphasized by the use of *willan: AH.*, I, 484, 6, we sculon hogian þæt we simle ðone maran gylt *forfleon* þurh aitfere; *Or.*, 188, 13, þencende þæt he hine *beswice;* likewise with *hycgan*, *Gen.*, 297; *secan*, *John*, VII, 4; *smeagan*, *Mark*, XII, 12.

(3) As the subjunctive is the regular expression of contingency or uncertainty, it is the favorite mood after verbs of thinking and believing [Class B], where in general the event narrated in the dependent sentence is future with reference to the action of the governing verb. The subjunctive is, therefore, used with almost entire exclusion of the indicative after *wenan*, *ondrædan*, *þyncan*, *gyman*, *geornian*, and the like; as *Or.*, 104, 27, on þam tohopan þæt hie symle siðe God þonan *ado* to heora agnum lande; *AH.*, II, 310, 28, þæt he truwode

on God þæt he *wære* acyrred. When future action is expressed in past time, the subjunctive is frequent after all verbs, as *BH.*, 159, 26, wæs cweðende þæt his sæd *oferweoxe* ealle þas woruld; similarly after *cyðan*, *LS.*, 174, 89; *gesweotolian*, *AH.*, I, 564, 22. After *gelyfan*, although the subjunctive is the usual construction, the indicative is used to record belief in an established doctrine; compare *CP.*, 111, 11, with *AH.*, I, 26, 8 [see *geliefan*]. Quite a number of governing verbs have a double meaning, according to the mood and tense of the dependent verb; as *geðencan* with the meaning of design followed by the subjunctive of the dependent verb, as *Matt.*, VI, 27, mæg geðencan þæt he *geeacnige* ane elne to his anlicnesse; but with the meaning of simple remembrance, when followed by the present or past indicative, as *Matt.*, V, 23, þu þær geðencest þæt þin broðor *hæfð* ænig þing agen þe; *CP.*, 53, 17, is to geðencenne þæt he *underfeng* martyrdom. In like manner compare *gemunan* with the subjunctive in *BH.*, 73, 26, with the same verb followed by the indicative in *Boe.*, 164, 18.

(*c.*) The subjunctives of the third class are due to other causes than the direct influence of the governing verb. Although subject to some variation, the subjunctive is used when moments of interrogation, negation, condition, concession, and the like, enter into the expression, either in connection with the main clause or in the dependent sentence; as *Boe.*, 208, 8, hwæðer þu ongite þæt ælc yfelwillende mon *sie* wites wyrðe?; *LS.*, 502, 542, ic næfre gyt nyste þæt ænig oþer byrig us *wære* gehende; *El.*, 441, gif þæt gelimpe on lifdagum þæt þu *gehyre* frode frignan; *Boe.*, 242, 6, ic wat gif se delfere þa eorðan na ne dulfe, þonne ne *funde* he hit no; *W.*, 227, 8, þeh hwam gebyrige þæt his fyr ut *gewite*; *Boe.*, 160, 2, ær þu me gerehtest þæt þæt *wære* soð God; similarly *CP.*, 119, 13; 195, 15; 199, 7; 285, 3; 341, 1; *Boe.*, 16, 31; 34, 11; 210, 8; *W.*, 3, 3; 273, 11; *AH.*, II, 234, 12; *Bede*, 374, 26; *BH.*, 181, 3; *Matt.*, XXIV, 43; *Luke*, XII, 36; *An.*, 714. It is more than probable that in many cases attraction to a subjunctive in the governing clause has exercised considerable influence in the

employment of the like mood in the dependent clause, as *AH.*, I, 328, 26, gif hit gylt nære þonne ne *geswutelode* þæt halige godspel þæt he *wære* mid purpuran geglencged.

A less frequent use of the subjunctive is to express a simple assumption; this is seen in its most common form after the introductory expression *þæt is* common in the *Cura Past.;* as 383, 4, þæt is þæt mon his sweord *doo* ofer his hype þæt mon his lare *læte;* 9, ðæt is ðæt mon *ierne* ðurh midde þa ceastre, ðætte mon swa emn *sie* betweox cristenum folce. Closely connected with this is the employment of the subjunctive to express indefinite action, as is well illustrated by its use after *ðeaw* instead of the regular indicative, as *Wand.*, 11, ic wat þæt bið on eorle ðeaw þæt he his ferd-lucan fæste *binde.*

A distinction is to be observed between the subjunctives of this kind and those previously considered; while the latter are to be found only after special classes of verbs, the former may occur after all introductory expressions; its use is however most clearly marked after verbs of direct perception, since these have least subjective color and the passage of the subjunctive idea from the main to the subordinate clause is more distinctly observable.

2. *The Indicative.*

(*a*) Verbs of saying, reporting, and the like [Class A, 1] are in the writings of the Alfredian period generally followed by the indicative only when the event recorded is presented in an emphatic and objective manner; hence the variation is use of mood after *cweðan*, *secgan*, etc. By the time of Ælfric, however, the levelling influence of the indicative has made considerable progress, so that there is a noticeable use of this mood where the subjunctive would have been required at an earlier period; to this tendency rather than to the simple objectivity of statement are due the numerous instances of the indicative after verbs of simple report in late Anglo-Saxon.

Some of these verbs, however, have an inherent power of emphasizing the reality of the statements they record and are

generally followed by the indicative; such are *cyðan, tacnian, sweotolian, gereccan,* and *bodian;* as *CP.*, 409, 19, mid ðæm worde he cyðde ðæt hit *is* se hiehsta cræft; similarly 295, 23; *Beow.*, 1973; *AH.*, I, 116, 9; 246, 16; *Boe.*, 160, 1.

The indicative is often found in the dependent clause after verbs which require the subjunctive, when this clause is separated from the governing verb by another clause, since the subordinating force of the leading verb is in this way apparently weakened, as *Boe.*, 140, 15, ic ær sæde þæt sio soðe gesælþ *wære* God and of þære soðan gesælþ *cume*ð eall þa oðre god; similarly *BH.*, 29, 15; *AH.*, I, 532, 29; *CP.*, 107, 18.

After verbs of command and petition [Class A, 2] the indicative is seldom found; in most of its occurrences it denotes the result of an action prompted by the will, as *BH.*, 191, 13, me bædon and lærdon Romane þæt ic *gewat* heonan onweg; *Beow.*, 1662, me geuðe þæt ic on wæge *geseah* wlitig hangian eald sweord eacen; 2873, him god uðe þæt he him sylfum *gewræc* ana mid ecge; similarly *AH.*, II, 594, 15; *Or.*, 148, 4; 262, 19.

An indicative is occasionally set over against a subjunctive to distinguish a true from a false statement; as *AH.*, I, 328, 18, ne sæde þæt halige godspell þæt se rica reafere *wære,* ac *wæs* uncystig; 364, 15, sume men cweðað þæt þu *sy* Iohannes, sume secgað þæt þu *sy* Helias—ic secge þæt þu *eart* stænen.

(*b*) After verbs of thinking and believing [Class B] the indicative is rarely found: after *wenan* in the first or second person to express the assurance of the truth of the conception in the mind of the thinker, as *Boe.*, 146, 29, wenst þu þætte ealle þa þing forði gode *sint* þy hi habbað? 16, 27; *AH.*, I, 580, 26,—after *gelyfan* to express an established doctrine, as *AH.*, I, 26, 8,—after *geðencan* in the sense of remembrance, as *CP.*, 53, 17. It is occasionally used after other verbs to emphasize the reality of a statement; it is very probably for this purpose that the indicative is used in *Boe.*, 164, 16, over against the usual subjunctive in 12: me þinc*ð* þæt þu *hwerfest* sume wundorlice spræce—me þinc*ð* þæt þu me *dwelige* and *dyderie.*

(*c*) After verbs of direct perception [Class C] the indicative is almost universal; in a very few cases the true subjunctive

of indirect report occurs [see *Subjunctive*]. When moments of condition, concession, and the like enter, the regular change of construction is required.

B. The Moods in the Indirect Interrogative Sentence.

The Indirect Interrogative Sentence is distinguished in two ways from the Indirect Declarative Sentence—by the introductory particle and by the mood in the dependent clause. Only the first distinction is consistently carried out. There is great irregularity in the use of mood. When the dependent clause is truly interrogative in character, the subjunctive is employed; in a large number of instances, however, the descriptive rather than the interrogative idea is present and hence in mood they do not differ from the corresponding declarative sentences; yet, in some cases, the interrogative construction of the dependent clause calls for the subjunctive, though there is little or no trace of any distinct interrogative idea. The broad statement may therefore be made that the employment of the subjunctive in the Indirect Interrogative Sentence is somewhat more extensive than in the Indirect Declarative Sentence.

The most practicable division of Indirect Interrogative Sentences with regard to the use of mood is a two-fold one: (1) Expressions in which the relation of the contents of the dependent clause to the principal is a matter of inquiry, so that either a positive or a negative answer is expected; such clauses are introduced by *gif* or *hwæðer;* (2) Expressions in which the dependent clause is introduced by interrogative pronouns, adverbs, or conjunctions.

1. *Interrogative Clauses introduced by Gif or Hwæðer.*

Gif corresponds in use both to Latin *si* and *num; hwæðer* corresponds in use to Latin *num* and in form to *utrum*, to which, according to Maetzner, it is also analogous from the

fact that it introduces a double question. When an alternative is expressed or implied, *hwæðer* is employed; in the simple question *hwæðer* and *gif* are used at pleasure.

The subjunctive is the usual mood in clauses introduced by *gif* and *hwæðer*. This is the universal construction after verbs of inquiry, as *LS.*, 76, 455, axode gif he *oncneowe* þæt gewrit; similarly after *axian hwæðer*, *LS.*, 104, 264; *gefandian hwæðer*, *Or.*, 164, 28; *befrignan gif*, *LS.*, 74, 410. In these expressions the interrogative idea in the dependent clause is at its highest point. It is often found after verbs of direct report; after *cweðan* the clause introduced by *hwæðer* answers to the Latin indirect question introduced by *numquid*, as *John*, VII, 26, cweðe we *hwæðer hi ongyten* [numquid cognoverunt]; it often happens that the governing verb is not present and the expression corresponds to the Latin direct question introduced by *an* or *num*, as *Boe.*, 120, 6, hwæðer þu ongite? [an causas deprehendisti?]. Other examples after verbs of this class are *LS.*, 494, 116, gehwa moste cyðan *hwæðer him leofre wære; secgan gif*, *Matt.*, XXVI, 63. This construction follows some verbs of thinking, as *gieman hwæðer*, *Mark*, III, 2; *tweon hwæðer*, *W.*, 2, 5; 196, 11; *BH.*, 205, 9, etc. It is also quite frequent after verbs of perception, as *witan hwæðer*, *LS.*, 256, 293; *oncnawan hwæðer*, *LS.*, 534, 743.

The indicative is occasionally used with *gif* or *hwæðer;* as after *geseon gif*, *CP.*, 157, 16; *geseon hwæðer*, *AH.*, II, 414, 19. In *AH.*, I, 532, 25, he nat hwæðer he wurðe *is* into þam ecan rice, absolute ignorance is thus predicated; so with *cunnan*, *Beow.*, 1356, ne hire fæder cunnon hwæðer him ænig *wæs* ær acenned dyrnra gasta; it is also used when complete knowledge of a fact is indicated, as *AH.*, II, 228, 22, he gecnæwð hwæðer he *is* of Gode. The indicative is found after *smeagan* with the meaning 'to consider,' when there is a tacit assumption of the reality of the contents of the clause, as *AH.*, II, 228, 22, smeage gehwa gif þa beboda *habbað* ænigne stede on his heortan. The rare instance of an indicative after *axian* in *Mark*, X, 2, is due to the influence of the Latin: hine axodon

hwæþer *alyfð* ænegum men his wif forlætan [interrogabant eum: si licet]. When an alternative is expressed or implied the subjunctive is always found, as *LS.*, 256, 293, nyte we hwæðer se weardman *wære* æfre gefullod [compare *AH.*, I, 532, 25, above]; *John*, VII, 17, he gecnæwð hwæðer he *sy* of Gode, þe ic be me sylfum *spece* [compare *AH.*, II, 228, 22, above].

2. *Interrogative Clauses introduced by a Pronomial.*

General observations—When the interrogative idea is prominent in the dependent clause the subjunctive is used, irrespective of the character of the governing verb; as *Bede*, 178, 1, hwelc þæs cyninges geleafa *wære* þæt æfter his deaðe wæs geeyðed; similarly after *ætiewan*, *Bede*, 292, 33; *witan*, *CP.*, 427, 21; *Boe.*, 46, 7; *gehieran*, *AH.*, I, 280, 2; *behealdan*, *Bede*, 288, 14; *understandan*, *AH.*, I, 214, 1. This interrogative construction also seems to favor a ready passage to the subjunctive when negative, interrogative, and similar ideas enter the expression; as, in a negative sentence, *El.*, 860, ne meahte hire Judas gecyðan on hwylcne se hælend ahafen *wære;* after a final expression in *CP.*, 75, 7, þæt he ongite for hwæs geðyncðum ðæt folc *sie* genemned heord; in a conditional sentence, *Bede*, 328, 19; *John*, VII, 51; *Luke*, VII, 39, etc. The subjunctive seems frequently to be due simply to the interrogative form alone, as *AH.*, I, 50, 36, is geswutelod hu miclum *fremige* þære soðan lufe gebed.

In most cases, however, the predicative idea is predominant and the indicative is the usual mood, as is often seen after *awritan* when this construction is employed not in its interrogative but in its highly descriptive character; this is specially observable after strong objective expressions as *gereccan*, *CP.*, 333, 16, and *bodian*, *CP.*, 163, 1, and after such verbs as *læran*, *W.*, 242, 13, and *rædan*, *LS.*, 426, 202, with the signification of simple verbs of saying.

These constructions may be divided into two classes:—

a. Indirect interrogative sentences introduced by pronouns or adjectives, as *hwa, hwæs, hwam, hwæt, hwilc, hwæðer*, etc.

After verbs of inquiry the subjunctive is the rule, as *LS.*, 10, 9, þa iudeiscan axodon crist hwæt he *wære;* similarly *axian hwa, AH.*, I, 152, 14; *frignan hwæt, LS.*, 174, 76.

After verbs of the other classes the subjunctive is employed when regularly required by the governing verb or when the interrogative idea is prominent in the clause, as *CP.*, 273, 5, þæt hie geðencen hwelce hi hie innan *geemigen* Gode; similarly *geseon hwilcne, AH.*, I, 580, 29; *secgan hwæt, AH.*, I, 386, 13. This mood is also used when the reality of the contents of the dependent clause is doubted, or when its action is regarded as indefinite or uncertain, either in present or in future time, as *Mark*, XV, 24, hi hlotu wurpon hwæt gehwa *name.* It is often due to the negative, conditional, or adhortative character of the expression, as *Matt.*, VI, 3, nyte þin wynstre hwæt *do* þin swyðre; *Luke*, VII, 39, gyf þe man witega wære he wiste hwæt and hwylc þis wif *wære.*

In most cases, however, the indicative is found when it is the regular sequence of the governing verb, and oftentimes the interrogative pronomial is scarcely to be distinguished from a relative, as *Boe.*, 88, 2, ic wylle gecyðan mid hwilcere endebyrdnesse he *gestaðolaðe; CP.*, 401, 15, ic eow secge hwæt eow arwyrðlicost *is* to beganne; 429, 24, hi ongietaþ hwæt ymbe hi gedon *biþ;* similarly *cyðan hwæðer, Or.*, 100, 8; *geðencan hwæt, CP.*, 37, 23; *witan hwelc, Or.*, 136, 20. "Es ist ersichtlich," says Mätzner [*Engl. Gram.*, III, 443], "wie nahe bisweilen der Fragesatz an dem relativen Satz streift; die Entscheidung liegt in dem Prädicatsbegriffe des Hauptsatzes und ist auf die Analogie mit der Satzfrage zu begründen."

b. Indirect interrogative sentences introduced by interrogative adverbs, such as *hwonne, hwær, hwonan, hwider, humeta, hwi, hu.*

The same rules apply in general to these expressions.

The regular subjunctive follows verbs of inquiry, as *AH.*, I, 18, 12, axode hwi he his bebod *tobræce: axian hu, AH.*, I, 182, 19; *befrignan hwær, AH.*, I, 78, 11.

The subjunctive occurs after other verbs when the interrogative idea is specially strong, as *Or.*, 260, 6, gesecge hwær ænig gewin swa *gehwurfe;* also *CP.*, 433, 14,—in indefinite or assumed expressions, as *CP.*, 45, 24, þenceaþ . . . . hwi hie ðara geearnunga bet *truwigen* ðonne; *Matt.*, XXIV, 3,—in a conditional or concessive sentence as *John*, XI, 57, hæfdon beboden gif hwa wiste hwær he *wære*,—after verbs which usually require the subjunctive, as *ðencan hu, CP.*, 41, 23; *smeagan hu, AH.*, II, 268, 7.

The indicative is in general use after verbs of report and of perception; here the interrogative idea is almost lost sight of and the attention is directed rather to the adverbial relation, as *CP.*, 225, 23, gif he him sægð hwonon ðæt *cymð;* similarly *CP.*, 163, 11; 419, 10; *Or.*, 24, 21; 210, 27; *LS.*, 302, 281; *Jud.*, 174.

The frequent use of the indirect interrogative clause introduced by *hu* deserves special notice; in most of these examples the attention is directed not so much to the interrogative relation, as to the manner of action or the simple occurrence of the event; as we should expect, therefore, the indicative is the mood employed; as *CP.*, 163, 11, he him gecyðð *hu* sio byrðen *wiexð* and *hefegað; LS.*, 302, 281, ne mæg man awritan *hu* oft se ælmihtiga God egelice *gewræc* his foresewennysse; similarly after *secgan, Or.*, 24, 21; *sweotolian, AH.*, I, 272, 22; *smeagan, AH.*, I, 308, 19; *ongietan, CP.*, 231, 16; *oncnawan, AH.*, I, 588, 8; *gemunan, CP.*, 5, 8.

A large number of these *hu*-clauses differ very little from the simple dependent sentence introduced by *þæt* and sometimes even seem to replace the latter, as *LS.*, 10, 11, nu ge habbaþ gehered *hu* se hælend be him spræc. The two constructions are occasionally found side by side, as *Jos.*, II, 10, we gehierdon *þæt* Drihten adrigde þa readan sæ and *hu* ge ofslogen siððan twegen cyningas; *Chr.*, 58, C. 20, cydde *hu* his breðre hæfdon wroht an minstre and *þæt* hi hæfdon gefrerd wið cyning; *AH.*, II, 486, 25, to secganne *hu* Adam wearð on Deofles ðeowdome gebroht and *þæt* se mildheorta God forgeaf þam mannum þe

hine ænne wurðiað; similarly in *Luke*, VII, 39, he wiste *hwelc* and *hwæt* þis wif wære, *þæt* heo synful is; also *LS.*, 28, 77.

By a careful comparison of the *hu*-clauses with the indirect declarative sentence introduced by *þæt*, it will be found that the two constructions are not used indiscriminately: *hu* has a definite sylistic value; it is the concrete, vivid introduction as opposed to the colorless *þæt*. In the words of Mätzner (*Engl. Gram.*, III, 445), "Jenes (*þæt*) fasst einfach die Thatsache zusammen, während dieses (*hu*) malerich an den sinnfälligen Verlauf oder die Weise der Thatsache erinnert." From a rhetorical standpoint, therefore, the construction introduced by *hu* is a most important means of graphic and picturesque representation and the frequency of its employment in Anglo-Saxon attests the value set upon it as a stylistic device. It is a common construction at all periods of the language, but the translator of the *Pastoral Care* shows a peculiar fondness for its use, especially when he exercises his power of description; how vivid a picture does he in this way present to us of the gladsome days of old in England: ic geseah *hu* þa ciricean giond eall Angelcynn stodon madma and boca gefylde [*CP.*, 5, 8]; me com swiðe oft on gemynd *hwelce* wiotan iu wæron giond Angelcynn, and *hu* gesæliglica tida ða wæron giond Angelcynn; and *hu* þa kyningas Gode and his ærendwrecum hersumedon; and *hu* him ða gespeow ægðer ge mid wige ge mid wisdome; and eac ða godcundan hadas *hu* georne hie wæron; and *hu* man utanbordes wisdom and lare hieder on lond sohte, and *hu* we hie ne sceoldon ute begietan gif we hie habban sceoldon [*CP.*, 3, 2 ff.].

IV. The Use of the Auxiliaries.

Sculan.

The original signification of *sculan* was a sense of duty. This original conception has suffered considerable transferrence in

meaning, until there remains only the idea of compulsion which easily passes over to that of cause, of occasion, and even of possibility.[1]

The signification of duty or obligation in *sculan* is very strong in Anglo-Saxon; indeed there are few instances of its occurrence where this idea is not present to a greater or less extent; it is found after verbs of all classes, as *CP.*, 55, 19, he þenceð þæt he *sciele* monig god weorc þæron wyrcan; *W.*, 298, 2, nyte ge ful georne þæt ælc mon *scel* hyran his hlaforde?; similarly after *secgan*, *AH.*, II, 604, 22; *gesweotolian*, *AH.*, I, 382, 17; *þyncan*, *CP.*, 57, 7; *gehieran*, *AH.*, II, 544, 27; *geleornian*, *Bede*, 76, 7.

The conception of duty imposed upon one by a person other than the subject of *sculan* is found in expressions in which the governing verb denotes command, prohibition, or admonition, as *Or.*, 44, 8, het secgan þæt hie *sceoldon* þæt land æt him alesan; similarly after *beodan*, *AH.*, I, 246, 20, bead þæt ælc man swa don *sceolde;* after *cweðan*, *AH.*, I, 424, 9; *awritan*, *AH.*, I, 174, 20; *gesettan*, *AH.*, I, 150, 21; *gelæran*, *CP.*, 131, 3; *hatan*, *LS.*, 200, 92; *manian*, *CP.*, 97, 11. It is the common construction after such expressions in the indirect interrogative sentence, as *AH.*, II, 250, 4, wolde him æteowian hu he oðrum *sceolde* mannum gemiltsian on mislicum gyltum; *CP.*, 169, 20, Dryhten bebead Moyse hu he *scolde* beran þa earc; similarly after *reccan*, *CP.*, 73, 22; *anstellan*, *W.*, 218, 28; *gestihtan*, *CP.*, 99, 11; *getacnian*, *Bede*, 90, 5; *rædan*, *Chr.*, 246, C. 22. *Sculan* is also frequent in threats, as *Gu.*, 163, hwearfum cwædon þæt he on þam beorge byrnan *sceolde.*

From this idea of compulsion advance is made to that of the necessary occurrence of an event by reason of this exercise of force; hence *sculan* is used to express absolute certainty in future time and, as closely connected with this, is frequent in indirect expressions of prophesy; as *LS.*, 446, 97, þam wearð

[1] Von Monsterberg Münckenau, "Der Infinitiv nach *Wellen* u s w. in den Epen Hartmanns von Aue," *Z. f. d. Phil.*, 18, 148 ff.

geswutelod on swefne þæt he *sceolde* gefeccan æt Swyðunes byrgene his lichaman hæle; 152, 79, ic secge þæt þu *scealt* gewitan on þam sixteodan geare; *Or.*, 80, 35, we witan þæt we ure agen lif forlætan *sceolon;* likewise after *cweðan*, *CP.*, 329, 8; *cyðan*, *AH.*, I, 152, 19; *secgan*, *BH.*, 69, 18.

There is considerable difference of opinion with regard to the power of *sculan* to form periphrastic expressions of the future. Koch [*Engl. Gram.*, II, p. 31] holds that *sculan* with the infinitive was used as an expression of future time earlier than *willan* and infinitive, and that the former construction places itself alongside the simple present as a representative of the future in Anglo-Saxon. Mätzner [*Engl. Gram.*, I, 348], with his usual caution, does not go so far and only states that the use of *sculan* with the infinitive approaches very near a periphrastic expression of the future. Ælfric does not afford us much assistance here, though he shows that there was a distinct difference between the simple indicative and the auxiliary constructions, when he distinguishes *stabo* = *ic stande nu rihte oððe sumne timan* from *loquaturus* = *se-þe wyle oððe sceal sprecan.* Lüttgens inclines to the belief that Ælfric here uses the auxiliaries to denote the various circumstances contained in the sentence which lead up to the event, and sums up his conclusions thus (p. 48): "lässt sich sagen dass dann wenn der Gedanke des Lesers der zukünftigen Handlung gilt, zu welcher Vorstellung er in Zusammenhang Veranlassung verschiedener Art findet, sich auch das futurische Moment in *sculan* geltend macht, dass *sculan* in solchen Fällen aber dann einer futurischen Umschreibung sehr nahe zu kommen scheint, wenn das Moment der Nötigung weniger beachtet zu werden verdient und kaum noch hervortritt." There are numerous examples of such expressions as *Bede*, 198, 9, ic ongeote þæt he hrædlice of þissum life leoran *sceal;* 188, 14, he seolfa onget þæt hine mon ofslean *sceolde;* similarly *Or.*, 86, 3; *AH.*, I, 152, 8; *CP.*, 93, 4. Most if not all of these statements lie on the border-line between prophecies and simple future expressions. After most verbs, ideas of necessity, com-

mand, and prophecy find so easy an entrance that it is impossible to state with any degree of certainty whether the construction with *sculan* represents these or the future conception. After verbs of thinking and believing [Class B] these ideas are more generally absent and we may speak with more assurance of the clear expression of futurity. In sentences like the following, then, there is the nearest approach to the modern periphrastic construction of the future: *CP.*, 433, 28, he gesihð þa gearwe ðe he wende þæt he *sceolde* ungearwe findan; *AH.*, I, 294, 1, we sceolon gelyfan þæt ælc lichama *sceal* arisan; *BH.*, 183, 31, wenstu þæt ic *sceole* sprecan to þissum men? similarly *W.*, 126, 18; 152, 20; *CP.*, 5, 22.

The construction with *sculan* used as a periphrastic expression for the subjunctive is rarely found except after verbs of design [Lüttgens, p. 18], as *CP.*, 41, 23, þonne hie þenceað hu hi sylfe *scylen* fullfremodeste weorðan; similarly *Or.*, 216, 15.

A greater degree of development has taken place in the signification of *sculan* when used after expressions of custom; the primitive idea in this connection is evidently the obligation resting upon one to conform to a practice that has been sanctioned by continuous usage; hence the construction with *sculan* has come to be a common method of describing in detail a rite or custom, as *Matt.*, XXVII, 15, hig hæfdon heom to gewunan þæt se dema *sceolde* forgyfan þam folce ænne forwyrhtne mann; *AH.*, I, 218, 1, se gewuna stent þæt se sacerd bletsian *sceole* palm twiga. In the lengthy narration of a custom, *sculan* is inserted at intervals within the regular direct indicative narration, as *Bright's Anglo-Saxon Reader*, p. 43 [*Or.*, 20, 19], þæt is mid Estum þeaw þonne þær bið man dead, þæt he bið unforbærned and þa cyningas licgað bufan eorðan on hyra husum; and ealle þa hwile þær *sceal* beon gedrywe; þonne todæleð hi his feoh and alecgað hit on anre mile þone mæstan dæl from þæm tune; and *sceall* beon se læsta dæl nyhst þæm tune; þonne *sceolon* beon gesamnode ealle þa men . . . . and þæt is mid Estum þeaw þæt þær *sceall* ælces geðeodes man beon for-

bærned; and gif þar man an ban findeð unforbærned hi hit *sceolon* gebetan, etc.; similarly *Or.*, 70, 23.

There is another peculiar use of *sculan*, viz., in statements, the truth of which the writer or speaker will not vouch for, and, in some instances, in statements which he considers absolutely false. This use of *sculan* grows out of its subjective nature. The construction is not very common, but is occasionally found in most Anglo-Saxon prose writings; as *CP.*, 91, 8, sio godcunde stefn cwæð þæt hie *sceolden* leasunga witgian [quas divinus sermo falsa videre redarguit]; 431, 15, sæde Solomon þæt se mon *sceolde* cweðan; *Or.*, 206, 3, sume men sædon þæt he *sceolde* beon gefongen on hergunga oþþe æt wearde; *AH.*, 1, 486, 5, sume gedwolmen cwædon þæt þæt heafud *sceolde* ablawan ðæs cyninges wif; *W.*, 197, 16,[1] ealle þa þe hæþene men cwædon þæt godas beon *sceoldan; AH.*, 572, 16,[1] sume gedwolmen cwædon þæt seo halige Maria and sume oðre halgan *sceolon* hergian ða synfuldan of þam deofle; *Boe.*, 194, 30, ongunnon lease men wyrcan spell and rædon þæt hio *sciolde* mid hyre drycræft þa men forbædon; sume hi rædon þæt hio *sciolde* forsceoppan; *LS.*, 526, 613, cwæð þæt þær gelæht wære binnan þære byrig an uncuð geong man þe yldrena gold hord *sceolde* findan; similarly *Bede*, 438, 32, gesegen wæs þæt he heora aldor beon *sceolde* [major esse videbatur eorum]; *Chr.*, 315, E, 19.

When the writer is narrating an extended story of this kind, he guards it either by the employment of *sculan* with every clause, as *Boe.*, 162, 4, ic wat þæt þu gehierdest oft reccan on ealdrum leasum spellum þæt Job *sceolde* beon se hehsta god, and he *sceolde* beon þæs heofones sunu, and *scolde* ricsian on heofonum and *sceolden* gigantas beon on eorðan sume, and *sceolden* ricsian ofen eorðan and þa *sceolden* hi beon

[1] These examples are cited by Lüttgens, p. 19, bb. as *Bede*, 495 and 196 respectively; the edition of the *Ecclesiastical History* he has used is that of Wheeloc, who has inserted parts of Anglo-Saxon homilies at frequent intervals in the historical narrative. It is in these interpolations that this construction with *sculan* occurs. *Bede* offers no instances of this construction after a verb of saying.

swilce hi wæron geswystrena bearn forðam þe he *sceolde* beon heofones sunu, etc.; or, more frequently, there is variation with the direct narration in the indicative, as in the well-known passage in the *Boethius*, 168, 3, þa sædon hi þæt þæs hearperes wif *sceolde* acwellan and hire sawle man *sceolde* lædan to helle; þa *sceolde* se hearpere weorþan swa sarig, *teah* to wuda and *sæt* and *weop* and *hearpode* . . . . þa he þider com, þa *sceolde* cuman þære helle hund, etc. The original Latin is expressed in indirect discourse throughout. *Sculan* is therefore used here as a note of warning against the reader's belief in this narrative which the author afterwards characterizes as 'þas leasan spell.' In *Boe.*, 194, 13 ff., *sculan* is again used in the description of heathen belief; 13, licette þæt he *sceolde* beon se hehsta God; 16, þa *sceolde* þæs Jobes fæder beon eac God; similarly 19, 20, 29, 32, 34. An interesting example of this use of *sculan* in later times is seen in *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, Act II, Sc. 2, "Tib hath tickled in Gammer's ear that you *should* steal the cock;" also in *As You Like It*, iii, 2, 182.

Sculan is occasionally used to express simple report in direct discourse; as *W.*, 221, 24, he sende þa birnende regn ofer manna bearn; þa *scoldon* hie swiðe nioh mid ealle forweorþan; *Beow.*, 1071, Hæleð Healfdena in Freawæle feallan *scolde;* 1261, Grendles modor seo þe wæter-egesan wunian *sceolde;* 2276, he gewunian *sceall* hræw under hrusan; similarly *Gen.*, 1776; *Gu.*, 75.

Willan.

The original idea contained in *willan* is that of volition; although this primitive meaning has remained to a greater or less extent in almost every occurrence of *willan*, there has been a strong development in the use of this auxiliary. Simple volition has developed into the stronger moment of intention and design, and expresses the subjective element in a promise; on the other hand, with a weakening of its original force, *willan*

is used to indicate future action and also to express prophetic utterances. Finally, it denotes a long-continued tendency toward a certain course of action, hence a habit or custom.

The use of *willan* to express a wish pure and simple is not very frequent in indirect discourse, since the other meanings of this auxiliary easily enter in to modify the statement. Some clear examples are, however, found, as *AH.*, I, 136, 2, hit is awriten þæt fela witegan *woldon* geseon Cristes to-cyme; *LS.*, 406, 372, sæde þæt he *wolde* hine wurðiau for god; *AH.*, II, 298, 31, cwædon þæt hi *woldon* his lare gehyran; *Bede*, 438, 7, cwæð þæt he *nolde* his synna ondettan [respondit non se velle confiteri peccata sua].

The idea of volition necessarily contains in itself the element of futurity, and the moment of design is quite frequently subordinated to that of future occurrence. The less the original meaning of *willan* is felt, so much the more forcible becomes the future idea in the expression. The entire elimination of the element of volition in *willan* is very rare, but in not a few instances it has become so weak that the simple future character of the expression can hardly admit of doubt; as *AH.*, II, 482, 31, cyðað þe þæt ða Iudeiscan *willað* beon eowere gafolgylderas; *Or.*, 80, 20, write þæt hie *woldon* geornfulran beon þære wrace þonne oþere men; *CP.*, 257, 25, is awriten þæt sio wund *wolde* haligean æfter þæm þe hio wyrsmde; *Beow.*, 13 15, þær se snotora bad hwæðer him alwalda æfre *wille* æfter weaspelle wyrpe gefremman; similarly *CP.*, 57, 22; 387, 26; *Or.*, 76, 10; 136, 12; *Boe.*, 76, 22; *BH.*, 135, 4, 21; *AH.*, I, 480, 1.

Examples are far more numerous in which *willan* serves to express intermediate ideas between mere volition on the one hand and the simple future on the other. Most closely connected with the moment of volition is the use of *willan* with expressions of promise or threat, where this auxiliary is most frequently employed, as *AH.*, II, 26, 9, cwæð þæt he on Gode gelyfan *wolde; Gen.*, 47, cwædon þæt heo rice agan *woldon; LS.*, 416, 51, cwæð þæt he nolde his hæsum gehyrsumian; *W.*,

216, 8, Drihten self wrat þæt he *wolde* ealle synfulle men forbærnan; *AH.*, I, 22, 8, þa behet God þæt he *wolde* næfre eft eal mancynn mid wætre acwellan; similarly after *gebeodan*, *Or.*, 54, 21; *swerian*, 68, 27; *gebeotian*, 72, 29; *gesprecan*, 138, 3; also *AH.*, II, 172, 9; 246, 5; 502, 7; *Bede*, 126, 19; *W.*, 206, 1; *Chr.*, 212, A. 24.

Closely allied in meaning to this use of *willan* is its use to denote intention or design, as *Matt.*, XXVI, 16, he smeade þæt he hine *wolde* belæwan; XXII, 15, þa ongunnon þa Pharisei rædan þæt hig *woldon* þone hælend on his spræce befon; similarly after *þencan*, *AH.*, I, 196, 2; *smeagan*, 206, 19. When the moment of intention is conveyed by a verb of simple report, *willan* is almost universally used in the dependent clause, as *AH.*, II, 504, 1, sæde þæt he *wolde* his wiðerwinna beon; *Beow.*, 199, cwæð he guðcyning ofer swanrade secan *wolde;* similarly after *secgan*, *Or.*, 136, 14.

The employment of this auxiliary in expressions of prophecy is very near to its use as a representative of the simple future, as *LS.*, 342, 85, hi ealle cyddon mid wordum þæt se wuldorfulla Hælend *wolde* us alesan fram helle; *W.*, 251, 1, sædon þæt se *wolde* cuman of þam cynestole hider on þas woruld; 206, 9, Noe hio mannum sæde be þam flode þæt he (= flod) *wolde* ealle synfulle men adrencan; *LS.*, 104, 240; *AH.*, I, 588, 25.

It is to be noted as a general observation that in expressions of intention and design or of simple volition, the person of both the subordinate and governing clauses is usually the same, since the sense of volition is strongest when the speaker expresses his own wishes; on the other hand, in future or prophetic statements the element of personality is obviously less prominent, and the persons of these two clauses are most frequently different.

The less common uses of *willan* are as follows:—

To express customary or habitual action, as *Bede*, 318, 14, secgað men be hire þæt heo næfre linnum hræglum brucan *wolde;* *AH.*, II, 552, 31, ic wat þæt þu eart swiðe styrne man

and *wilt* niman þæt þu ær ne sealdest, and *wilt* ripan þæt þu ær ne seowe; 138, 3, þes halga man wæs gewunod þæt he *wolde* gan on niht to sæ; *CP.*, 419, 26, is awriten þæt se hund *wille* etan þæt he ær aspaw, and sio sugu *wille* sylian on hire sole;[1] similarly *Beow.*, 988; *Or.*, 112, 19.

In clauses introduced by *hwæðer* after verbs of inquiry, *willan* expresses the idea of preference, as *AH.*, II, 50, 13, axodon hi hwæðer hi *wolden* wiðsacan defle; *BH.*, 233, 26, axa hie hwæðer hie *woldan* to eorðan astigan; *LS.*, 376, 172, he mot afandian hwæðer his mod *wille* abugan from Gode; similarly 338, 29.

In some instances *willan* has no more force than to express a courteous deference to the will of another, as *LS.*, 506, 300, we biddaþ þe, leof hlaford, þæt þu *gehyran wolde* (instead of the usual *gehyre*) ure word; 532, 732, ic bidde eow þæt ge æfter me ane lytle hwile *willen* gan.

The two following examples illustrate very well the ordinary distinctions between *sculan* and *willan: Or.*, 44, 8, het secgan þæt hie oðer *sceoldan* oððe þæt land æt him alesan, oððe he hi *wolde* fordon; *W.*, 99, 26, sædon þæt he þider upp astigan *wolde* and englas hine þær underfon *sceoldon.*

Motan and *Magan.*

There is great irregularity in the employment of these auxiliaries; in most cases they appear to be used merely to form periphrases of the simple subjunctive. *Motan*, however, is specially frequent after verbs of permission as *alyfan* and *forgiefan*, and together with *magan* is very common in expressions denoting future or designed action, as after *smeagan* and *geþeahtian.*

To determine the relative proportion of the simple subjunctive forms to the periphrastic constructions with *sculan, willan,*

[1] Lüttgens wrongly regards these as simple futures, p. 84.

motan, and *magan* in indirect discourse, the following statistics have been made:—

	CP.	*Or.*	*Boe.*	*Bede.*	*Poetry.*	*AH.*	*LS.*	*W.*	*BH.*	*Gosp.*
Subj.....	278	265	189	350	211	489	253	214	153	156
Auxil.....	90	92	68	138	122	300	169	111	72	16

The conclusions to be drawn from these statistics are very evident. With the exception of the poetical passages, in which the endeavor to impart vivacity and energy to the statement calls for a more extensive employment of the auxiliary constructions, and of the *Gospels* where the translator held slavishly to his Latin original, a remarkable regularity in use is observed. Regarding *CP.*, *Or.*, *Boe.*, and *Bede* as representatives of Alfredian prose and *AH.*, *Boe.*, *W.*, and *BH.* as types of the language of the later period, the above statistics show that the relative proportion of the subjunctive to the auxiliary forms in the former period is as 3 to 1, while at the time of Ælfric the proportion is as 2 to 1. This postulates, therefore, a growing tendency in the language to make use of the auxiliary constructions, and this tendency was fostered by the gradual breaking-down of the old subjunctive forms, until in course of time the periphrastic constructions almost entirely replaced the inflectional forms. The language of the poetry in the use of auxiliaries is almost identical with that of the period of Ælfric. The *Gospels*, in their almost entire neglect of the periphrastic forms, correspond to no other literary style.

V. The Complex Indirect Sentence.

The complex indirect sentence consists of a principal and of a subordinate clause, the latter of which is either adjectival

or adverbial in character. Of complex sentences the *conditional sentence* is by far the most important and requires special treatment.

A. The Indirect Conditional Sentence.

The indirect conditional sentence in Anglo-Saxon offers peculiar difficulties in its treatment. The sequence of tenses is here more rigidly observed than is generally the case with most dependent clauses, hence many of the distinctions which would otherwise be determined by means of the tense of the conditional clauses are hidden from view by reason of conformity to the tense of the governing verb; as, *e. g.*, the simple logical condition following a verb of past time is thrown into the same tense as the true ideal or unreal conditional clauses. Again, the distinctions established by differences in mood fall into more or less obscurity by reason of the frequent occurrences of the subjunctive as the regular sequence after many governing verbs; for this reason well defined examples of unreal and ideal conditions after verbs in past time are very rare and it is often almost impossible to distinguish the ideal from the logical condition.

The usual introduction of the protasis is *gif*, with frequent occurrences of *buton* and occasional instances of *nymðe*.

In considering the indirect conditional sentence, the treatment will be, as in the general discussion of the indirect sentence, a threefold one, according to the character of the governing verb. It will be seen, I think, that this principle of division will serve to bring out more clearly the peculiar constructions of the conditional clause falling under these respective classes. Dr. Mather has shown, in his dissertation on the *Conditional Sentence* [Munich, 1893], that there is a variation in the conditional construction according as the governing verb is in present or past time; this distinction has also been kept in view throughout the discussion.

1. *The Conditional Sentence after Verbs of Saying*, etc.

a. The governing verb in the present tense.

(1). After verbs of simple report—Here, as in the simple indirect sentences, are found variations in the use of moods.

(*a*) Indicative in apodosis and protasis: *CP.*, 233, 16, þæm æfstegum is to secganne gif he hie *nyllaþ* healdan wiþ þæm æfste þæt hie *weorðaþ* besewde; similarly *AH.*, II, 318, 4; *LS.*, 456, 244. In indirect interrogatives, as *Ælfric de Novo Test.*, 12, 5, ic secge hu gif þu *wiltest* ealne þisne wisdom þonne *woldest* þu gelyfan; likewise *CP.*, 53, 10; *W.*, 222, 13. In *John*, XII, 24, the protasis is in the invariable subjunctive after *buton:* ic secge eow þæt hwætene corn *wunaþ* ana buton hit *fealle* on eorðan.

(*b*) The subjunctive in the apodosis, the indicative remaining in the protasis, as *Boe.*, 212, 18, hi secgaþ þæt hi *mægen* þy ðe heora wisdome fylgan gif hiora anweald *biþ* fullice ofer þæt folc; similarly *Beow.*, 1846. The foregoing constructions are generally to be regarded as logical conditions.

(*c*) The protasis and apodosis are both with the subjunctive; the protasis generally expresses an ideal condition as, *CP.*, 73, 22, we willaþ reccan gif he þær swelc *tocyme* hu he þæron lybban *scyle;* similarly *Bede*, 128, 25; *CP.*, 253, 8, eac is to cyðanne ðam mettrumum, gif hie *willen* geliefan, þæt hie ðonne her on worulde ðoligen earfeðu; the unusual subjunctive in the apodosis in the last example expresses problematic action in the future. There are also a few clear cases of the unreal condition with the usual construction of the preterite subjunctive in both members: *W.*, 228, 7, ic sægge þæt ge *scoldan* ealle forweorðan, *nære* þære halgan Scã Marian gebed; *Beow.*, 591, secge ic þe þæt næfre Grendel swa fela gryra *gefremede* gif þin hige *wære* sefa swa searo grim.

(2). After verbs of bidding, promising, and the like, the apodosis, following the general rule, requires the subjunctive; the mood of the protasis is frequently unaffected by that of the

apodosis and remains indicative, as in direct narration, as *LS.*, 478, 104, behat me gif þin dohter nu hal *bið*, þæt þu hire *geðafige;* similarly *LS.*, 190, 353. In *LS.*, 6, 74, ic bidde nu on godes naman gif hwa þas boc awritan *wille*, þæt he hi wel *gerihte*, and *AH.*, II, 2, 20, the ambiguous form *wille* is used in the protasis; it is most probably to be regarded as subjunctive in a general and indefinite statement. In *Exod.*, 431, occurs the usual subjunctive protasis after *nymðe:* að swereð þæt þines cynnes rim ne cunnon ylde nymðe hwylc þæs snottor in sefan *weorðe*.

b. The governing verb in past time.

The most noticeable difference between these and the preceding constructions consists in the greater regularity observed in the use of the preterite subjunctive in the protasis; the indicative is entirely done away with when the regular sequence of tenses is observed; the only exception is found when the indirect clause is thrown back into the present, in which case there is a distinct tendency to retain the direct expression, as *e. g.*, *Mark*, XII, 19, Moyses wrat, gif hwæs broðor dead *bið* and *læfð* his wif and *næfð* nan bearn, þæt his broðor nime his wif. The corresponding passage in *Luke*, XX, 28, shows only a partial attraction of the verbs of the protasis: M. wrat gyf hwæs broðor *byð* dead and wif *hæbbe* and se bið butan bearnum, þæt his broðor *nime;* and this transition is complete in *Matt.*, XXII, 24, sæde gif hwa dead *sy* and bearn *næbbe*, þæt his broðor *nyme*, etc. The mood in the original Latin is the past subjunctive in all the cases, save 'non habens filium' (*Matt.*) and 'habens uxorem' (*Luke*).

The usual construction in the conditional sentence after a verb in past time is the use of the preterite subjunctive in both members of the sentence, as *Bede*, 374, 25, sægdon and cyðdon heora biscope þæt him *licede* and leof *wære* gif hit his willa *wære; CP.*, 63, 23, þæt he sceolde beodan Aron þæt nan man to his ðegnunge ne *come* gif he blind *wære;* similarly *CP.*, 96, 3; *Or.*, 194, 11; 266, 9; *Bede*, 122, 34; 126, 10; 234, 31; 242, 31, 33; 268, 15; 274, 29; 306, 24; 308, 19; 316, 21; 328,

19, 34; 332, 11; 390, 19; 416, 17; *Boe.*, 170, 10; 248, 8, 9; *AH.*, I, 134, 13; 138, 15; II, 18, 23; 178, 23; *Mark*, XIV, 33; *John*, IX, 22; *Gen.*, 1443; *Gu.*, 1131.

In many cases ambiguity arises by reason of the similar forms for the indicative and subjunctive of weak and auxiliary verbs; the auxiliaries may be generally regarded as used in their subjunctival modal function, and though we cannot speak with certainty with regard to the ambiguous forms of weak verbs, they at least offer no exception to the general usage; as *LS.*, 36, 185, cwæð þæt heo eode to hire and hi *wolde* forhycgan gif heo þæt bysmor forberan *wolde;* 36, 204; *Bede*, 222, 18; 306, 22; 308, 19; 380, 2; *W.*, 18, 3; 209, 26. In the exceptional construction in *AH.*, I, 246, 16, bodode him þæt him *wæs* Godes grama onsigende gif hi so Gode bugan *wolde*, the indicative is used in the apodosis to give greater vividness to the words of the homilist.

After expressions of command, threat, or promise, an infinitive is often used to take the place of the apodosis, while the protasis retains the regular preterite subjunctive; as *LS.*, 42, 298, he het *acwellan* þone cristenan philippum gif hit soð *wære;* similarly 38, 214. In *AH.*, II, 308, 18, the inflected infinitive is thus employed: þa þywde se casere hine *to swingenne* gif he him *sæde* swa hwæs swa he axode; and in *LS.*, 174, 96, a substantive takes its place: behet manigfealde *wita* buton heo *wiðsoce* þone soðan hælend; similarly 72, 365.

Examples are occasionally found of adjectival and other subordinate clauses, that play the part of a protasis; the preterite subjunctive is regularly employed; as *AH.*, II, 338, 34, God gecwæð þæt ælc synn, ðe *nære ofer eorðan gehet*, sceolde beon on ðissere worulde gedemed ['if it were not atoned for it should be judged']; 244, 17, cwæð þæt him selre *wære, þæt he geboren nære;* likewise *Bede*, 394, 24.

In the indirect interrogative sentence the same general constructions are observed as noted above: *AH.*, II, 242, 16, befran hwæt hi him feos *geuðon* gif he ðone Hælend him belæwan *mihte; AH.*, I, 82, 17, cydde him hu he ymbe *wolde* gif he him *gemette;* similarly *W.*, 212, 5.

At times when a continuous action is expressed or the statement is of universal application, the conditional sentence is in the present tense after a preterite governing verb. Here also is observed a variation of moods similar to that which takes place when the governing verb is in the present, as—indicative apodosis and subjunctive protasis: *AH.*, I, 26, 17, cwæð þæt nan man ne *mæg* beon gehealden buton he on Gode *gelyfe*,—subjunctive in both members: *AH.*, II, 94, 29, gesette canon þæt nan mæsse-preost wifhades mann *næbbe* buton hit *sy* his modor,—indicative in both members, as *John*, XI, 40, ne sæde ic þe þæt þu *gesyhst* wuldor, gif þu *gelifst*.

2. *The Conditional Sentence after Verbs of Thinking, etc.*

a. The governing verb in the present tense.

(1) Subjunctive in apodosis and indicative in protasis. As the general mood of subordinate verbs following verbs of thinking is the subjunctive, a large number of present subjunctive forms in the protases would naturally be expected; on the contrary we find that the independent construction of the indicative protasis is more regularly observed than in indirect clauses after verbs of saying: *CP.*, 77, 1, is wen þæt hio ðа oðre wiers besmite gif hio hire *anhrinð*; *AH.*, I, 124, 14, sume men wenað þæt him genihtsumige to fulfremedum læcedome gif hi *andettað*; likewise *CP.*, 339, 19; 425, 1; *Boe.*, 164, 1; *Beow.*, 442, 1185; *LS.*, 426, 181; *W.*, 302, 11; *AH.*, II, 344, 33; 420, 12.

(2) Subjunctive in both members; an ideal or future relation is here generally expressed: *Boe.*, 144, 3, he wenð gif he þonne lust *begite* þæt he þonne *hæbbe* fulle gesælþa; *CP.*, 185, 25, wenð gif he hit him *iewe* þæt he him *nylle* geðafigean; similarly *Boe.*, 66, 2.

(3) Indicative in both members: *AH.*, II, 70, 14, we ondræðað us þæt ge þas getacnunga to gymeleaste *doð* gif ge eow swiðor be þam *gerecceð*; *AH.*, I, 528, 21, ic wene þæt þas word ne *sind* eow full cuðe gif we hi openlicor eow ne *onwreoð*. Here

are to be placed such constructions as *AH.*, II, 462, 22, se ðe hungre acwelð we gelyfað þæt he *gegæð* Gode buton he þe swiðor forscyldgod *wære; W.*, 135, 14; the subjunctive is due merely to the use of *buton*.

There are a few examples of the ideal or unreal condition with the usual preterite subjunctive in both members, as *CP.*, 187, 2, ic wene þæt he hine *snide* slanclicor gif he him ær *sæde*. ['I ween that he would not have cut him if he had told him']. *Boe.*, 134, 20, 24, offers an excellent example of the change of construction due to the passage from the unreal to the logical condition, the preterite subjunctive being used in both members of the former and the present indicative in the latter: 20, hwi ne miht þu geðencan gif nan wuht full *nære* þonne *nære* nan wuht wana; 24, hwi ne miht þu geþencan gif þissa goda wana *is* ðonne *is* sum god full ælces willan.

b. The governing verb in the past.

The preterite subjunctive is here used very consistently in the protasis and usually the same form in the apodosis, though there are a few examples of the indicative: *AH.*, I, 82, 12, ðohte gif he hi ealle *ofslage* þæt se an ne *cætburste;* similarly 124, 25. The independent construction of the preterite indicative in the protasis is occasionally met with, as *W.*, 260, 18, wendest þu gif þu me *sealdest* owiht þines, þæt þe þonne *wære* þin wuldorgestreon eall gelytlad; similarly *AH.*, II, 2, 11.

3. *The Conditional Sentence after Verbs of Perception, Happening, etc.*

a. The governing verb in the present tense.

The construction in such cases is very regular: the ordinary usage is a consistent employment of the present indicative in both protasis and apodosis, as *CP.*, 377, 1, hie witon gif hiera niehstan friend *weorðað* wædlan, þæt hi *beoð* ðonne fultemend to hiera wædle; similarly *CP.*, 273, 20; *Boe.*, 174, 24; *LS.*, 268, 92; *W.*, 155, 15; *BH.*, 181, 22; *AH.*, I, 528, 21. Whenever *butan* introduces the protasis the invariable subjunctive is

of course found, while the apodosis retains the indicative, as *AH.*, I, 96, 2, wite gehwa buton he his lustas *gewanige* þæt he ne *hylt* his cristendom; similarly *W.*, 49, 13; 270, 26.

When the ideal or unreal condition is to be expressed, the preterite subjunctive is used in both members of the conditional sentence; as *Boe.*, 242, 6, ic wat gif se delfere ðа eorðan no ne *dulfe* ðonne ne *funde* he hit no; similarly *Boe.*, 210, 8; *Matt.*, XXIV, 43. The indicative is occasionally found in the apodosis, due doubtless to the strongly objective nature of the governing verb, as *Boe.*, 34, 11, ic wat gif þu me *hæfde* fullne anweald ðines selfes, ðonne *hæfdest* ðu hwæt-hwega on þe selfum.

b. The governing verb in the preterite.

Examples of this construction are not often found, but the subjunctive appears to be the mood in common use in both protasis and apodosis, as *AH.*, II, 454, 13, hit wæs gewunelic þæt gif hwæm sum færlec sar *become*, þæt he his reaf *totære;* similarly 166, 30.

In indirect conditional sentences after verbs in the present tense there is a noticeable tendency to retain the indicative in the protasis, especially if the governing verb is usually followed by this mood; and often, when the regular subjunctive is used in the apodosis, there is a seeming independence of expression and an almost complete retention of the direct construction in the protasis. On the contrary, when the tense of the governing verb is past, the subjunctive is very consistently employed in the protasis after verbs of all kinds. These separate tendencies are, I think, to be explained by the peculiar characters of the two tenses. In the present tense there is a nearer approach to direct narration in which the logical conditional sentence has always the indicative in the protasis, and in many cases the event narrated is presented as actually taking place before the eye. The past tense on the other hand has not this picturesque quality; the transition to direct dis-

course is not so easy or frequent; and, as the hypothetical statement contained in the protasis is made at a time remote from the vivid present and often with regard to an action in the future, there is naturally a strong entrance of the moments of uncertainty and unreality; hence arises the predominant use of the subjunctive in conditional sentences after a verb in past time.

The inversion of the protasis by reason of the omission of the conditional conjunction does not often occur in indirect discourse; examples are *W.*, 228, 7, ic sæcge þæt on þam monðe þæt ge scoldon ealle forweorðan, *nære þære halgan Scā Marian gebed*, and *AH.*, II, 68, 7.

With regard to the use and position of the conjunction *þæt* in the indirect conditional sentence, the following observations may be noted. In the arrangement, apodosis-protasis, the conjunction is universally placed before the apodosis, as *Beow.*, 591, sæcge ic *þæt* næfre Grendel swa fela gryra gefremede gif þin hige *wære*. In the arrangement, protasis-apodosis, the position of the conjunction between the two members is the rule, as *Mark*, XIV, 55, he bæd gif hit beon mihte *þæt* he on þære tide fram him gewite. Its position before the protasis is, however, quite common, as *Matt.*, XXIV, 43, witað *þæt*, gif se hiredes ealdor wiste on hwylcere tide se þeof towerd wære, he wolde wacigean. There are only occasional examples of its position before both members; as *AH.*, I, 40, 34, hit wæs gewunelic *þæt*, gif ænig wimman cild hæfde, *þæt* mon sceolde mid stanum oftorfian. Since, in this arrangement, the principal indirect clause is separated from the governing verb by the intervening protasis, the conjunction is not infrequently omitted entirely, and it is sometimes difficult to draw any dividing line between the direct and the indirect conditional sentence. Of 114 indirect conditional clauses contained in various Anglo-Saxon writings, 54 had the arrangement, apodosis-protasis; in all of these *þæt* was used before the apodosis. In the 60 sentences with the arrangement, protasis-apodosis, *þæt* was used between the two members in 40, it was found only before the protasis in 8, while in two examples the con-

junction was placed before both members. In the remaining 10 *þæt* was entirely omitted.

B. Other Complex Sentences in Indirect Discourse.

With the exception of clauses introduced by *þeah* and *ær*, both the subjunctive and indicative are employed in the subordinate clause. Under ordinary conditions the indicative is used when the principal clause also contains an indicative and frequently even when its verb is in the subjunctive. The subjunctive is employed in the subordinate clause, when the latter is a hypothetical or assumed statement, when the modal idea that causes a subjunctive in the main clause pervades the subordinate, and also in many cases where the principle of attraction requires the same mood in the subordinate as in the main clause.

1. *The Subordinote Clause in the Subjunctive.*

The subjunctive is universally used only in two constructions: (1) In the concessive sentence, as *Bede*, 220, 29, ondette he þæt he wolde cristen beon, *þeah* he ne furðum þa fæmnan *onfenge;* similarly *CP.*, 99, 6; 415, 32; 423, 30; *LS.*, 34, 160; 36, 209; 266, 77; *AH.*, II, 246, 5. (2) In temporal clauses introduced by *ær* or *ærþam*, as *LS.*, 162, 244, het se æðela cyning þæt Florus hine gespræce ærþam he þonon *ferde; Or.*, 56, 19, aðas gesworon þæt hi næfre noldon æt ham cuman ær hie þæt gewrecen *hæfden;* likewise 50, 11; *AH.*, I, 136, 6; *Matt.*, XXVI, 34.

2. *The Subordinate Clause with Variation of Mood.*

a. The Adjective Clause.

(1) In the indicative.—The indicative is the usual mood in the adjective clause when the latter is used to make a simple, colorless statement with regard to a certain object; in such

cases the naked adjective or participial form could be substituted for the clause without detriment to the sense; as *Bede*, 136, 17, ic lære þæt þæt tempel and þa wigbedo þe we *halgodon* þæt we þa hraðe forleosan; *CP.*, 63, 14, geðencen þæt þa þe ðone *wilniað* þæt hie mid hiora ðingengum hefigre ierre ne astyrien; 79, 2, is awriten þæt mon sceolde writan on þam hrægle, ðe Aron *bær* on his breostum, þa lare; similarly *CP.*, 259, 4; 277, 19; 387, 16; 449, 17; *LS.*, 464, 388; *AH.*, I, 610, 13.

The indicative is specially frequent in adjective clauses when the verb of the principal clause of the indirect expression is also indicative, and is almost universal in sentences following verbs of perception, as *CP.*, 109, 14, ða lareowas ongitað þæt þa þe him underðiedde *bioð* him to hwon God *ondrædaþ;* similarly *CP.*, 143, 1; 220, 16; 383, 34; *BH.*, 13, 22; 125, 13; *Bede*, 88, 7; 386, 18; *Boe.*, 102, 24; *Matt.*, 5, 32; *Mark*, III, 29; VII, 20; X, 42; *Wid.*, 131.

(2) In the subjunctive.—In indirect expressions after verbs of saying, of advice and command, and of thinking and believing [Classes A and B], the moments of uncertainty, of exhortation, or of supposition, which directly affect the principal indirect clause, often pervade the subordinate clause and cause its verb to be used in the subjunctive; the subjunctive in the dependent sentence is often due also to a general and indefinite assumption made by the adjective clause; as *CP.*, 85, 5, tacnað þæt eall, þæt þæs sacerdes andgiet þurhfonan *mæge*, sie ymb ðone heofonlican lufan; *Bede*, 80, 24, bibead þætte se wer se ðe *wære* his wif gemenged þæt he sceolde wætre bebaðad beon; in such cases this relative construction may be regarded as another way of expressing the condition than by the usual protasis introduced by *gif*.[1] Additional examples are *CP.*, 95, 23; 215, 21; 243, 10; 279, 11; 285, 23; *Bede*, 130, 2; *BH.*, 49, 15; *W.*, 24, 6; *AH.*, I, 50, 15; 338, 34.

Very frequently, however, the subjunctive in the subordinate clause is to be explained as due to attraction to the subjunctive

[1] Mather, *The Conditional Sentence in Anglo-Saxon*, p. 47.

in the principal clause or to the effort to maintain consistency of mood-sequence in the indirect expression, as *CP.*, 191, 4, geleornigen þa fæderas þæt hii gode bisne astellen þæm ðe him underðiedde *sien;* similarly *Bede*, 388, 10, etc. Considering the fact that the indicative of the main clause of the indirect expression is accompanied almost invariably by the indicative of the adjective clause, and the subjunctive in most cases by the subjunctive, it is evident that the part played by attraction is a most important one.

b. The Adverbial Clause.

The observations with regard to the adjective clause apply also in general to the abverbial clause.

(1) With the indicative.—*CP.*, 271, 10, mon sceal læran þætte hie, ðonne hie sumne unðeaw *fleoð*, þæt hie ne sien to wiersan gecierde; 388, 19, hit is awriten þæt ure Hælend, þa he *wæs* twelfwintre, wurde beæftan his meder; *AH.*, I, 38, 12, geswuteliað þæt þær wunað Godes sibb þær se goda willa *bið;* *Bede*, 228, 21, ic þe secge, forðam þu ne *woldest*, þæt þu scealt sweltan; similarly *CP.*, 385, 24; *Bede*, 200, 2; *Boe.*, 76, 22; *LS.*, 346, 154; *AH.*, II, 24, 6; *Matt.*, VII, 28; *Beow.*, 411.

(2) With the subjunctive.—*Bede*, 156, 22, bæd he hine þæt he him ðæs arwyrðan treos hwylcnehwego dæl brohte þonne he eft *come;* *Or.*, 18, 31, norðeweard, he cwæð, þær hit smalost *wære* þæt hit mihte beon þreora mila brad; similarly *AH.*, I, 110, 30.[1]

VI. The Order of Words in Indirect Discourse.

The characteristic features of word-order in the Anglo-Saxon sentence have been considered by C. A. Smith in his

[1] The above general observations must suffice for this subject. A minute study of the Complex Indirect Sentence is reserved for a future paper.

dissertation, *The Order of Words in Anglo-Saxon Prose;* Dr. Smith selects *Or.* and *AH.* as representatives of the earlier and of the later period of the language respectively. To supplement his work on the dependent sentence, I have given below in a tabular form statistics of the order of words of all indirect statements contained in the greater part of Anglo-Saxon prose works. The symbols employed are those adopted in Dr. Smith's monograph.

A. Order of Words in the Indirect Declarative Sentence.

	Or.	*Bede.*	*CP.*	*Boe.*	*BH.*	*Chr.*	*LS.*	*W.*	*AH.*	*Gosp.*
a' . . . . vb.....	164	285	159	102	157	29	149	173	330	171
b' obj. + vb.....	10	32	18	9	18	2	21	38	53	10
c' vb. + obj.....	29	65	68	70	51	12	65	91	199	68
d' vb.....	83	152	153	181	119	31	119	124	336	155
a obj. + aux. + vb...	6	8	2	5	5	2	5	3	4	1
b aux. + obj. + vb....	20	34	18	10	8	10	21	24	81	6
c aux + vb.....	29	58	60	27	39	12	31	33	87	10
d obj. + vb. + aux...	27	21	16	7	5	17	15	11	26	1
f vb. + aux.....	19	64	14	10	19	16	12	14	50	8
g obj. + aux. + vb...	1	0	1	1	0	0	4	1	1	0
h aux. + obj. + vb...	3	2	0	1	1	4	9	5	10	0
i aux. + vb. + obj....	11	13	15	17	6	17	20	14	61	4
j aux. + vb.....	10	26	36	24	21	12	33	46	99	14
k obj. + vb. + aux....	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
l vb. + obj. + aux....	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
m vb. + aux. + obj...	2	0	0	1	1	0	8	5	2	0
n obj. + aux.....	0	21	1	1	5	0	7	8	8	3

Now, *a'*, *d*, and *f* are regular exponents of transposed order, while *c'*, *d'*, *h*, *i* and *j* represent the normal order of the independent sentence. The remaining varieties of word-order here indicated may be left out of account as furnishing no aid to the establishment of any principle of order. From the above table, therefore, we find that the relative proportions of transposed to normal order are as follows:

	Or.	*Bede.*	*CP.*	*Boe.*	*BH.*	*Chr.*	*LS.*	*AH.*	*W.*	*Gosp.*
Trans.....	4	4	2	[1	7	3	2	1	1	[7
Normal.....	3	3	3	3]	9	4	3	2	2	9]

There is thus observable a general tendency at all periods of the language to hold to the normal arrangement of words in Indirect Discourse; and furthermore, this tendency is always on the increase, especially toward the later period of the language. There is a very curious predominance of normal order in *Boe.* not only in indirect declarative, but also in indirect interrogative expressions.

This tendency to adhere to normal order is further illustrated by the large number of instances of inverted order to be found in indirect discourse. Examples of these may be grouped under the following heads:—

1. In indirect imperative sentences where the original order of words is preserved, as *AH.*, I, 30, 1, se Romanisca casere sette gebann þæt *wære on gewritum asett eall ymbhwyrft;* or where the inverted order is also required by the precedence of an adverb or of an adverbial phrase, as *CP.*, 27, 8, wæs beboden þætte on Arones breostum *scolde beon awriten sio racu.*

2. Where the principal indirect clause is the apodosis of a condition, whether or not preceded by *þonne;* as *AH.*, I, 124, 5, seo ealde æ bebead þæt gif he nære swutelice hreoflig, *wære þonne he his dome clæne geteald;* gif se sacerd hine hreofligne tealde, *þonne sceolde he þancian;* similarly *CP.*, 383, 31; *W.*, 155, 15. In such constructions the retention of the original inverted order is almost universal.

3. When the indirect expression is a correlative sentence, as *CP.*, 463, 33, þæt is þætte þæt mod swa swa hit God forsihð, *swa secð hit his agene gielp;* similarly *W.*, 238, 4; *AH.*, II, 446, 24.

4. When a direct or indirect object or an adverbial expression directly precedes the verb of the indirect clause, as *AH.*, I, 516, 26, is geswutelod þæt ælcum geleaffullum men *is engel to hyrde geset;* 600, 19, he geswutelode þæt æfre *beoð him gecorene men;* 446, 6, Drihten cwæð þæt on his Fæder huse *sindon fela wununga;* similarly *Or.*, 72, 20; 148, 16; *Bede*, 216, 23; *BH.*, 153, 27; 203, 23; 217, 28; 219, 11; 225, 4; *LS.*, 524, 612; 528, 668; *W.*, 18, 8; 19, 2; 82, 4; 88, 19; 291, 14; *AH.*,

I, 228, 21; 406, 16; II, 12, 23; 152, 15; 464, 33; 562, 20. There is at times a perceptible effort to preserve the original order of words, especially in Biblical quotations, as *AH.*, I, 446, 6 [quoted above].

5. When the substantive subject of the indirect sentence is followed by a long attributive expression, the sentence is often continued after this expression in inverted order, reference to the subject being made by the pronoun, as *CP.*, 383, 34, þæt hi geðencen þæt wif ðe ða geacnodan bearn cennað *ne fyllað hie no mid þam hus ac byrgenna;* similarly 99, 6; 311, 14; 383, 33; *Bede*, 134, 18; *Boe.*, 20, 17; *BH.*, 29, 4; *AH.*, I, 134, 19; *Matt.*, VII, 28; XIII, 53.

Order of words when þæt is omitted.

1. Omission in the simple indirect sentence. Examples of this construction are very rare. Among the instances given in a former section [see *Omission of þæt*], there are several which cannot legitimately be termed indirect discourse but merely direct clauses introduced by verbs of command or petition, as *AH.*, I, 332, 12; 434, 13; 446, 13; *Boe.*, 40, 31; 98, 33. There are, however, thirteen clear-cut examples of true indirect discourse with no conjunction; the normal order is found in twelve, viz., *CP.*, 389, 11; 423, 19; *Bede*, 34, 8; 200, 25; *Boe.*, 82, 27; 182, 8; 192, 11, 29; *BH.*, 71, 25; *LS.*, 72, 273; *AH.*, I, 374, 4; *John*, XXI, 25. Transposed order is found only once: *Boe.*, 12, 22, ic wat ælc wuht fram Gode *com*, and this is probably due to the influence of the Latin: novi deumque esse respondi. We are at liberty, I think, to conclude from these statistics that Anglo-Saxon, like the Modern German, tends to return to the normal order whenever the conjunction is omitted.

2. Omission of *þæt* before the second or third coördinate clause of the compound indirect sentence. The arrangements of words in these clauses are as follows [examples of actual passage to direct discourse are, of course, excepted]:—

	a'	*b'*	*c'*	*d'*	*a*	*b*	*e*	*f*	*i*	*j*
CP.	10	2	4	10	0	0	1	1	0	2
Or.	12	1	2	7	0	0	1	0	2	1
Bede.	48	5	9	20	2	3	4	3	0	3
Boe.	7	1	2	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
BH.	33	1	5	4	0	0	5	2	0	0
Chr.	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	1	0
LS.	29	6	7	5	0	0	0	0	2	5
AH.	59	5	30	34	2	16	14	1	8	10
W.	48	9	13	15	0	3	6	0	1	3
Gosp.	12	1	7	10	0	0	0	0	0	1

Comparing these figures with the statistics given above for the ordinary arrangement in the indirect sentence, it is seen that the proportion of normal to transposed order is here not essentially different. In general, therefore, the omission of the conjunction before the second or following indirect coördinate clauses does not effect the order of words.

B. The Order of Words in the Indirect Interrogative Sentence.

The statistics are as follows:—

	Or.	*Bede.*	*CP.*	*Boe.*	*BH.*	*Chr.*	*LS.*	*W.*	*AH.*	*Gosp.*
a'	54	80	79	54	59	10	73	42	158	72
b'	3	0	2	2	2	0	1	5	16	2
c'	2	2	2	13	0	0	12	1	13	2
d'	8	8	21	22	8	1	19	10	48	17
a	1	0	1	0	1	0	3	1	3	0
b	2	5	2	2	1	2	2	2	16	2
c	33	3	64	5	5	0	12	5	18	0
d	8	11	6	6	4	6	7	14	4	4
f	4	19	27	8	4	5	6	20	5	5
g	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	2	0	0
h	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	0
i	1	1	2	0	2	2	0	5	0	0
j	0	1	3	2	1	7	2	14	2	2
k	0	0	1	1	0	0	3	1	0	0
l	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
m	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0
n	1	1	0	5	0	1	0	3	0	0

The relative ratios of transposed to normal order for the various works are:—

	Or.	*Bede.*	*CP.*	*Boe.*	*BH.*	*Chr.*	*W.*	*LS.*	*AH.*	*Gosp.*
Trans.....	5	11	4	[13]	7	3	11	2	2	[4]
Normal.....	1	2	1	[8]	1	1	3	1	1	[1]

The Indirect Interrogative sentence shows a great difference from the Declarative sentence in its abundant use of the transposed order. There is, however, observable, though fainter than before, a tendency toward the normal order of words. The reason for this excessive predominance of transposed order is due to the fact that interrogative introductory words possess a strong subordinating power; each indirect interrogative expression is therefore felt to be truly dependent and the conscious effort to show this dependence occasions the frequent use of that order of words which most appropriately expresses the relation of subordination—the transposed order.

VII. The Infinitive Clause.

Anglo-Saxon shows a pleasing regard for variety of expression by the frequent use of the infinitive instead of the usual subordinate indicative or subjunctive clause.

The simple infinitive is not often found except after expressions of command or design. In such cases an accusative subject is at times associated with the infinitive, a construction corresponding to the accus. with infin. to be found in late Latin writers though unknown in classical Latin.[1] Only after *hatan* is the infinitive the prevailing construction, as *AH.*, II, 66, 22, het hi geedstaðelian þa burh Hierusalem [See *hatan*]. With

[1] J. G. Schmalz, "Lateinische Syntax," § 227, I. Müller's *Handbuch der Klassischen Altherthums-Wissenschaft*, II, 325.

other verbs of this kind it is less frequent, as *LS.*, 76, 439, bæd *hine* ealle *wacian; Jud.*, 58, þohte þa idese mid widle *besmitan;* similarly *AH.*, II, 182, 18; 254, 16; 262, 9; *El.*, 297, 979; 1018; 1101; *Dan.*, 359, 542; *An.*, 773, 779, 1614; *Byr.*, 170. The inflected infinitive is sometimes found, as *AH.*, I, 218, 30, circlice þeowas forbeodan *to secganne* ænig spel; similarly 122, 5; *CP.*, 55, 21; *Matt.*, XIX, 14.

Anglo-Saxon, like the other Germanic tongues, has some traces of the genuine subject-accusative construction,[1] but it is very rare: *AH.*, I, 590, 25, þæt þu wenst *me* for tintregum *geopenian* ðа gerynu; 48, 18, gemunde þæt godcunde gewrit, mannes *Sunu standan* æt Godes swiðran. After verbs of saying there is a near approach to this construction by the use of the accusative of the substantive and the predicate adjective, as *Gu.*, 90, þas eorðan *ealle* sægde *læne* under lyfte; similarly *BH.*, 165, 3; *Cr.*, 136. The extention of the subject-accusative construction in the later language is due to classical and romance influences.[2]

After verbs of perception this construction is more frequently employed than elsewhere, as *Wid.*, 101, hwær ic wisse goldhrodene *cwen* giefe *bryttian; Beow.*, 1970, geongne *guðcyning* godne gefrunon hringas *dælan; Dan.*, 1, gefrægn ic *Hebreos* eadge *lifgan; W.*, 2, 1, we geacsodon his *geceasterwunan beon* godes englas, and we geacsodon þæra engla *geferan beon* þa gastas soðfæstra manna; similarly *An.*, 183, 941, 1094; *Cr.*, 78; *Jud.*, 7, 246; *Beow.*, 2485, 2695, 2753, 2774; *Gu.*, 976, 1059; *Rid.*, XXXVI, 3. The subject-accusative in these instances is obviously used with more meaning than that of simple report, and it is necessary to bear in mind its stylistic character in order to get at the real meaning conveyed by these expressions: the traveller in his mind's eye views his queen distributing treasures as of old, the heroes in the *Beowulf* behold their youthful monarch engaged in the same gracious act, the poet of the *Daniel* brings before our eyes the picture

[1] *Ibid.*, § 224.

[2] Mätzner, *Englische Grammatik*, III, 28.

of the happy life of the ancient people of God, and Wulfstan gives a vivid description well in accord with his highly rhetorical style. A glance at the other examples will establish the fact that by the use of this construction the writer portrays the events narrated in the strongest manner, as actually taking place before our eyes; it is mainly the picturesque style of poetry. When the more vivid expressions of sense-perception are used this construction is still more frequent, as *Gen.*, 2777, þæt wif geseah for Abrahame *Ismaël plegan; Cr.*, 797, gehyred rodora *dryhten sprecan* reðe word; similarly *El.*, 243; *An.*, 847, 992, 1004, 1009, 1448, 1492, 1690; *Rid.*, XIV, 1; *Wand.*, 46; *Cr.*, 498, 506, 511, 740, 925, 1154; *Dan.*, 726; *Gen.*, 661; *AH.*, II, 272, 16; 468, 18; *W.*, 199, 13.

By far the most numerous instances of the infinitive clause are those modelled after the corresponding Latin construction; it is to be observed that, with the exception of the infinitive after *hatan*, there is here an obvious departure from the general Anglo-Saxon usage, for the construction can be regarded in no other light than a slavish imitation of a Latin original. It is very frequent in *Bede*, very rarely found elsewhere; as *Bede*, 404, 21, he geleornode monna cynne *ingong geopenian* þæs heofonlican lifes [didicerat generi humano *patere* vitae celestis *introitum*]; 322, 19, ic gemon *mec* geo *beran* þa iidlan byrðenne [*me* memini supervacua pondera *portare*]; similarly 36, 17; 58, 9, 19; 80, 31; 82, 4; 84, 2; 88, 4; 138, 10; 178, 31; 186, 4; 190, 21; 206, 31; 232, 30; 264, 27; 266, 13; 270, 23; 286, 17; 288, 11; 308, 26; 310, 3; 316, 21; 320, 3; 322, 19; 326, 27; 330, 13; 334, 4; 340, 7, 14, 19; 344, 21; 34; 426, 8; 430, 12; 440, 1; 456, 24; 460, 3; 462, 18, etc.

As the translator of *Bede* followed the Latin in this respect more closely than any other writer, a careful study of this work will enable us to determine the exact influence of the Latin infinitive construction upon the Anglo-Saxon idiom. I present the following statistics: there are in *Bede* 331 Latin infinitives following verbs which act as introductions to indirect discourse; in 263 instances the Latin infinitive is rendered by

the regular Anglo-Saxon construction with the subordinate clause; in 68 cases only does the Anglo-Saxon agree in construction with the Latin, 28 of these are found after *hatan* (its usual native sequence), 8 follow *geseon*, 6 occur after *gehatan*, 4 after *gehyran; witan, twygean, gelyfan, gelimpan*, and *secgan* are each followed twice by the infinitive; while *bebeodan, biddan, bewerian, cætiewan, gemunan, geleornian, læran, oncnawan, ongytan, tellan, þyncan*, and *wenan* are followed once by this construction. Since the infinitive clause is quite frequent after *hatan* and verbs of perception, we may conclude from the above statistics that the influence of the Latin infinitive construction upon the Anglo-Saxon is very slight even in the closest translations.

VIII. Relation of Indirect to Direct Discourse.

In all languages there has been more or less freedom in the syntax of the indirect sentence; the cause of this variation is due to the two different points of view with which these expressions are regarded; the interest may be centered about the speaker and the time when the statement is made, in which case regularity of syntactic structure is generally the result; in many cases, however, the attention is directed more especially to the statement itself, and oftentimes, by reason of this, all connection with the governing verb is lost sight of and the exact words or contents of the narration are given in direct form. This intermingling of the indirect and direct constructions is found in the earliest periods of language. The Hebrew shows a most primitive condition in that, without being preceded by the indirect construction, the contents of the statement are given in direct form immediately after the verb of saying. In the Greek (especially in Homer, see *Iliad*, 368 ff.) there are frequent instances in which a governing verb of saying is followed by a series of indirect clauses, and at last the direct words are taken from the mouth of the speaker to give a more energetic conclusion. Latin furnishes numerous examples of

the same construction: "It must be remembered," says Prof. Gildersleeve [*Latin Grammar*, § 652, Rem. 1], "that Oratio Obliqua is necessarily less accurate in its conception than Oratio Recta, and hence it is not always possible to restore the Oratio Recta from the Oratio Obliqua with perfect certainty; hence, when accuracy is aimed at, the narrator takes the point of view of the speaker, and at last passes over to Oratio Recta." Similar constructions are found in Old High German and Slavic.

In Anglo-Saxon this transition to direct discourse is by no means infrequent; it is due to a great extent to the requirements of style; the advantages to be derived from its use are obvious: it is less cumbersome, more accurate, and lends a greater degree of vivacity to the narrative.

It is employed in some cases to emphasize an important or contrasted statement, as *LS.*, 36, 185, cwæð þæt heo eode to hyre licgendre on læceshiwe and hi wolde forhycgan gif heo þæt bysmor forberan wolde, *ac ic hrymde sona mid sarlicre stœmne; AH.*, I, 596, 30, cweðende þæt swa halig man hangian ne sceolde; æðele lareow ne sceolde swa þreowian, ac sceolde beon alysed, *forðam ðe he ne geswicð soð to bodigenne.*

It is very frequent after expressions of saying, happening, and the like, when the narrative consists of a number of coördinate clauses; the indirect form is regularly employed in the first or first few clauses and the remaining statements use the direct construction, as *AH.*, I, 452, 12, cwæð þæt seo fyrd wicode wiþ þa ea Eufraten, and seafon weard-sett wacodon ofer þone casere. *Þa com þær stœppende sum uncuð cempa and hine ðurhdyde, and Iulianus þa forswealt;* 230, 19, we rædað þæt þa heafod-men gebrohton Cristes apostolas on cwearterne, *þa on niht com him to Godes engel*, etc.; 44, 9, we rædað þæt þa apostolas gehadodon seofon diaconas; *þœra diacona wœs se forma Stephanus. He wœs swiðe geleafful*, etc.; *CP.*, 379, 6, ðæt is se cwide hu mon þæt feoh befæste þæm ciepmen ðe he scolde forðsellan to wæstme, *and þa forðy ðe he forwandode . . . . þa geaf he hit to unðances and his eac micelne dem; AH.*, I,

152, 2, her is geræd on þisum godspelle þæt se Hælend gename onsundron his twelf leorning-cnihtas and cwæð to him . . . . *þa nyston his leorning-cnihtas nan andgiet; LS.*, 488, 16, þa gelamp hit æt sumum cyrre þæt he ferde into anre byrig þe mon constantinopolim nemneð; and þanon into Efese; *þa he ða þreo burga gefaren hæfde þa het gelangian him*, etc.; similarly *CP.*, 181, 18; *Chr.*, 373, E, 36; *Bede*, 352, 15; *BH.*, 213, 29; *W.*, 221, 7, 10; 223, 8; 227, 15; 233, 2; *AH.*, I, 114, 1; 152, 2; 340, 23; 470, 14; II, 96, 19; 104, 30; 272, 13; 296, 2; 542, 18.

In *Chr.*, 84, 39, we notice the rare example of the direct together with the indirect expression in the first dependent clause: þa cwædon hie þæt hie þæs ne onmunden *þon ma þe eowre geferan þe mid þam cyninge ofslægene wæron.* [A and C, *eowre;* B, D, E, *heora.*]

One of the finest passages that can be selected to illustrate the transition to direct discourse is the well-known account of the voyages of Othere and Wulfstan [*Bright's Anglo-Saxon Reader*, p. 42; *Or.*, 19, 32]. The introductory verb is *secgan;* the narrative is a long one, and it can be seen that if indirect discourse were kept throughout, the manner of narration would be simply intolerable. Let us note the steps taken by the writer to present the statement in an acceptable form. The first two sentences follow the laws of indirect speech in every particular: Wulfstan sæde þæt he *gefere* of Hæðun, þæt he *wære* on Truso, etc. As the formal connection with the governing verb becomes less distinct, the indicative is employed: þæt þæt scip *wæs* ealne weg yrnende under segle. From this point on the narrative is continued by giving the substance of Wulfstan's description: Wenoðland *him* wæs on steorbord and on bæcbord *him* wæs Langoland; and finally his exact words are quoted: and þonne Burgenda land wæs *us* on bæcbord and Wenoðland wæs *us* ealne weg on steorbord. In *Boe.*, 166, 27 ff. and 194, 2 ff. there is a like use of indirect and direct constructions after *gelympan* and *gebyrian;* the general sense of indirect report is expressed by the occasional

insertion of *secgan* with the dependent construction in the following clause, and by the use of *sculan*. A similar construction is found in *Bede*, 154, 23–28. The parenthetical insertion of *he cwæð* to preserve the sense of quoted statement is seen in *W.*, 89, 8, he sæde eac þæt þeoda sceoldan winnan heom betweonan and fela eorð-styrunga geweorðan on worulde, and þæt beoð þas angin, *he cwæð*, þara sarnessa.

In many instances, however, these constructions can be regarded in no other light than as direct discourse introduced by a verb of saying or happening; but, instead of the entire preservation of the direct form, the clause immediately following the introductory verb falls into the indirect construction, while the remaining part of the statement is retained in its original form; as *Boe.*, 216, 19, swa mon segð þæt an næddre wære þe hæfde nigon heafda, *and simle gif mon anra hwilc ofsloh, þonne weoxon þæt seofon; þa gebyrede hit þæt þær com se foremære Erculus to; þa ne mihte he geðencan hu*, etc.; *AH.*, II, 372, 1, Gregorius sæde þæt se mon se ðe ða micelan feorme worhte is ure Hælend Crist; *he sende his þeowan to lætigenne manncynn; and ælc þe þa boda*ð *is Godes bydel;* similarly 330, 24; 354, 29; *Matt.*, XVI, 18; *W.*, 156, 7; 205, 5; also many of the examples introduced by *gelimpan*, and the like, indicated in a preceding paragraph. The indirect construction is occasionally followed by a long stretch of direct discourse, giving merely the contents of the statement; as *AH.*, II, 332, 9, Paulus awrat þæt he *wære* gelædd up to heofonum *oðð*æt *he becom to þære* ðriddan *heofonan; and he wæs gelæd to neorxna wange and þær þa gastlican dygelnysse gehyrde and geseah*, etc.

In expressions introduced by verbs of command and petition, there is a decided gain in style by bringing in the direct imperative form after the usual indirect sequence with the subjunctive; as *CP.*, 213, 14, ic eow healsige þæt ge us to hrædlice ne *sien* ætyrede from gewitte, ne *ondræda*ð for nanes mannes wordum [rogamus vos ut nón cito moveamini a vestro sensu]; *AH.*, I, 334, 25, Ic bidde eow þæt ge *beon gemyndige* ðæs Lazares reste, and *do*ð swa swa Crist sylf tæhte; *Boe.*,

260, 2, Ic bidde þæt þu me *gewissige* bet þonne ic awyrhte to þe, and *gewissa* me to þinum willan and *gestaðela* min mod and *gestranga* me; *W.*, 229, 6, Ic hate þæt ge *gangen* to minum ciricum, and þær ge eower geswinc *sellaþ; AH.*, II, 20, 20, Ic sette nu þis gebann on eallum minum þæt nan man ne *beo* swa dyrstig þæt he ænig word cweðe . . . . gif hit hwa þonne doð, he *sceal* þolian his æhte; 296, 2, Ic þe bebeode þæt þu *gewite* of þyssere stowe and *far* to Westene, and þu nanum men on þinum fram-fære ne *drece; LS.*, 240, 32, þa cwæð se dema þæt hi oðer þæra *dydon*, swa hi þam godum *geoffrodon* and arwurðnysse hæfdon, swa hi þa offrunga *forsawon* and gescynde wurdon; *smeaga* nu, etc.

The transition from the subjunctive to the indicative in the second and following coördinate clauses after a verb of saying or thinking is probably an application of the same principle that causes the passage from indirect to direct discourse; in such cases the conjunction *þæt*, the formal bond of connection, is almost always absent and the statement is naturally in some degree independent of the governing verb. This is of common occurrence in Anglo-Saxon; as *CP.*, 85, 26, oðrum monnum ðyncð þæt hie mæstne demm and mæste scande *ðrowigen* and hie forswencte *beoð* for worulde; 107, 18, ic cwæð þæt æghwelc monn *wære* gelice oðrum acenned, ac sio ungelicnes hira gearnung hie *tiehð* sume [dixisse me memini quod homines natura æquales gemit, sed variante meritorum culpa postponit]; *LS.*, 62, 202, sæde þæt he næfre on his life ne *come* neah wife, ac *heold* his clænnysse; *Boe.*, 140, 15, ic ær sæde þæt sio soðe gesælþ *wære* god and of þære soðan gesælþe *cumaþ* eall þa oðre god; *Bede*, 164, 29, secgað men þæt þæt *gelumpe* þæt he *sæte* æt his undernswæsendum, and him *wæs* hefed beod [fertur quia consedisset ad prandium positasque esset in mensa coram se discus argenteus]; *BH.*, 159, 22, Mattheus wæs cweðende þæt Drihten *astige* on sume tid on anne munt mid mycelre werode and þa *gesæt* he on þam munt; *W.*, 240, 26, we wendon þæt þu *wære* godfyrht and *hæfdest* gastlice geberu beforan us; similarly *BH.*, 29, 15; *AH.*, I, 196, 33; 532, 29.

When an adverbial clause of time, place, condition, or concession comes between the governing verb and the principal dependent clause, the connection between the latter expressions is much weakened, *þæt* is frequently omitted and the principal indirect clause put in inverted order, with the use of the same mood as would be required in the corresponding direct statement; as *Bede*, 190, 8, sægde he þæt in þa tid . . . . *þa wæs geslegen sum leornung-man;* 161, 21, secgað men, þa Oswald biscepes bede, *þa wæs him sended oðer biscop; Boe.*, 142, 13, hu ne miht þu geðencan gif þa god wæron þære soðan gesælþe limu, *ðonne wæron hi hwæthwegu todæled; BH.*, 29, 4, geþencean we eac gif oðre nyten wære to halsigenne, *þonne onfenge he heora hine;* similarly *Boe.*, 210, 8; 216, 19; *AH.*, I, 134, 13; *Chr.*, 358, E. 26.

In late Anglo-Saxon, especially when allusions are made to the Scriptures or to the writings of the Fathers, there are frequent examples of the employment of *þæt* with the paratactic sentence. The direct narrative is evidently used here to preserve the exact words of Holy Writ and of the no less sacred patristic writings; as *AH.*, I, 360, 31, be him awrat se witega Iesaias þæt he *is* stemn clypiende on westene; 542, 19, he him behet þæt hi ofer twelf domsetl sittende *beoð;* 528, 30, Gregorius spræc and cwæð þæt ure Drihten as *manað* hwilon mid weorcum; efne he asende his leorning-cnihtas . . . . he *sceal* beon Godes bydel; *LS.*, 214, 79, se apostol behet þam þe healdað clænnysse þæt hi *synd* Godes tempel; similarly *AH.*, I, 338, 9; 364, 13; II, 394, 31.

Direct discourse with the conjunction is a marked characteristic of the *Anglo-Saxon Gospels;* it is due to the influence of the corresponding Greek construction with ὅτι, through the medium of the Latin;[1] as *Luke*, VII, 16, cwædon þæt mære witega on us aras. The same construction is also observable in the Gothic, due to the same cause: qiþandans þatei praufetus mikils urrais in unsis.

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[1] See E. H. Spieker, "On Direct Speech introduced by a Conjunction,"—*American Journal of Philology*, V, 221.

Results.

The following is a brief summary of results established by this study of Indirect Discourse.

1. The use of the conjunction *þæt* in the compound indirect sentence is regulated by the requirements of emphasis or contrast; its use in the complex sentence is determined by the conscious effort to attain ease and clearness of style. The omission of the conjunction is mostly found in the complex indirect sentence with a preceding subordinate clause; in the simple sentence this omission is extremely rare.

2. The subjunctive of reported statement after simple verbs of saying is the rule in early Anglo-Saxon; but chronologically considered, the use of the subjunctive and of the indicative after such expressions vary inversely. In the Alfredian period, since the subjunctive is the usual mood of indirect discourse, the indicative conveys a decidedly objective conception; in the later period, the great levelling of moods under the indicative forms tended to limit the use of the subjunctive after verbs of saying to expressions of possibility, contingency, condition, etc.

The presence of an intervening coördinate or subordinate clause between the indirect clause and its governing verbs frequently weakens the sense of dependence and causes the use of the indicative instead of the regular subjunctive.

When the nature of the expression is objective, as is the case with verbs of perception, the indicative is employed in the dependent clause; this mood is also used after some verbs of saying with objective force, as *cyðan*.

The use of the subjunctive in the indirect interrogative sentence is somewhat more extensive than its use in the declarative sentence; it is employed when the interrogative idea is prominent and is sometimes due merely to the interrogative form; but, in most cases, the dependent clause has a descriptive rather than an interrogative force, and the use of mood is the same as in the declarative expression.

3. *Sculan*, in its original sense of duty or obligation, is frequently used in indirect discourse; from this is developed the idea of duty imposed by another, and hence its regular employment after verbs of command; its primitive meaning is further extended to denote an event sure of fulfillment in the future, and thence it easily passes into expressions of prophecy and even of simple future action. The duty implied in a conformity to universal usage accounts for its frequent employment after expressions of custom. As an indication of mere possibility, it is used to show that the truth of a statement is not vouched for by the narrator, and it is occasionally employed as a sign that the statement is false.

Willan has a somewhat similar development; from the expression of pure volition, it passes through the intermediate stages of promise, threat, and prophecy, to be used as an indication of the simple future expression. As denoting the action of the will for an indefinite period, it is used after expressions of custom.

In later Anglo-Saxon there is a decided tendency to indicate ideas of probability, contingency, and the like, not by the simple subjunctive, but rather by the periphrastic constructions with *sculan, willan, magan,* and *motan;* this tendency is greatly favored by the breaking-down of the old subjunctive forms.

4. In Indirect Conditional Sentences the subjunctive is regularly used in the protasis when introduced by *butan*, and in both members of ideal and unreal conditional expressions; it is the prevailing mood when the governing verb is in past time, especially if it be a verb of belief or command. After simple introductory expressions and verbs of perception the indicative is more frequently employed; this mood is also in general use whenever a governing verb is in the present tense, since in this case there is a decided tendency to revert to direct discourse.

The subjunctive is always used in complex indirect sentences introduced by *ær, oð*, and *þeah*. In other complex sentences there is variation of mood, dependent mainly upon the character of the governing verb.

5. There is a strong tendency, especially in later Anglo-Saxon, to employ the normal order of words in indirect discourse; adherence to the word-order of direct speech is further shown by the remarkable persistence of inverted order in the indirect expression. When the conjunction *þæt* is omitted in a simple indirect sentence there is almost exclusive use of the normal order, but the omission of this conjunction before the second or following coördinate clause of a compound sentence produces no affect upon the order of words. Transposed order is most consistently observed in indirect interrogative sentences, due probably to the conscious effort to express subordination.

6. The infinitive clause is mostly used after *hatan*, with less frequency after other verbs of command. The subject-accusative construction is in general use only after verbs of perception in the picturesque language of poetry; its occurrence after verbs of saying or thinking is very rare, and is mostly confined to direct copyings of the corresponding Latin construction; this method of rendering the Latin prevails, however, to no great extent even in the closest translations.

7. Transition from Indirect to Direct Discourse is very frequent in Anglo-Saxon. It is to be generally observed that the farther the clause is removed from the governing verb, its sense of dependence is diminished and there is a stronger tendency to revert to the direct construction. This transition is specially frequent when the statement is a lengthy one, by which means a long continuation of indirect constructions is avoided. It is often employed to emphasize an important statement or to establish a contrast, and has a distinctively stylistic force after verbs of command or petition.

J. Hendren Gorrell.

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X.—A RIME-INDEX TO THE "PARENT CYCLE" OF THE *YORK MYSTERY PLAYS* AND OF A PORTION OF THE WOODKIRK *CONSPIRACIO ET CAPITO.*

PREFATORY NOTE.

This Rime-Index of the "Parent Cycle" of the *York Mystery Plays* and the Woodkirk Play, *Conspiracio et Capito* (from *Cayphas* to *Tunc dicet Sanctus Johannes*), was compiled with the intention of contributing a mite toward a fuller scientific study of the period in which the plays were written,—about 1340. If it is of any assistance toward that end it will have served my purpose.

The words printed in SMALL CAPITALS are emendations to words which are apparently errors. These emendations, with reasons for changing, may be found in *Modern Language Notes*, February, 1895. The italicised words are, of course, Latin.

Unless otherwise stated all references are to the *York Mystery Plays* as edited by Lucy Toulmin Smith, and the reference is to the initial rime. The abbreviation *W. C. et C.* refers to the Woodkirk play *Conspiracio et Capito.*

In Y. II the rime lines, two and four of the cauda, are classified under the similar rime of the pedes of which they are a continuance.

The Emendations and Index was undertaken on the suggestion of Dr. Davidson of Adelbert College, and it is with pleasure that I acknowledge his assistance in my work. Without his constant admonitions, kindly advice and critical reviews the Emendations and Index would have fallen far shorter in accuracy and value.

Rime-Index.

-a.

fra, prep.
omnia, s. XLIV, 34.
ma, adv.
Sara, pr. n. X, 26.
twa, s.
FRA, adv. SWA, adv. WA, s. XX, 253.
TWA, s.
visita, v. ma, adj. swa, adv. XLIV, 134.

-aa.

waa, s.
gloria, s. XXXVII, 406.

-ace.

grace, s.
space, s. hase, v. casse, s. IX, 197.
grace, adj.
place, s. XLIV, 129.
place, s.
case, s. X, 206.
grace, s. X, 330.
grace, s. XXXVII, 382.
space, s.
grace, s. XII, 9.
place, s. case, s. mase, v. XXXVII, 110.
place, s. *W. C. et C.*
trace, s.
case, s. grace, s. place, s. XVII, 206.

-ad.

glad, adj.
  had, v. *W. C. et C.*
  stadde, v. hadde, v. XV, 86.
sad, adj.
  lad, s. *W. C. et C.*

-adde.

badde, adj.
  ladde, s. madde, adj. hadde, v. XVII, 109.
gladde, adj.
  badde, v. fayd, v. hadde, v. IX, 253.
  ladde, s. hadde, v. madde, adj. XXXVII, 241.
hadde, v.
  ladde, s. XXXV, 226.
  stedde, s. gladde, adj. sadde, adj. XXXVII, 38.

-aff.

saff, v.
  haue, v. XVII, 9.
  craue, v. XXXV, 58.

-affe.

ffouchesaffe, v.
  hast, s. XXIII, 57.

-aide.

saide, v.
  grathide, v. X, 157.
  paied, v. XI, 357.
  paide, v. XVII, 189.
  laide, v. XXXVII, 81.
  braide, s. ferde, v. grathed, v. XXXVII, 205.
  flaied, v. XLIV, 165.

-aie.

saie, v.
  praye, v. day, s. array, s. XVII, 85.
  array, s. XXXV, 214.
  awaye, adv. maye, v. praye, s. XXXVII, 169.

-aied.

affraied, v.
GRAIED, pa. p. saide, v. paied, v. XXIII, 169.
paied, v.
saide, v. laide, v. be-traied, v. XXXVII, 325.

-aile.

faile, v.
baile, s. XXXV, 93.
taile, s. bale, s. counsaille, s. XXXVII, 157.
counsaille, s. XLIV, 82.

-aill.

counsaill, s.
faill, v. XVII, 213.

-ak.

lak, s.
spak, v. Ysaac, prop. n. mak, v. XI, 108.

-ake.

forsake, v.
blake, adj. take, v. wake, v. II, 10.
sclake, v. make, v. II, 14.
sake, s.
take, v. XI, 213.
wrake, s. XI, 250.
take, v.
make, v. for-sake, v. slake, v. IX, 37.
take; v. wake, v. sake, s. *W. C. et C.*

-akke.

spakke, v.
vndyr-take, v. XXIII, 21.

-alde.

alde, adj.
talde, v. balde, adj. falde, adj. X, 41.
balde, adj. XX, 45.
calde, adj.
talde, v. IX, 10.

-ale.

bale, s.
faile, v. taile, s. haile, adj. XXXV, 110.
smale, adj.
(with) all, adv. XXXV, 238.
tale, s.
bale, s. XXXVII, 273.

-all.

all, s.
falle, v. XV, 105.
call, v. small, adj. befall, v. XXVII, 26.
schall, v. XXXV, 21.
call, v.
all, s. schall, v. hall, s. XXVII, 61.
fall, v.
thrall, s. sall, v. wall, s. XI, 374.
sall, v.
smalle, adj. all, s. dale, s. II, 27.
dale, s. smale, adj. hale, adj. II, 50.
wale, v. bale, s. II, 50.
all, s. II, 85.
schall, v.
principall, s. A-(ANABALLE), pro. n. Belial, pro. n. XXXVII, 109.
principall, adj. small, adj. fall, v. XXVII, 73.
thrall, v.
halle, s. calle, v. wall, s. XXXVII, 134.

-alle.

stalle, s.
wyth-all, adv. small, adj. fall, v. VIII, 34.

-am.

þam, pro.
þam. pro. XI, 69.

-ame.

defame, v.
blame, s. hame, s. same, adj. *W. C. et C.*
name, s.
blame, s. same, adj. shame, s. XI, 170.
same, adj. XI, 237.
hame, s. deffame, s. same, adj. XVII, 133.
same, adj. XVII, 165.
same, adj. XXIII, 106.
Adam, pro. n. hame, s. same, adj. XXIII, 121.
same, adj. tame, adj. payn, s. *W. C. et C.*
schame, s. XXIV, 72.
same, adj. XXXVII, 190.
same, adj.
hame, s. name, s. blame, v. X, 42.
hame, s. blame, v. name, s. X, 370.
tame, adj. XV, 92.
name, s. XXIII, 214.
blame, v. XXIV, 83.

-ane.

schame, int.
dame, s. blame, v. defame, s. XXIV, 37.

-an.

be-gan, v.
man, s. þan, adv. wan, v. XI, 85.
can, v.
woman, s. began, v. þan, conj. XXIV, 126.

than, adv.
X(ten), s. Jessen, pr. n. kenne, v. XI, 157.
wan, adj.
man, s. began, v. can, v. IX, 156.

-and.

hand, s.
can, v. *W. C. et C.*
fande, v. XXIV, 21.
bande, s. stande, v. warande, v. XXXV, 98.
ordande, v. warrande, v. stande, v. XXXV, 241.
ordand, v.
lande, s. XI, 261.

-ande.

dredande, pr. p.
withstande, v. hande, s. offerrande, s. X, 210.
fande, v.
lande, s. warande, v. thousande, s. XI, 50.
hande, s. wande, s. stande, v. XI, 379.
hande, s. lasting, adj. lande, s. XXXVII, 62.
hande, s.
lande, s. stande, v. commaunde, pa. p. IX, 2.
lande, s. stande, v. durand, v. XI, 337.
coveytande, v. stande, v. lande, s. XVII, 2.
lande, s. tythande, s. vnderstande, v. XVII, 194.
stande, v. lande, s. ordand, v. XXIII, 62.
handis (?), s.
(HANDE) spende, v. bende, v. amende, pp. XXXV, 122.
lande, s.
tydand, s. IX, 220.
wande, s. warrande, v. fande, v. XI, 217.
fande, v. hande, s. tythande, s. XVII, 98.
bande, s. hande, s. vnderstande, XVII, 134.
vnderstande, v. hande, s. warande, v. XLIV, 158.
offerande, s.
hande, s. lande, s. stande, v. X, 138.

ordande, v.
dwelland, v. stande, v. lande, s. II, 69.
commande, v. sande, s. II, 69.
sande, s.
presande, s. bande, s. lande, s. XV, 108.
stande, v.
hande, s. XVII, 225.
fande, pp. warande, s. land, s. XXIV, 1.
vnderstande, v.
offerande, s. X, 97.
wand, s. hande, s. fande, v. XI, 145.
lande, s. nerhand, adv. warande, s. XVII, 61.
folowand, v. XX, 262.
TYTHANDE, s. XXIII, 58.
lande, s. walkand, v. leuand, v. XXXVII, 49.
hande, s. lande, s. warande, v. XLIV, 2.

-ane.

gane, v.
ilkone, s. tane, pa. p. slone, v. XI, 385.
wane, adj.
begane, v. man, s. þan, adv. VIII, 2.

-ang.

emang, prep.
wrang, adj. XXXVII, 262.
gang, v. wrang, adj. hange, v. XXXVII, 301.
sange, v. XLIV, 130.
gang, v.
emang, prep. wrang, adj. long, adj. XXVII, 104.
emang, prep. lange, adj. wrang, s. XLIV, 214.
strang, adj.
gang, v. *W. C. et C.*
wrang, adj.
gang, v. emang, prep. sang, s. XX, 37.

gang, v. XX, 201.
lang, adj. emang, prep. gang, v. *W. C. et C.*
wrang, v.
fang, v. a-lang, adv. hang, v. XXXV, 182.

-ange.

emange, prep.
gang, v. LANG, s. wrang, adj. XI, 278.
gang, v. wrang, adj. hang, v. *W. C. et C.*
lange, adj.
fange, v. gange, v. wrange, adj. IX, 225.
wrange, adj. gange, v. fang, v. XI, 349.
gange, v. XV, 131.
gange, v. XXIII, 10.
gange, v. wrang, adj. emang, prep. XXIV, 124.

-anne.

kanne, v.
Jordanne, pr. n. þanne, adv. manne, s. XXXVII, 74.
manne, s.
banne, v. XXIV, 9.
thanne, adv.
barrane, adj. woman, s. wan, v. X, 29.
þanne, adv.
beganne, v. X, 50.
manne, s. XII, 70.
manne, s. XII, 108.

-ar.

spar, adj.
war, v. mare, adj. are, v. *W. C. et C.*

-are.

are, v.
care, s. XXXVII, 345.
care, s.
euermore, adv. fare, v. þere, adv. XXIV, 199.

fare, s.
sare, s. are, v. lare, s. XX, 134.
fare, v.
more, adj. XXIV, 96.
hare, s.
thare, adv. fare, adj. spare, v. *W. C. et C.*
sare, s.
ware, s. spare, v. are, v. X, 334.
mare, adj. spare, v. lare, s. *W. C. et C.*
spare, v.
nomore, adv. XX, 202.
thare, adv.
be-ffore, adv. XXIII, 93.
ware, v.
ferre, adv. XXXVII, 154.

-ared.

declared, v.
rewarde, s. XV, 116.

-arge.

large, adj.
charge, v. XX, 118.

-arme.

barme, s.
harme, s. XI, 153.

-arre.

marre, v.
werre, adj. XVII, 178.
ferre, adv. XLIV, 166.

-arte.

qwarte, s.
garte, pa. p. SMARTE, adj. HART, s. VIII, 50.

-as.

has, v.
paas, s. XXVII, 9.
Judas, pro. n.
has, v. XXXVII, 165.
pas, v.
was, v. has, v. alas, interj. *W. C. et C.*
foras, adv. XXIV, 182.
was, v.
Judas, prop. n. passe, v. has, v. XII, 109.
passe, v. XVII, 130.

-ase.

hase, v.
passe, v. was, v. 'allas,' interj. XI, 122.
mase, v.
case, s. fays, s. place, s. XI, 194.
place, s. *W. C. et C.*
prase, v.
says, v. *W. C. et C.*

-asse.

asse, s.
has, v. X, 109.
has, v. XI, 297.
passe, v.
hasse, v. was, v. asse, v. XI, 1.
bras, s. allas, interj. was, v. XXXVII, 194.

-asshed.

abasshed, v.
traste, v. XXXVII, 177.

-ast.

a-bast, pa. p.
frast, v. trast, v. wrest, s. XVII, 181.
cast, v.
last, v. past, v. fast, adj. XI, 302.

kast, v.
last, v. past, v. fast, adj. XXIV, 123.
last, v.
past, v. XI, 346.
mast, s.
gast, s. XII, 130.
past, pa. p.
laste, v. faste, adj. agaste, adj. IX, 85.

-aste.

caste, v.
laste, v. faste, adj. paste, adj. XXXV, 206.
chaste, adj.
haste, s. taste, v. waste, s. XXVII, 38.
faste, adj.
paste, pa. p. laste, adj. kaste, v. VIII, 137.
laste, v. XI, 33.
past, v. XI, 118.
fraste, v.
a-baste, v. wrayste, pa. p. trayste, v. XI, 133.
gaste, s.
chaste, adj. XII, 93.
halygaste, s.
chaste, adj. waste, s. haste, adj. XII, 49.
haligaste, s.
taste, v. XLIV, 105.
kaste, v.
feste, adj. rest, v. west, s. XXXV, 278.
paste, p. p.
laste, v. XXVII, 100.
faste, adj. XXXVII, 105.
taste, v.
waste, s. vnbraste, pa. p. haste, adv. IX, 317.
moste, adj. XXXVII, 358.
wraste, s.
abast, pa. p. trast, adv. frast, v. *W. C. et C.*

-asyd.

rasyd, p. p.
prasyd, v. *W. C. et C.*

-ate.

debate, s.
gate, s. XXXVII, 142.
late, adj.
gate, s. XI, 226.

-athe.

skathe, s.
bathe, v. wathe, s. lath, adj. IX, 141.

-athid.

grathid, v.
brayde, s. saide, v. payed, v. X, 186.

-aunde.

comaunde, pa. p.
warrande, v. hande, s. lande, s. IX, 71.
commaunde, v.
hande, s. lande, s. stande, v. XI, 2.

-auyng.

grauyng, s.
sauyng, s. XVII, 286.

-aue.

craue, v.
fouchsaffe, v. haue, v. raue, v. XXIII, 158.
knave, s. haue, v. saue, v. XXVII, 141.
saue, v. XXXV, 262.
haue, v. saue, v. knave, s. XXXV, 290.
graue, v.
haue, v. crave, v. vouchydsaue, v. IX, 23.
haue, v.
graue, s. XXVII, 21.

saue, v. XXVII, 172.
saue, v. XXXVII, 106.
saue, v. XLIV, 70.
raue, v.
knave, s. craue, saffe, v. XVII, 122.
graue, s. haue, v. craue, v. XXIV, 159.
saue, v.
craue, v. XII, 45.
crave, v. knave, s. haue, v. XV, 96.
haue, v. graue, s. craue, v. XXIV, 136.

-ave. *vide* -aue.

crave, v.
knave, s. saue, v. have, v. XXXVII, 242.
knave, s.
haue, v. XXXV, 45.

-aw.

saw, s.
rawe, s. knaw, v. law, s. *W. C. et C.*

-awe.

awe, s.
drawe, v. lawe, s. sawe, s. XI, 73.
drawe, v.
lawe, s. knawe, v. awe, v. XXXV, 2.
knawe, v.
sawe, v. XX, 70.
awe, v. sawe, s. rawe, s. XXVII, 13.
lawe, s.
awe, v. XI, 10.
knawe, v. saw, s. awe, v. XX, 122.
saies, v. wayes, s. prayse, v. XX, 193. *vide* layse.
rawe, s. XXIV, 20.
knawe, v. XXVII, 184.
knawe, v. rawe, s. drawe, v. XXXVII, 313.

rawe, s.
lawe, s. knawe, v. drawe, v. XXIII, 122.
sawe, s. knawe, v. lawe, s. XX, 50.
sawe, s.
drawe, v. rawe, s. lawe, s. XXXVII, 397.
thrawe, s.
awe, v. XVII, 309.
withdrawe, v.
rawe, s. sawe, s. crowe, s. XXVII, 128.

-awes.

lawes, s.
drawes, v. sawes, s. knawes, v. XXXVII, 277.
rawes, s.
sawes, s. knawes, v. lawes, s. XX, 86.

-awlde.

fawlde, v.
talde, v. ALDE, adj. BALDE, adj. VIII, 113.

-awne.

awne, adj.
knawen, v. XI, 9.

-ay.

ay, adv.
yestirday, s. away, adv. assaye, v. VIII, 90.
alway, adv.
day, s. verray, adj. saye, v. XXIV, 187.
flaye, v. dray, s. may, v. XLIV, 86.
ay, adv. daye, s. saie, v. XLIV, 194.
away, adv.
lay, s. saye, v. pay, s. XVII, 145.
lay, s. saye, v. day, s. XXIV, 14.
day, s.
all-way, adv. II, 49.
enfray, v. pay, s. ay, adv. *W. C. et C.*

gay, v.
    way, s. lay, s. say, v. *W. C. et C.*
iornay, s.
    nay, adv. saye, v. waye, s. x, 89.
jay, s.
    day, s. say, v. affraye, s. xxxv, 265.
lay, s.
    away, adv. say, v. may, v. *W. C. et C.*
    away, adv. day, s. may, v. *W. C. et C.*
may, v.
    ay, adv. praye, v. day, s. x, 294.
    away, adv. xxiv, 156.
nay, adv.
    day, s. aye, adv. saie, v. xx, 25.
pay, s.
    way, s. ii, 25.
    may, v. ii, 37.
pray, v.
    maye, v. ix, 164.
    ay, adv. x, 229. (Inserted by later hand.)
puruay, v.
    way, s. ay, adv. say, v. xii, 122.
say, v.
    affray, s. xi, 322.
    day, s. lay, s. maye, s. xv, 14.
    may, v. xvii, 201.
    lay, v. praye, v. way, s. xvii, 217.
    may, v. dray, s. away, adv. xxvii, 117.
    pay, v. *W. C. et C.*
veray, adj.
    pray, v. alway, adv. may, v. xxiv, 99.

-aye.

aye, adv.
    way, s. delay, s. aray, s. xvii, 241.

daye, s.
awaye, adv. praye, v. deraye, s. IX, 72.
alwaye, adv.
ay, adv. daye, s. flay, v. XLIV, 98.
draye, s.
daye, s. alway, adv. praye, v. XXXVII, 146.
gayne-saye, v.
day, s. praye, v. waye, s. X, 198.
laye, s.
day, s. aye, adv. alwaye, adv. X, 346.
away, adv. ay, adv. may, v. XI, 218.
saye, v. XX, 82.
maye, v.
waye, s. XX, 10.
praye, v.
daye, s. X, 169.
ay, adv. waye, s. daye, s. X, 251.
way, s. say, v. day, s. XVII, 37.
saye, v.
ay, adv. X, 248.
may, s. XV, 21.
waye, s. XVII, 10.
halyday, s. ay, adv. way, s. XX, 170.

-ayd.

grayd, v.
saide, v. XII, 141.
afrayd, v.
rayd, v. sayd, v. purvayed, v. *W. C. et C.*

-ayde.

grayde, v.
flayed, v. vnarayed, v. laide, pa. p. XXIV, 2.
layde, pa. p.
saide, v. XV, 93.

prayde, v.
laide, v. paied, v. saide, v. XVII, 302.

-ayed.

affrayed, v.
brayde, s. XXIII, 190.
arrayed, v.
graied, v. layde, v. flaied, XXXV, 37.

-aied.

arraied, v.
laide, v. XXXV, 237.

-aiede.

arraiede, v.
brayde, v. XXXV, 94.

-ayes.

prayes, v.
weyes, adv. X, 182.

-ayle.

avayle, v.
faylle, v. X, 218.
nayle, s.
faile, v. XXXV, 141.
snayle, s.
nayle, s. XXXV, 118.
tayle, s.
fayle, v. hayle, adj. bayle, s. XI, 241.

-aylle.

avaylle, v.
counsayll, s. *W. C. et C.*
faylle, v.
counsaylle, s. *W. C. et C.*
haylle, v.
saylle, s. taylle, v. baylle, s. *W. C. et C.*

-ayne. *vide* -eyne.

agayne, adv.
mayne, s. X, 377.
blayne, s. rayne, s. slayne, v. XI, 314.
frayne, v. layne, v. payne, s. XXIII, 229.
peyne, s. XXXVII, 33.
bayne, adj.
rayne, imp. v. gayne, v. certayne, adv. VIII, 136.
fayne, adj.
playne, adj. peyne, s. mayne, s. IX, 177.
layne, v. slayne, v. agayne, adv. X, 185.
agayne, adv. X, 329.
playne, adj. XVII, 190.
mayne, s. sartayne, adv. playne, adj. XX, 121.
swayne, s. XX, 274.
pleyne, adj. XXIII, 81.
frayne, v.
fulfayne, adv. X, 253.
mayne, s.
certayne, adv. XX, 166.
certayne, adv. fayne, adj. frayne, v. XXIII, 50.
frayne, v. certay(n)e, adv. playne, adj. XXIV, 25.
payne, s.
agayne, adv. XXIV, 120.
playne, adj.
agayne, adv. swayne, s. gayne, v. XI, 242.
fayne, adj. XI, 358.
rayne, v.
layne, v. frayne, v. agayne, adv. IX, 86.
sertayne, adj.
agayne, adv. IX, 38.
freyne, v. fayne, v. agayne, adv. XVII, 49.
swayne, s.
agayne, adv. XV, 128.
trayne, s.
fayne, adj. sayne, v. agayne, adv. X, 102.

swayne, s. slayne, v. agayne, adv. XVII, 205.
agayne, adv. XXXVII, 9.
vayne, s.
sartayne, adj. payne, s. playne, adj. XVII, 289.

-aynes.

paynes, s.
veynis, s. gaynes, v. soueraynes, s. XXXV, 145.

-ayre.

fayre, adj.
peyre, s. IX, 136.
layre, s.
fayre, v. care, s. euermore, adv. XI, 181.

-ays.

always, adv.
prayse, v. *W. C. et C.*

-ayse.

frayse, s.
dayse, s. prayse, v. layse, s. XI, 38.
LAYSE.
saies, v. wayes, s. prayse, v. XX, 193.

-e, -ee.

Barsabe, pr. n.
be, v. X, 378.
contre, s.
me, p. be, v. see, v. IX, 9.
be, v. XVII, 321.
be, v. XVII, 334.
we, pro. me, pro. XXIV, 50. (Part lost.)
we, pro. Galilee, pro. n. menȝe, s. XLIV, 157.
be, v.
degre, s. see, s. plente, adj. II, 81.
'se' II, 31.

degre, s. wee, pro. hee, pro. x, 162.
me, pro. x, 194.
tree, s. me, pro. see, v, xi, 338.
see, v. hee, pro. xv, 87.
me, pro. xv, 104.
Jude, pro. n. xvii, 118.
ȝe, pro. xx, 105.
see, v. thre, adj. me, pro. xx, 206.
see, v. free, adj. hee, pro. xxiii, 49.
see, v. wee, pro. thre, s. xxiii, 85.
contre, s. me, pro. ȝe, pro. xxvii, 153.
me, pro. xliv, 222.
bee, v.
me, pro. ȝe, pro. flee, v. xxvii, 140.
domine, s.
þe, pro. be, v. repleye, v. xxxvii, 374.
degre, adv.
see, v. me, pr. he, pr. ix, 275.
fee, adj. cuntre, s. se, v. plente, adj. me, p. ii, 57.
we, pro. be, v. me, pro. x, 125.
see, s. be, v. me, pro. xi, 86.
fee, s.
be, v. xi, 58.
fre, adj.
meneye, s. se, v. be, v. *W. C. et C.*
free, adj.
me, pro. xi, 167.
be, v. xi, 202.
me, pro. þe, pro. meyne, s. xxvii, 116.
be, v. me, pro. þe, pro. xxxv, 49.
(he), pro.
Jesse, prop. n. hee, pro. be, v. xii, 73.
hee, pro.
þe, pro. tree, s. bee, v. ix, 212.
me, pro.
he, pro. ye, pro. see, v. ix, 29.

be, v. XI, 178.
bee, v. XI, 369.
be, v. XI, 294.
be, v. XXIII, 238.
be, v. XXIV, 207.
bee, v. XXVII, 185.
see, v. XXXV, 154.
þe, pro. free, adj. bee, v. XXXVII, 1.
see, v. þe, pro. plente, s. XXXVII, 386.
mee, pro.
be, v. XXXVII, 274.
mene, v.
we, pro. þe, pro. be, v. XX, 74.
meneye, s.
the, pro. be, v. the, pro. *W. C. et C.*
Osee, prop. n.
he, pro. be, v. free, adj. XVII, 169.
pitee, s.
me, pro. see, v. þe, pro. XXIV, 186.
poste, s.
meyne, s. XXVII, 10.
pouste.
me. X, 182.
priuite, s.
see, v. XXIII, 226.
see, s.
wee, pro. XI, 405.
see, v.
free, adj. be, v. þe, pro. IX, 233.
be, v. free, adj. be, v. XV, 26.
salbe, v. XII, 58.
he, pro. Galale, prop. n. be, v. XII, 133.
bee, v. XVII, 33.
se, pro. XVII, 237.
flee, v. XX, 177.
degre, s. he, pro. be, v. XXIII, 217.

free, adj. XXIV, 94.
free, adj. XXIV, 168.
þee, pro. XXVII, 45.
me, pro. be, v. þe, pro. XXVII, 50.
he, pro. be, v. (MS. partly lost) XXVII, 85.
he, pro. be, v. free, adj. XXXVII, 289.
shalbe, v.
degree, s. XVII, 285.
the, pro.
we, pro. degree, adv. see, v. XX, 61.
thre, s.
we, pro. be, v. flee, v. XVII, 325.
three, s.
free, adj. be, v. see, v. IX, 191.
tollite, v.
glorie, s. hee, pro. see, v. XXXVII, 181.
tree, s.
see, s. be, v. me, pro. X, 14.
bee, v. thre, s. hee, pro. XXXV, 74.
þe, pro.
me, pro. degree, s. be, v. VIII, 121.
me, pro. free, adj. be, v. XX, 265.
pryuyte, s. see, v. degree, s. XXIII, 74.
be, v. XXIII, 153.
see, v. be, v. thre, adj. XXIII, 181.
me, pro. free, adj. bee, v. XXIV, 65.
we, pro.
ȝe, pro. degre, adv. bee, v. IX, 310.
me, pro. X, 98.
meyne, s. kne, s. *te*, pro. XXVII, 92.
be, v. tree, s. see, v. XXXV, 38.
bee, v. XXXV, 201.
wee, pro.
degre, adv. X, 254.
fee, s. XV, 33.
citee, s. he, pro. see, v. XX, 38.

we, pro.
be, v. *W. C. et C.*
yhe, pro.
see, v. XX, 93.
ȝe, pro.
be, v. XXVII, 21.

-ease.

encrease, v.
cesse, v. XVII, 21.

-eene.

seene, v.
meene, v. XVII, 93.

-eche.

reche, v.
teche, v. leche, v. preche, v. XX, 98.

-ed.

red, v.
bred, s. sted, s. ded, s. *W. C. et C.*

-edde.

fedde, v.
wedde, v. cledde, v. bredde, v. XII, 25.
ledde, v.
stedde, p. p. wedde, v. bredde, v. IX, 309.

-ede.

bede, v.
hede, s. feede, v. lede, v. IX, 169.
dede, s. leede, v. sprede, v. XI, 74.
drede, s. nede, s. dede, s. XI, 390.
brede, s.
rede, v. XX, 142.

dede, s.
hede, s. spede, v. lede, s. X, 126.
stede, s. X, 317.
nede, adv. XXIII, 144.
stede, s. XXIV, 108.
stede, s. XXIV, 119.
leede, s. drede, s. spede, v. XXXVII, 133.
(in)dede, adv.
nede, s. *W. C. et C.*
drede, s.
lede, v. seede, s. spede, v. XI, 326.
lede, v. XI, 381.
spede, s. XLIV, 57.
nede, v. XLIV, 177.
lede, v. XXXV, 85.
hede, s. dede, s. speede, s. XXXV, 85.
nede, v.
heede, s. drede, s. speede, v. IX, 100.
leede, v. heede, s. drede, s. XVII, 62.
lede, v. dede, s. mede, s. XX, 62.
dede, s. drede, s. leede, v. XXXV, 169.
rede, v.
hede, s. drede, s. dede, s. XX, 194.
lede, s. stede, s. dede, adj. XX, 205.
dede, s. XXIV, 46.
dead, adj. stede, s. beede, s. XXIV, 135.
rede, s.
dede, adj. godhede, s. rede, s. XLIV, 14.
spede, v.
wedde, v. sprede, v. stede, v. X, 357.
sprede,
rede, v. dede, s. drede, v. XI, 62.
stede, s.
dede, adj. XXIII, 213.
dede, s. XXVII, 125.

wede, s.
nede, adj. heede, s. spede, v. XX, 242.
seede, s. spede, s. dede, s. XXVII, 95.

-eed.

(in-)deed, adv.
mede, s. dede, s. seede, s. X, 333.

-eede.

heede, s.
dede, s. nede, s. spede, v. VIII, 49.
nede, v. speede, s. dede, s. XXXV, 25.
leede, s.
(in)dede, adv. XXXVII, 70.

-edir.

whedir, conj.
to-gedir, adv. hedir, adv. thedir, adv. XXVII, 74.
togedir, adv.
hedir, adv. XVII, 82.
to-gedir, adv.
þedir, adv. XXIV, 143.

-edis.

dedis, s.
redis, v. XXXV, 22.

-efe.

grefe, s.
lefe, s. *W. C. et C.*

-effe.

meffe, v.
mischeffe, s. leue, s. greue, v. XLIV, 205.

-eght.

weght, s.
heght, adv. XXXV, 213.

-eke.

breke, v.
wreke, s. XXXVII, 189.
meke, adj.
eke, v. II, 67.

-em.

Jerusalem, prop. n.
Bedleem, prop. n. XVII, 57.

-elde.

felde, s.
telde, v. welde, v. belde, s. XXIV, 160.
welde, v. belde, s. ȝelde, v. XLIV, 121.
vnwelde, adj.
beelde, s. felde, v. ȝelde, v. X, 221.
welde, v.
feled, v. elde, s. belde, v. XXVII, 62.
elde, s. XVII, 249.
ȝelde, v. X, 30.
eelde, s. beelde, v. welde, v. X, 30.

-eelde.

yeelde, v.
eelde, s. welde, v. beelde, v. X, 53.

-ele.

cele, s.
feele, v. dele, s. wele, adv. XX, 109.
dele, s. XX, 225.
wele, adj. XX, 261.
dele, s.
feele, v. passive, wele, v. VIII, 106. (Last line wanting in MS.)
wele, adj. XVII, 297.

hele, s.
feele, v. XLIV, 118.
kele, v.
dele, s. feylle, v. wele, adj. IX, 198.
wele, adj. XXXV, 46.
feele, v. seele, s. wele, adj. XXXV, 134.
mele, s.
wele, adj. fele, v. dele, s. XLIV, 61.
sele, s.
wele, adj. II, 13.
fele, v. XLIV, 117.
wele, adj.
tell, v. hell, s. dwell, v. XXIII, 73.
fele, v. XX, 69.
kele, v. XXXVII, 82.
uncele, s. dele, s. fele, v. *W. C. et C.*
stele, v.
fele, adj. lele, adj. hele, s. XX, 181.

-eele.

feele, v.
seele, s. adele, s. wele, adj. IX, 127.
wele, adj. dele, s. seele, s. X, 78.
dele, s. XX, 58.
dele, s. lele, adj. hele, s. XXXVII, 61.

-ell.

damysell, s.
Batwell, pro. n. X, 365.
dwell, v.
Israell, pr. n. XXVII, 161.

-ell.

fell, s.
dewell, v. skell, adj. mell, v. feel, adj. well, adj. II, 63.

fell, v.
telle, v. x, 205.
gospell, s.
Gabriell, prop. n. dwell, v. telle, v. xii, 134.
mell, v.
dwelle, v. Abell, pro. n. Archedefell, pro. n. xxxvii, 302.
omell, prep.
Emanuell, prop. n. dwell, v. telle, v. xii, 62.
tell, v.
Israell, pr. n. dwell, v. emell, prep. xi, 182.
Israell, prop. n. hell, s. dwelle, v. xi, 206.
emell, prep. Israell, prop. n. fell, v. xii, 110.

-elle.

be-felle, v.
Esmaell, prop. n. x, 37.
dwelle, v.
telle, v. Johell, prop. n. spell, s. xliv, 181.
emelle, prep.
well, adj. telle, v. dwell, v. xliv, 61.
felle, adj.
telle, v. xxxv, 225.
helle, s.
tell, v. xxiii, 141.
telle, v. dwelle, v. emell, prep. xxxvii, 98.
melle, v.
felle, adj. xxvii, 82.
qwelle, v.
telle, v. emell, prep. hell, s. xi, 61.
selle, v.
emelle, prep. telle, v. felle, v. *W. C. et C.*
telle, v.
fell, v. emell, prep. Israell, prop. n. xi, 26.
helle, s. xxxvii, 286.

-elles.

felles, s.
ellis, adv. xv, 34.

-ellis.

ffellis, s.
ellis, adv. ix, 80.

-els.

els, s.
dwelles, v. mels, v. tels, v. *W. C. et C.*

-eylle.

weylle, adj.
feylle, v. *W. C. et C.*

-eme.

ȝeme, s.
be-deme, adv. xxvii, 160.

-en.

Jessen, pro. n.
ken, v. xi, 321.
ken, v.
men, s. then, adv. ten, s. *W. C. et C.*
men, s.
kene, v. then, conj. ten, s. xx, 157.
when, adv.
kenne, v. men, s. þen, adv. ix, 282.
women, s.
X (ten), s. xx, 189.

-enn.

kenn, v.
þen, adv. men, s. Jessen, prop. n. xi, 25.
ten, s. Jessen, pr. n. men, s. xi, 49.

-enne.

kenne, v.
when, adv. then, adv. men, s. XXIII, 13.

-ence.

pestelence, s.
presence, s. XI, 345.

-ende.

amende, v.
offende, v. hende, s. ende, s. XXIV, 88.
AMENDE, p. p.
fende, v. lende, v. ende, s. II, 9.
ende, s.
mende, v. lende, v. blende, v. VIII, 120.
kende, v. spende, v. deffende, v. XXVII, 25.
frende, s.
wende, v. XXIV, 132.
hende, adj. lende, v. wende, v. XXIV, 198.
ende, s. XXXV, 57.
schende, v. fende, s. wende, v. XLIV, 170.
wende, v. hende, adj. lende, v. XLIV, 206.
hende, s.
lende, v. XXXVII, 45.
fende, v. sende, v. wende, v. XLIV, 50.
sende, v. XLIV, 69.
kende, v.
lende, v. mende, v. sende, v. XII, 14.
ende, s. lende, v. sende, pa. p. XXXVII, 50.
hande, s. discende, v. mende, v. XXXVII, 73.
lende, v.
frende, s. wende, v. ende, s. IX, 226.
spende, v. sende, v. amende, v. IX, 16.
amende, v. blende, v. kende, v. XI, 254.
kende, v. sende, v. fende, v. XI, 362.
wende, v. XXVII, 124.

mende, v. XXVII, 149.
amende, v. XLIV, 107.
mende, v.
hende, s. wende, v. kende, v. VIII, 144.
lende, v. blende, v. wende, v. kende, v. ende, s. II, 74.
hende, s. wende, v. lende, v. XI, 121.
sende, v. XII, 94.
sende, v. XX, 216.
sende, p. p.
kende, v. lende, v. hende, s. XXIII, 146.
sende, v.
mende, v. IX, 206.
lende, v. XXIII, 165.
hende, s. wende, v. ende, s. XXXVII, 398.
mende, v. XLIV, 141.
spende, v.
sende, v. wende, v. lende, v. X, 369.
wende, v.
lende, v. sende, v. kende, v. X, 114.
fende, v. shende, v. frende, s. XI, 31.
spende, v. fende, v. assende, v. XXXVII, 26.
schende, v. XXXVII, 153.
ende, s. XXXVII, 298.
kende, v. sende, v. lende, v. XLIV, 25.

-endis.

wendis, v.
frendis, s. XX, 46.

-ene.

be-mene, v.
be-dene, adv. XXVII, 58.
bene, v.
clene, adj. sene, v. betwene, prep. XXVII, 14.
by-twene, prep.
clene, adj. XXVII, 34.

clene, adj.
mene, v. XI, 45.
mene, v. XV, 117.
sene, v. XXIII, 201.
mene, v.
be-twyne, prep. sene, v. clene, adj. wyne, s. bydene, II, 21.
eghne, s. wene, v. bydene, adv. X, 286.
seene, v. grene, adj. wene, s. XI, 98.
bene, v. clene, adj. sene, v. XII, 1.
sene, v. wene, v. bene, v. XX, 1.
bene, v. XX, 129.
betwene, prep. sene, v. clene, adj. XLIV, 38.
sene, v.
mene, v. XI, 285.
sene, v. wene, v. be-twene, prep. XXIII, 86.
clene, adj. XXIV, 84.
schene, adj.
mene, v. XVII, 22.
wene, v.
mene, v. IX, 66.
mene, v. seene, v. be-dene, adv. IX, 155.
tene, s. by-twene, prep. be-dene, adv. XXVII, 165.

-ent.

assent, s.
went, v. hent, v. firmanent, s. sent, v. entent, s. II, 45.
tente, s. X, 235.
entent, s.
sente, v. wente, v. lente, v. X, 54.
wente, v. sente, v. firmanent, s. XVII, 38.
lente, v. XXIII, 46.
ment, v.
sent, v. lent, v. wente, v. XXIII, 193.
present, s.
tent, v. went, v. assent, v. *W. C. et C.*

ment, v. intent, s. went, v. *W. C. et C.*
assent, s. *W. C. et C.*
sent, p. p.
monument, s. XXIV, 183.
SENT, p. p.
firmanent, s. II, 19.
tent, s.
sente, v. wente, v. mente, v. XI, 205.
comaundment, s. assent, s. serpent, s. XI, 230.
sent, v. ment, v. hente, v. XVII, 313.

-ente.

assente, s.
tente, s. mente, v. wente, v. XXXVII, 170.
turmente, v. XXXVII, 310.
bente, v.
mente, p. p. XII, 46.
hente, v.
schente, p. p. XXXV, 189.
lente, p. p.
entente, s. mente, v. sente, v. X, 310.
mente, v.
lente, v. hente, v. sente, v. XLIV, 110.
repente, v.
assente, v. shente, v. mente, v. VIII, 17.
sente, v.
mente, v. entent, s. sente, v. X, 322.
serpent, s. hente, v. entent, s. XI, 147.
tente, s.
wente, v. bente, v. sent, v. VIII, 112.
present, s. wente, v. lente, v. XX, 49.
wente, v.
lente, v. IX, 262.
sente, v. present, s. comaundment, s. XX, 133.
assent, v. *W. C. et C.*

entent, s. schent, p. p. assentte, v, XXIV, 63.
sente, v. XLIV, 81.

-entt.

tentt, s.
sentte, v. wente, v. mente, v. XII, 26.

-entte.

lentte, p. p.
wente, v. sent, v. tente, v. XX, 73.

-enyd.

tenyd, v.
frende, s. shende, v. wende, v. XVII, 314.

-epe.

kepe, s.
schepe, s. X, 318.
kepe, v.
schepe, s. XI, 93.
(wer,) v.
merr, v. *desuper*, adv. ferre, adj. XII, 37.

-ere.

bere, v.
heere, adv. pere, s. seere, adj. XXXV, 218.
here, adv. XXXVII, 214.
clere, adj.
here, adv. IX, 192.
yere, s. IX, 290.
matere, s. X, 122.
lere, v. manere, s. feere, s. XX, 158.
seere, adj. XXIII, 202.
dere, adj.
nere, adv. X, 247.
here, adv. XI, 189.

pere, s. here, adv. chere, s. XV, 120.
here, v. seere, adj. fere, s. XXIII, 1.
here, adv. feere, s. yere, s. XXXV, 158.
euere, adv.
deuer, s. XXIV, 155.
gere, s.
bere, v. dere, s. were, v. X, 149.
here, adv.
yhere, s. IX, 303.
feere, s. were, s. lere, v. IX, 143.
cheere, s. dere, adj. feere, s. X, 65.
cheere, s. X, 158.
ȝere, s. seere, adj. nere, adv. XXXVII, 37.
here, v.
were, s. fere, s. pere, s. XV, 1.
feere, s. sopere, s. lere, v. XXVII, 2.
chere, s.
feere, s. XX, 21.
feere, s. XX, 286.
feere, s. lere, v. clere, adj. XXIII, 230.
fere, s.
lere, v. XXIV, 194.
lere, v.
here, v. XX, 81.
dere, adj. here, adv. feere, s. XXVII, 37.
seere, adj. XLIV, 10.
here, adv. dere, adj. power, s. XLIV, 193.
manere, s.
clere, adj. sere, adj. yere, s. II, 57.
here, v. XII, 142.
feere, s. ȝere, s. clere, adj. XXXVII, 350.
messengere, s.
feere, s. here, adv. appeare, v. XXXVII, 362.
nere, adv.
here, v. XI, 105.

pere, s.
lere, v. were, s. here, adv. *W. C. et C.*
powere, s.
apere, v. lere, v. clere, adj. nere, adj. sere, adj. II, 15.
sere, adj.
here, adv. fere, s. a-pere, v. II, 27.
nere, adj. chere, adj. II, 27.
manere, s. II, 71.
here, adv. IX, 248.
here, adv. fere, s. clere, adj. XXXVII, 122.
were, v.
dere, adj. heere, adv. nere, adv. IX, 43.
cheere, s. nere, adv. dere, s. X, 274.
were, v. XI, 21.

-eere.

cheere, s.
here, adv. chere, s. lere, v. IX, 99.
feere, s.
clere, adj. sere, adj. here, v. XXIII, 170.
manere, s. XXIV, 71.
here, adv. feere, s. nere, adv. XXIV, 112.
lere, v. XXXV, 33.
seere, adj. clere, adj. lere, v. XXXVII, 385.
clere, adj. lere, v. ȝere, s. XLIV, 122.
feere, v.
bere, v. were, v. swere, v. XI, 134.
leere, v.
heere, adv. XXXVII, 321.
seere, adj.
fere, s. were, s. manere, s. VIII, 129.
manere, s. feere, s. here, v. XVII, 50.
nere, adv. were, s. chere, s. XVII, 86.
chere, s. (MS. partly lost) XXVII, 86.
were, v. are, v. for-bere, v. XXVII, 177.

-erk.

clerk, s.
merke, s. werke, s. herke, v. IX, 66.

-erre.

ferre, adv.
marre, v. narre, adj. warre, adj. IX, 58.
bere, v. were, s. swere, v. XI, 134.
ferre, adj.
warre, s. XI, 333.
werre, adj.
be-fore, prep. more, adv. thore, adv. XVII, 110.
ferre, adv. XXXVII, 334.

-es.

es, v.
gres, s. ges, v. lesse, adj. II, 45.
fayrenes, s.
gesse, v. expresse, v. ES, v. XXIII, 218.
pres, v.
plees, v. pese, s. disease, v. XV, 121.
principes, s.
eternales, adj. prees, s. lees, s. XXXVII, 121.
reles, s.
encrees, v. sesse, v. pees, s. XXXVII, 290.
wytnes, s.
redres, v. *W. C. et C.*

-ees.

pees, v.
prees, s. sees, v. encrease, v. XI, 13.
sesse, v. messe, s. encrease, v. XI, 158.
encrease, v. sese, v. lese, s. XI, 325.

-ese.

plese, v.
esse, adj. XI, 382.

sese, v.
encrease, v. XI, 46.

-ess.

sekeness, s.
gudness, s. XXIV, 107.

-esse.

cesse, v.
pesse, s. XXIV, 167.
dresse, v.
lesse, adj. flesch, s. gesse, v. II, 81.
processe, s. ES, v. II, 81.
goodnesse, s.
lesse, adj. XXXVII, 394.
lesse, adj.
dresse, v. XX, 57.
is, v. witnesse, s. stresse, s. XX, 182.
wittenesse, s. expresse, v. forgiffenesse, XLIV, 13.
presse, v.
moyfe, v. XVII, 46.
sesse, v.
encresse, v. IX, 234.
witnesse, s.
is, v. XXIII, 69.

-este.

beste, adj.
reste, s. firste, adv. beste, adj. XX, 241.
feste, v.
breste, v. XXVII, 101.
beste, adj. XXXV, 82.
weste, s.
feste, v. XXXVII, 333.

-ete.

be-hete, v.
wete, v. feete, s. swete, adj. X, 273.

bete, v.
feete, s. meete, adj. fete, s. XVII, 277.
wete, adj. be-hete, v. mete, v. XXVII, 153.
mete, v.
feete, s. swete, adj. wete, adj. XXVII, 49.
respete, s.
smyte, v. parfite, adj. wite, v. X, 285.
strete, s.
feete, s. meete, adj. bete, v. XXXV, 253.
wete, v.
sytte, v. itt, pro. qwitte, s. IX, 113.

-eete.

heete, v.
feete, s. beete, v. vnmeet, adj. XXXV, 121.
mett, v. XI, 287.

-ett.

bett, v.
fette, v. mette, v. dette, s. XVII, 278.
sett, v.
ette, v. XXVII, 33.

-ette.

dette, s.
lette, v. XLIV, 178.
lette, v.
mette, v. XX, 117.

-eue. *vide* -eve.

greue, v.
leue, s. XVII, 129.
leue, s.
greve, v. XI, 129.
mischeff, s. XI, 309.
mischeue, s.
leue, s. XXIII, 166.

-euen.

steuen, s.
heuen, s. XII, 118.
heuyn, s. elleuyn, s. even, adj. XLIV, 1.
heuen, s.
neven, v. XVII, 166.
euyn, adj. XLIV, 142.

-euere.

neuere, adv.
lever, adv. XXVII, 136.

-euyn.

euyn.
steuyn, s. leuyn, s. hewuyn, s. II, 15.

-eve.

greve, v.
myscheue, s. IX, 108.
meve, v.
greve, v. leve, s. myscheue, s. XI, 277.
preve, PROUE (?).
loue, v. XX, 153.

-even.

neven, v.
seuene, s. steuene, s. heuen, s. IX, 15.
steuen, s. heuen, s. euen, conj. XII, 13.

-ewe.

Jewe, prop. n.
knewe, v. newe, adj. hewe, s. XII, 85.
newe, v.
trewe, s. XI, 141.
trewe, adj. rewe, v. sew, v. XI, 386.
brewe, v. pursue, v. rewe, v. XXVII, 105.
pursewe, v. trewe, adj. Jewe, prop. n. XXXVII, 314.

NEWE, adj.
Jesu, prop. n. trewe, adj. pursue, v. XLIV, 97.
remewe, v.
trewe, adj. XI, 310.
sewe, v.
newe, adj. rewe, s. trewe, adj. VIII, 105.
trewe, adj.
brewe, v. hewe, s. newe, v. VIII, 18.
newe, adj. XXVII, 69.
knewe, v. XXXVII, 369.

-ewes.

newes, v.
Jewes, prop. n. Ebrewes, prop. n. grewes, v. XVII, 158.

-eyed.

purueyed, v.
saide, v. XXXVII, 69.

-eyf.

beleyf, s.
grefe, v. *W. C. et C.*

-eyn.

seyn, v.
teyn, v. *W. C. et C.*

-eylde.

beylde, v.
elde, s. vn-welde, adj. feylde, s. VIII, 89.

-eyn.

cleyn, adj.
weyn, s. meyne, v. teyn, s. VIII, 33.

-eyne.

cleyne, adj.
betwene, prep. seyn, pa. p. bedeyne, v. VIII, 73.

-eyne. *vide* ayne.

sarteyne, adj.
payne, s. XXXVII, 94.
peyne, s.
slayne, v. agayne, adv. pleyne, adj. XLIV, 73.

-eyte.

coveyte, v.
layte, v. XX, 190.

-eytt.

weytt, adv.
beytt, v. feytt, s. sweytt, adj. *W. C. et C.*

I.

I, pro.
multiplye (v. i), wofully, adv. for-þi, conj. VIII, 8.
Sarae, pr. n. X, 27.
dewly, adv. X, 170.
connandly, adv. XX, 130.
stedfastly, adv. XXIII, 177.
preuylye, adv. XXIV, 60.
Hely, pro. n. body, s. myghty, adj. XXXVII, 85.

-ice.

price, s.
lyse, s. wyse, v. avyse, s. *W. C. et C.*
sacrifice, s.
avise, v. X, 74.

-ide.

abide, v.
wyde, adj. side, s. tyde, s. XXXV, 229.
tyde, s. XXXVII, 213.
bide, v.
thirde, adj. XXIII, 154.

side, s.
bide, v. tyde, s. hyde, v. XXXV, 181.

-idde.

hidde, v.
kidde, v. XXXVII, 249.

-ie.

crie, v.
hardely, adv. XXXVII, 141.
deffie, v.
gilery, s. Betannye, pro. n. dye, v. XXXVII, 158.
discrie, v.
serely, adv. XLIV, 22.
Marie, pro. n.
Bethany, pro. n. dye, v. company, s. XXIV, 100.
prophicie, s.
denye, v. XLIV, 189.
specifie, v.
I, pro. Isaye, pr. n. lady, s. XV, 2.

-ied.

glorified, v.
bide, v. beside, adv. tyde, s. XXIV, 111.

-ier.

entier, adj.
dere, adj. here, adv, cheere, s. X, 309.

-iffe.

liffe, s.
wyffe, s. ryffe, v. stryffe, s. X, 358.
dryffe, v. wyffe, s. thryve, v. XI, 313.
wyffe, s. ryfe, adj. striffe, s. XII, 98.
striffe, s. *vide* yve.
liff, s. XXVII, 173.

wiffe, s.
liff, s. XX, 273.

-ight. *vide* yght.

dight, pa. p.
sight, s. X, 38.
fyght, v. XXIII, 117.
highte, pa. p. XLIV, 46.
flight, s.
sight, s. light, v. right, adv. IX, 205.
hight, v.
myght, s. *W. C. et C.*

-ight. *vide* yght.

light, s.
sight, s. right, adj. dight, v. X, 77.
sight, s. bright, adj. myght, s. XVII, 1.
knyght, s. myght, s. sight, s. XVII, 97.
light, adj.
hight, adv. XXXV, 166.
might, s.
bright, adj. syght, s. wyght, adv. II, 39.
right, adv. dyght, v. II, 39.
right, adj.
sight, s. XXIV, 206.
sight, s.
light, adj. XXIII, 9.
myght, s. XXIII, 82.
wighte, s. XXIII, 225.
wight, s. hight, v. myght, s. XXIV, 148.
hight, v. myght, s. hight, adv. XXXVII, 229.
hight, v. light, s. myght, s. XLIV, 146.
wight, s.
insight, s. light, v. might, s. XX, 97.
vppe-right, adj.
highte, pa. p. XXXVII, 394.

-ighte. *vide* -yght.

highte, adv.
nyght, s. myght, s. sight, s. XXIV, 174.

-ike.

like, adj.
slyke, adj. XI, 154.

-ilde.

childe, s.
bygillid, v. XI, 57.
bygilid, v. XVII, 202.
wilde, adj.
childe, s. bylde, v. mylde, adj. XVII, 229.

-ill. *vide* -ille and -yll-e.

ill, v.
will, adj. till, adv. fulfyll, v. XX, 254.
ill, adj.
stille, adv. will, s. fulfille, v. XX, 277.
ill, s.
will, s. XXXVII, 34.
still, adj.
will, s. fulfill, v. skyll, VIII, 41.
tyll, prep. X, 303.
spill, v. will, s. ill, s. XXIV, 76.
hill, s.
vntil, conj. XXXV, 178.
still, adv.
hill, s. X, 45.
till, prep.
will, v. X, 282.
till, adv.
hill, s. fulfyll, v. wille, s. X, 150.
fulfille, v. XXXVII, 393.
still, adj. XLIV, 58.

vntill, conj.
will, s. still, adj. fulfill, v. XX, 146.
will, s.
þer-tille, adv. XI, 142.
stille, adj. XXIII, 45.

-ille. *vide* -ylle.

ille, adj.
tille, prep. fulfille, v. wille, s. X, 2.
ille, s.
will, s. X, 62.
fulfill, v. þer-till, adv. spille, v. X, 174.
fulfille, v.
wyll, v. IX, 178.
ill, adj. vntil, prep. will, s. XVII, 193.
tille, conj. XXXV, 10.
stille, adv. XXXVII, 166.
wolle, (wille?) v. XXXVII, 238.
stille, v.
wille, s. tille, adv. skylle, s. IX, 121.
hille, v. fille, v. will, s. VIII, 145.
stille, adj.
ill, adj. XVII, 94.
stille, adv.
wille, s. XXXV, 285.
þer-tille, adv.
skylle, s. fulfille, v. spille, v. IX, 44.
kill, v. XLIV, 93.
wille, s.
fulfille, v. skille, s. þer-tille, adv. X, 101.
skyll, s. till, prep. spill, v. X, 321.
spill, v. XI, 22.
vn-till, prep. XI, 165.
fulfille, v. XXXVII, 297.

-in.

þer-in, adv.
myn, adj. synne, s. wynne, v. VIII, 26.
be-gynne, v. kynne, s. tynne, adj. XV, 97.

-ing.

bidding, s.
thing, s. hyng, v. bring, v. XX, 145.
menyning, s.
thyng, s. XVII, 141.

-inge.

bringe, v.
hyng, v. thyng, s. endyng, imp. XXXV, 86.

-ir.

sir, s.
spir, v. XVII, 105.

-ire.

desire, s.
fyre, s. X, 193.
Empire, s.
desire, v. sire, s. lyre, s. XI, 14.
sire, s.
lyre, s. XXXVII, 117.
myre, s. desire, s. hyre, s. XXXVII, 254.

-irke.

wirke, v.
kirke, s. irke, adj. mirke, adj. XLIV, 26.

-is.

his, pro.
blisse, XXIII, 178.
this, pro.
his, pro. X, 341.

-ise.

wise, adj.
sacrifice, s. x, 236.
wise, s.
sacryfice, s. x, 85.
chastise, v. xxxv, 34.
prophicye, s. affies, v. vprise, v. xxxvii, 25.
avise, v. xliv, 21.

-ist.

list, v.
wiste, v. bliste, v. myste, v. xi, 110.
wist, v.
list, v. xvii, 214.

-iste.

liste, s.
bliste, v. triste, v. wiste, v. x, 345.
liste, v.
bliste, v. xii, 34.
wiste, v.
liste, v. xliv, 94.

-it.

it, pro.
it, pro. x, 298.
witte, v. ȝitt, conj. flitte, v. xi, 265.

-ite.

dispite, s.
flighte, s. wyte, v. tyte, adv. xvii, 74.

-itt.

ȝitt, conj.
witte, v. xxvii, 57.
witte, v. flitte, v. flitte, adj. xxxv, 230.

-itte.

fitte, s.
pitte, s. XXXVII, 346.
flitte, v.
witte, s. XVII, 333.
sitte, v.
ȝitt, conj. witte, v. knytte, v. IX, 184.
witte, v.
yitte, conj. flitte, v. sitte, v. IX, 65.
it, pro. obitte, adj. pitte, s. XXXVII, 265.
witte, s.
knytte, v. XII, 105.

-ith.

with, prep.
grith, s. IX, 150.

-ithe.

swithe, adj.
blithe, adj. XI, 393.

-o.

also, conj.
fro, prep. onto, prep. wo, s. II, 1.
go, v. so, adv. II, 1.
goo, v. foo, s. too, prep. XXIV, 87.
goo, v. XXXVII, 118.
foo, s. XXXVII, 285.
Pharo, prop. n.
soo, adv. XI, 117.
slo, v.
moo, adj. go, v. fro, adv. *W. C. et C.*
two, s.
goo, v. foo, s. sloo, v. XX, 169.
nomoo, adv. alsoo, adv. goo, v. XXIII, 2.
two, adj.
moo, adj. goo, v. soo, adv. XXVII, 176.
vnto, prep.
doo, v. X, 134.

-oo.

doo, v.
  too, adv. XXXV, 117.
froo, adv.
  moo, adv. soo, adv. twoo, s. XVII, 230.
goo, v.
  sloo, v. twoo, s. soo, adv. X, 90.
  vntoo, prep. X, 146.
  alsoo, adv. XVII, 58.
loo, int.
  doo, v. XXXV, 9.
soo, adv.
  twoo, adj. goo, v. moo, adv. VIII, 128.
  moo, adj. XXXV, 165.
  moo, adj. froo, adv. goo, v. XXXVII, 206.
  inferno, s. goo, v. woo, s. XXXVII, 373.
  abiero, v. goo, v. *fuero*, v. XLIV, 37.
  doo, v. twoo, adj. woo, s. XLIV, 213.
too, prep.
  doo, v. XVII, 142.
twoo, s.
  fra, prep. maie, v. alswae, prep. XX, 2.
woo, s.
  soo, adv. goo, v. froo, adv. XI, 301.
  also, adv. XVII, 34.

-ode.

mode, s.
  goode, adj. woode, s. blood, s. *W. C. et C.*
  bloode, s. XLIV, 153.

-oght. *vide* -ought.

broght, v.
  soght, v. noght, adv. wroght, v. XVII, 182.
  soght, v. XVII, 238.

for-thoght, s.
brught, v. un-soght, v. noght, v. II, 75.
oght, v. WROGHT, v. II, 75.
noght, adj.
broght, v. *W. C. et C.*
brought, v. XI, 130.
wroght, v. vnsoght, v. moght, v. XVII, 218.
noght, s.
brought, v. XI, 370.
sought, v. XXXV, 261.
soght, v.
broght, v. noght, adv. wrought, v. IX, 128.
ought, s. broght, v. noght, adv. XV, 109.
thoght, s.
noght, adv. soght, v. wroght, v. X, 222.
þoght, s.
noght, s. wrought, v. sought, v. XXXV, 62.
wroght, v.
onsoght, v. II, 9.
broght, v. noght, adv. thoght, s. VIII, 25.
broght, v. sought, v. myght (MOUGHT), v. XVII, 13.
broght, *W. C. et C.*

-ohn.

John, pro. n.
wone, s. gone, v. allone, adj. XXIII, 182.

-oken.

stoken, v.
brokynne, v. vnlokynne, v. wroken, v. XXXVII, 193.

-old.

told, v.
sold, v. *W. C. et C.*

-olde.

bolde, adj.
tolde, v. XXIII, 22.

tolde, v. XXIV, 59.
solde, v. tolde, v. holde, v. XXXVII, 145.
hold, v. sold, v. told, v. *W. C. et C.*

-ome.

come, v.
dum, adj. *sum*, v. mum, v. XI, 169.
dome, s. XXIII, 118.
vestrum, s. *gaudium*, s. summe, adj. XLIV, 145.
home, s.
same, s. XVII, 45.

-on.

Abiron, pro. n.
euerilkone, pro. XXXVII, 309.
mon, v.
sonne, s. be-gonne, v. wonne, v. XII, 61.

-one.

allone, adv.
mone, s. XX, 250.
gone, v. XXIV, 56 (1st part of series lost).
mone, s. gone, v. slone, v. XXIV, 147.
agayne, adv. XXVII, 148.
bone, s.
sone, adv. mysdone, pa. p. mone, s. X, 252.
hone, v. done, v. none, s. XI, 350.
done, v. XVIII, 298.
done, v. XVII, 322.
done, v.
sone, adv. IX, 52.
bone, s. XI, 225.
sone, adv. XX, 22.
sone, adj. none, s. bone, s. XXIII, 157.
fone, v.
sone, s. X, 306.
sone, s. X, 366.

gone, v.
none, s. all-ane, adj. nane, pro. X, 197.
hone, v.
none, s. done, v. sone, adj. XXXV, 13.
ilkone, s.
none, s. XXVII, 22.
gone, v. XXVII, 70.
tane, v. XXVII, 113.
mone, s.
sone, adv. XXXV, 286.
none, s.
sone, adv. XI, 249.
done, pa. p. XI, 273.
none, adj.
tone, pa. p. XLIV, 9.
sone, adv.
done, v. II, 43.
done, v. X, 73.
done, v. XXVII, 46.
done, v. XXXV, 70.
done, v. hone, v. gone, v. XXXV, 194.
done, v. XXXVII, 22.
sone, s.
bone, adj. X, 281.
wonne, v. XXXVII, 237.
tone, pa. p.
allone, adj. XLIV, 202.
wone, s.
tone, v. ilkone, s. one, s. XXVII, 164.

-ones.

stones, s.
nonys, s. ones, s. bones, s. XXXV, 217.

-ong. *vide* -ang.

long, adj.
strong, adj. gang, v. wrang, adj. VIII, 81.
wrong, adj.
hange, v. lange, adj. strange, adj. XXXV, 26.

-onne.

begonne, v.
fonn, v. sonn, s. run, v. XI, 37.
sonne, s. CON, v. FONE, v. XVII, 25.
bonne, v.
sonne, s. XXIII, 130.
sonne, s.
begonne, v. sonne, v. bonne, adj. XXIII, 38.
fune, p. p. sonne, v. begonne, v. XXIII, 98.
Vysionne, pr. n.
sone, s. X, 86.
wonne, pa. p.
sonne, s. X, 21.

-oode.

bloode, s.
woode, s. moode, s. goode, adj. XXXV, 61.
foode, s.
bloode, s. XXXVII, 10.
moode, s.
yoode, v. floode, s. goode, adj. IX, 148.
woode, adj.
bloode, s. floode, s. good, adj. IX, 93.
ȝoode, v. XI, 334.

-orde.

accorde, v.
lorde, s. XVII, 153.
lorde, s.
accorde, v. XVII, 69.
Lorde, prop. n.
accorde, s. XII, 69.

-ore.

before, adv.
wore, v. sore, adj. more, adj. XI, 266.
were, v. more, adj. þore, adv. XXIII, 14.
more, adv. XXXVII, 226.
wore, v. XLIV, 190.
dore, s.
fure, v. blure, s. more, s. XI, 290.
restore, v.
euermore, adv. were, v. be-fore, adv. XXXVII, 13.
sore, s.
wore, v. fare, v. euermore, adv. XX, 266.
sore, adj.
spare, v. XXXV, 69.
wore, v.
be-fore, adv. sore, adj. nomore, adv. IX, 268.
soore, adj. þore, adv. more, adj. XXXV, 205.
more, adj. þerfore, conj. þore, adv. XXXV, 157.
more, adj.
by-fore, adv. þore, adv. wore, v. XII, 121.
fare, v. XX, 213.
afore, adv. were, v. where, adv. XXIII, 205.
lore, s. spare, v. thare, adv. *W. C. et C.*
therefore, conj. XXIV, 133.
þore, adv. XXIV, 144.
sore, adj. XXXVII, 202.
þore, adv.
þerfore, conj. XXIV, 45.
more, adj. XXXV, 105.
LORE, s.
more, adv. þerfore, adv. yore, adv. IX, 303.

-ored.

bored, v.
scored, v. corde, s. lorde, s. XXXV, 109.

-orne.

be-forne, prep.
borne, v. IX, 24.
borne, v. XVII, 106.
lorne, adj. XVII, 177.
morne, s. skorne, s. lorne, adj. *W. C. et C.*

borne, v.
morne, s. corne, s. lorne, pa. p. IX, 169.
lorne, pa. p. XI, 70.
by-forne, adv. XV, 22.
lorne, adj. XVII, 154.
morne, s. XVII, 226.

lorne, pa. p.
morne, s. borne, v. scorne, s. XI, 253.
borne, XV, 10.

morne, s.
borne, v. XII, 82.
borne, v. XVII, 81.

-ose.

lose, v.
chose, v. *W. C. et C.*

suppose, v.
lose, v. XI, 34.

-ote.

note, s.
lotte, s. coote, s. woote, v. XXXV, 289.

-other.

brother, s.
other, adj. *W. C. et C.*

-otte.

wotte, v.
gatte, s. IX, 94.

-ou.

thou, pro.
you, pro. *W. C. et C.*

-oue.

moue, v.
houe, v. a-boue, prep. proue, v. II, 21.

-oues.

remoues, v.
Jewes, pro. n. XXVII, 112.

-ought.

brought, v.
sought, v. bought, v. wrought, v. XXXV, 146.
ought, adv.
sought, v. noght, adv. brought, v. XX, 217.
brought, v. boght, v. soght, v. XXXV, 97.
wrought, v.
noght, adv. þought, s. wroght, v. VIII, 65.
brought, v. IX, 122.
thought, s. broghte, v. mowght, v. X, 1.
mowght, v. oght, s. broght, v. X, 173.
noght, adv. XX, 94.
ought, adv. XXXV, 250.

-oune.

boune, v.
sone, s. schone, v. foune, v. X, 240.
foune, v. X, 217.
doune, v. Malhownde, pr. n. drowne, v. XI, 397.
boune, adj.
founde, v. X, 10.
towne, s. sessoune, s. reassoune, s. X, 113.
doune, v. treasoune, s. croune, s. XXXV, 73.
doune, adv. XXXV, 177.
doune, adv. XXXVII, 178.
doune, adv. XXXVII, 201.
sone, s. XLIV, 221.

croune, s.
toune, s. downe, adv. renoun, s. XVII, 73.
doune, adj.
bowne, adj. XI, 81.
foune, v.
boune, v. XXXV, 142.
reasoune, s.
boune, v. doune, adv. mahounde, pro. n. XXXVII, 337.
toune, s.
resoune, s. boune, v. doune, adv. XXXVII, 253.

-ounde.

founde, v.
(FOUNE or FONE ?)
sone, s. boone, adj. be-gonne, v. XX, 13.
mahounde, pro. n.
doune, adv. XXXV, 129.

-oundre.

soundre, adv.
vndir, adv. XXXV, 190.

-ondir.

wondir, s.
a-soundre, adv. XXXV, 130.

-oure.

honnoure, s.
neghboure, s. XX, 165.
socoure, s.
boure, s. floure, s. honnoure, s. XII, 74.
stoure, s.
honnoure, s. XXXVII, 130.
toure, s.
floure, s. socour, v. saueour, s. XVII, 170.

-ours.

honours, s.
creaturis, s. II, 55.

-oute.

aboute, adv.
owte, adv. dowte, s. lowte, v. IX, 183.
stoute, adj. oute, adv. doute, s. XLIV, 169.
oute, adv.
aboute, adv. XX, 33.

-outte.

outte, adv.
aboutte, adv. doutte, s. clowte, IX, 114.

-ow.

þow, pro.
prowe, s. nowe, adv. trowe, v. IX, 239.

-owe.

howe, adj.
trowe, v. XLIV, 45.
nowe, adv.
ȝowe, pro. XII, 129.
ȝou, pro. XX, 106.
þowe, pro. ȝou, pro. bowe, v. XX, 278.
howe, adv. XXXV, 249.
þou, pro. XXXVII, 58.
trowe, v. XXXVII, 93.
prowe, s. howe, adv. nowe, adv. XXXVII, 218.
trowe, v. avowe, v. howe, adv. XLIV, 74.
prowe, s.
þowe, pro. now, adv. bowe, v. XXIII, 37.
nowe, adv. allowe, v. trowe, v. XXXVII, 326.
snowe, s.
awe, s. knawe, v. rowe, s. XXIII, 97.

trowe, v.
nowe, adv. XXIII, 94.

-owes.

rowes, s.
sawes, s. XX, 141.

-owne.

bowne, v.
towne, s. drowne, v. downe, adv. IX, 79.
downe, adv.
drowne, v. IX, 238.

-o3t.

no3t, adv.
wrought, v. brought, v. sought, v. XXIII, 133.

-owte.

clowte, s.
schowte, s. doute, s. oute, adv. XLIV, 85.

-oyes.

boyes, s.
royis, v. noyse, s. joies, s. XXXVII, 97.

-udde.

fudde, s.
blude, s. XI, 262.

-uke.

luke, v.
for-soke, v. toke, v. woke, s. IX, 247.

-um.

templum, s.
some, pro. XXV, 273.

-un.

sun, s.
son, s. by-gune, v. bun, adj. II, 51.

-us.

Jesus, pro. n.
us, pro. XX, 249.
þus, adv. vs, pro. trus, v. XXIII, 145.
thus, adv.
us, pro. *W. C. et C.*
þus, adv.
paraclitus, s. XLIV, 33.
spiritus, s. vs, pro. Jesus, pro. n. XLIV, 133.

-usse.

trusse, v.
nubibus, s. vs, pro. þus, adv. 281.

-vs.

vs, pro.
bus, v. trusse, v. þus, adv. IX, 107.
Jesus, prop. n. XII, 81.
þus, adv. XXXVII, 370.

-y.

almyghty, adj.
dye, v. I, pro. for-thy, conj. X, 137.
by, adv. skye, s. fantasye, XXIII, 193.
(wher)-by, adv.
sekirly, adv. XX, 154.
certenly, adv.
al-myghty, adj. Ely, pro. n. I, pro. XXIII, 134.
clerly, adv.
here-by, adv. X, 9.
curtaysely, adv.
companye, s. tresurry, s. worthy, adj. XVII, 242.

dry, adj.
hastely, adv. hasty, adj. spy, v. *W. C. et C.*
Fy ! interj.
skye, s. I, pro. Jury, prop. n. XVII, 121.
fy, v.
denye, v. gilty, adj. þar-by, adv. XXIV, 38.
hereby, adv.
signifie, v. clerly, adv. by, v. XV, 13.
hy, adj.
I, pro. witterly, adv. by, v. *W. C. et C.*
hydously,
why, adv. for-thy, adv. I, pro. XXIII, 206.
inwardly, adv.
I, pro. enmye, s. for-thy, conj. XVII, 325.
gilty, adj. why, adv. þer-by, adv. XXIV, 75.
crye, v. dye, v. hye, adj. XXXVII, 361.
lastandly, adv.
Hely, pro. n. I, pro. clarifie, v. XXIII, 61.
mercy, s.
dye, v. X, 260.
myghty, adj.
aby, v. Betany, pro. n. bodely, adv. *W. C. et C.*
py, s.
mercy, s. almighty, adj. dye, v. XXXV, 266.
sodanly, adv.
I, pro. XI, 298.
thryrty, adj.
by, v. *W. C. et C.*
why, adv.
hy, adj. I, pro. company, s. *W. C. et C.*
witterly, adv.
dy, v. *W. C. et C.*
worthy, adj.
by, adv. company, s. myghty, adj. XXIII, 110.
mercye, s. XXXVII, 357.

-ye.

bye, adv.
worthy, adj. XXXVII, 322.
bittirlye, adv.
enemye, s. XI, 274.
companye, s.
forthy, conj. XX, 34.
high, adv. redy, adv. lie, v. XXXV, 170.
dye, v.
crye, v. flye, v. dry, adj. XI, 289.
worthy, adj. fantasie, s. denye, v. XXVII, 129.
folye, s.
avowtery, s. XXIV, 33.
hye, s.
certaynely, adv. hermonye, pro. n. (Armenia) IX, 261.
I, pro. dye, v. Caluarie, pro. n. XXXV, 1.
hye, v.
company, s. XX, 9.
stroye, s.
avowtry, s. abye, v. worthy, adj. XXIV, 13.
vn-worthye, adj.
propyrly, adv. hye, v. I, pro. VIII, 42.
Arabie, pro. n. syngnyfie, v. companye, s. XVII, 14.

-yd.

kyd, p. p.
byd, v. *W. C. et C.*

-yde.

abyde, v.
signified, v. XII, 117.
byde, v.
wede, v. on-brede, adv. fede, v. II, 31.
sede, s. lede, s. II, 31.
hyde, v.
tyde, s. bide, v. aside, s. XLIV, 49.

pryde, s.
tyde, s. cryed, v. SAIDE, v. XXXVII, 182.
syde, s.
bide, v. XI, 94.
tyde, s.
MULTYPLYD, v. wyde, adj. circumcicyd, v. X, 13.
bide, v. XX, 285.
hyde, v. abide, v. (part lost). XXIV, 49.
tyde, v.
bide, v. XXVII, 81.
wyde, adj.
hyde, v. pride, s. byde, v. II, 1.
hyde, v. byde, v. side, s. VIII, 1.
side, adv. hyde, v. be-tyde, v. IX, 240.
yenge, s.
thynge, s. likyng, adv. spynge, v. XII, 38.
lyes, v.
despise, v. wise, adv. avise, v. XI, 229.

-yff.

lyff, s.
striffe, s. ryffe, adj. wiffe, s. VIII, 10.
ryffe, v. wiffe, s. knyffe, s. IX, 1.
wyffee, s. striffe, s. knyffee, s. IX, 219.
wyffe, X, 8.

-yffe.

gyffe, v.
lyffe, s. XII, 57.
wyffe, s.
liff, s. XXIII, 70.

-yght. *vide* -ight.

hyght, adv.
bright, adj. flight, s. lyght, v. II, 69.
lyght, s.
hyght, v. XII, 10.

myght, s.
HIGHT, s. right, adj. sight, s. IX, 289.
syght, s. bright, adj. wight, s. XI, 97.
light, s. light, s. sighte, s. XV, 25.
knyght, XVII, 310.
light, s. XXIV, 195.
wight, adj. dight, v. right, adj. XXXV, 277.
hight, adv. sight, s. light, s. XXXVII, 86.
fight, v. XXXVII, 129.
hight, v. light, s. sight, s. XXXVII, 349.
light, adj. highte, v. sight, s. XLIV, 109.
sight, s. XLIV, 201.
nyght, s.
sight, s. myght, s. light, adj. XX, 218.
hight, v. right, adj. dight, v. XXVII, 1.
right, s. XXXVII, 261.

-yke.

lyke, adv.
slyke, adj. heuen-ryke, s. meke, adj. XII, 97.

-yld.

hyld, v.
fulfillid, p. p. II, 61.

-ylde.

mylde, adj.
be-gyled, v. XII, 22.

-yle.

be-gyle, v.
myle, s. wyle, v. whille, s. XX, 26.

-yll.

euyll, s.
stille, adv. wille, s. full-fille, v. XVII, 26.

-ylle.

skylle, s.
wille, v. *W. C. et C.*
tylle, prep.
wylle, s. *W. C. et C.*
wylle, s.
tylle, prep. *W. C. et C.*
ylle, adj.
stylle, adj. *W. C. et C.*

-ynde.

fynde, v.
kynde, s. wynd, s. pyned, v. IX, 211.
bynde, v. XI, 82.
mynde, s. pynyd, v. kynde, s. XVII, 290.
wynde, s. blynde, adj. be-hynde, adv. XX, 14.
pynnyd, v. kynde, s. mynde, s. XLIV, 182.
wynde, s. XLIV, 202.
kynde, s.
fynde, v. bynde, v. mynde, s. X, 209.
mankynde, s.
mynde, s. XLIV, 154.
mynde, s.
kynde, s. fynde, v. wynde, s. II, 39.
mankynde, s. IX, 276.
kynde, s. wynde, s. fynde, v. XII, 50.
blynde, adj. XXIII, 189.
pyned, v. mankynde, s. fynde, v. XXXV, 50.
þyned, v. fynde, v. vnbynde, v. XXXVII, 2.

-yn.

skwyn, s.
thyn, p. twune, v. dyne, s. VIII, 74.

-yne.

bryne, v.
be-gynne, v. x, 110.
feyne, v.
myne, pro. xxxv, 81.
fyne, v.
lyne, s. pyne, p. myne, pr. ix, 51.
fyne, adj.
tyne, v. *W. C. et C.*
lyne, s.
twyne, v. fyne, adj. myne, pr. viii, 98.
myne, pro.
hyne, adv. xx, 226.
pyne, s. xxvii, 137.
tyne, v. xxxv, 298.
pyne, v. thyne, pro. syne, s. xxxvii, 223.
thyne, pro. xxxvii, 250.
myne, adj.
kynne, s. blyne, v. wynne, v. xi, 193.
synne, s. xx, 180.
begynne, v. xxiv, 55 (first part of series lost).
pyne, s.
tyne, v. myne, pro. enclyne, v. x, 239.
þyne, pro. xi, 24.
tyne, v.
fyne, v. myne, pro. pyne, v. xxxv, 254.
wyne, s.
within, prep. fyne, adj. myn, adj. ii, 63.
myne, pro. ix, 318.

-yn.

man-kyn, s.
syn, s. xii, 21.

-yng.

bryng, v.
thyng, s. spryng, v. hyng, v. ii, 33.

endyng, s.
thyng, s. bryng, v. ȝynge, adj. IX, 135.
kyng, s.
brynge, v. faylyng, s. synge, v. IX, 254.
TYTHYNG, s. XI, 201.
louyng, v.
syng, v. XXXVII, 405.
myssyng, v.
blissyng, s. X, 293.
mornyng, s.
kyng, s. XI, 190.
no-thyng.
spring, v. ȝenge, adj. kyng, s. XVII, 157.
thyng, s.
blissyng, s. XI, 177.
sprynge, v. XII, 33.
commyng, v. brynge, v. ȝenge, s. XII, 90.
kyng, XVII, 117.
wirkyng, s. ȝing, adj. loving, v. XX, 110.
blessing, s. XXIII, 237.
askyng, imp. ȝyng, adj. knowyng, imp. XXIV, 175.
hyng, v. XXXV, 153.

-ynge.

brynge, v.
byddyng, p. p. thyng, s. offering, s. X, 66.
thing, s. brandyng, s. ȝinge, adj. XX, 85.
synge, v.
blissing, s. kyng, s. offeryng, s. XVII, 301.
tythynge, s.
begynnyng, s. X, 49.

-ynne.

begynne, v.
thynne, pro. gynn, s. myn(n)e, adv. VIII, 97.
blynne, v.
ynne, prep. XXXV, 106.

MANKYNNE, s.
synne, s. þere-in, adv. begynne, v. VIII, 57.
synne, s.
blynne, v. man-kynne, s. wynne, v. IX, 163.
blynne, v. XXIV, 10.
blynne, v. XXIV, 34.
blynne, v. wynne, v. be-gynne, v. XXXVII, 14.
twynne, v.
myne, adj. X, 259.
dynne, s. gynne, s. wynne, v. XXXV, 193.
begynne, v. withynne, adv. dynne, s. XXXVII, 278.
wynne, s.
man-kynne, s. mynne, adj. synne, s. IX, 30.
begynne, v. XVII, 250.
wynne, v.
kynne, s. dyne, s. begynne, v. IX, 267.
begynne, v. dynne, s. kynne, s. XXXV, 14.
kynne, s. dynne, s. blynne, v. XXXVII, 230.
be-gynne, v. in, prep. synne, s. XXXVII, 266.

-yre.

fyre, s.
syre, s. dessyre, s. hyre, s. X, 161.
syre, s.
empire, s. desire, v. fyre, s. IX, 295.

-ys.

blys, -BLYSSE, s.
this, pro. mysse, v. wisse, v. VIII, 82.
mys, v. XXIII, 129.
mys, v.
his, pro. (inserted by latter hand.)
wys, v.
mysse, s. blisse, s. þis, pro. X, 302.
Paradise, s. mys, s. þis, pro. XXIII, 109.

-yse.

ryse, v.
enmys, s. x, 342.

-ysse.

mysse, s.
blisse, s. paradys, s. his, pro. xii, 2.

-yte.

flyte, v.
tyte, adv. xxxv, 297.
wyte, v.
tyte, adj. *W. C. et C.*

-ytht.

kytht, s.
litht, s. grith, s. with, prep. xvii, 146.

-ytte.

knytte, v.
fytte, v. ȝitt, conj. hitte, v. xxxv, 133.
smytte, v.
flitte, v. sitte, v. witte, s. xxxvii, 338.

-yue.

dryue, v.
belyue, adv. thryve, v. ryve, adj. xxxv, 242.

-yve.

ryve, adj.
stryve, s. x, 22.
stryve, s.
liffe, s. x, 61.

H. E. Coblentz.

APPENDIX.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE TWELFTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, HELD AT PHILADELPHIA, PA., DECEMBER 27, 28, 29, 1894.

THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA, PHILADELPHIA, PA.,

Thursday, December 27, 1894.

In accordance with a vote of its Executive Council the MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA held its twelfth annual meeting at the University of Pennsylvania, for the purpose of uniting in joint sessions with THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY, THE AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION, THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS, THE AMERICAN DIALECT SOCIETY, THE SPELLING REFORM ASSOCIATION, and THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF AMERICA, and for the purpose of uniting with these organizations in a special session commemorative of Professor WILLIAM DWIGHT WHITNEY. The programme of these joint sessions is here reprinted:

JOINT MEETING

OF THE

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY

AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS

MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

AMERICAN DIALECT SOCIETY

SPELLING REFORM ASSOCIATION

AND THE

ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF AMERICA

AT

THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA, PHILADELPHIA

DECEMBER 27–29, 1894.

JOINT SESSIONS.

OPENING SESSION.

Thursday, December 27, at 12 M.

Address by Mr. C. C. Harrison, Acting Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, introducing the Presiding Officer of the Meeting, Professor A. Marshall Elliott, of the Johns Hopkins University, President of the Modern Language Association of America.

Address of Welcome by Dr. Horace Howard Furness, Philadelphia.

SECOND JOINT SESSION.

Friday, December 28, at 10 A. M.

Presiding Officer of the Meeting, Prof. John Henry Wright, of Harvard University, President of the American Philological Association.

Dr. J. P. Peters, New York, and Prof. H. V. Hilprecht, University of Philadelphia:

1. The last results of the Babylonian expedition of the University of Pennsylvania.

Prof. William W. Goodwin, Harvard University:

2. The Athenian γραφὴ παρανόμων and the American doctrine of constitutional law.

Prof. Minton Warren, Johns Hopkins University:

3. The contribution of the Latin inscriptions to the study of the Latin language and literature.

Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson, Columbia College:

4. Cyrus's dream of the winged figure of Darius in Herodotus.

Prof. Hermann Collitz, Bryn Mawr College:

5. Some Modern German etymologies.

Prof. Maurice Bloomfield, Johns Hopkins University:

6. On Prof. Streitberg's theory as to the origin of certain long Indo-European vowels.

Prof. Federico Halbherr, University of Rome:

7. Explorations in Krete for the Archæological Institute (read by Prof. Frothingham).

Prof. Edward S. Sheldon, Harvard University:

8. The work of the American Dialect Society, 1889–1894.

Third Joint Session.

Friday, December 28, at 8 P. M.

Memorial Meeting

IN HONOR OF

William Dwight Whitney.

Presiding Officer of the Meeting, President Daniel Coit Gilman, of Johns Hopkins University, President of the American Oriental Society.

1. Reading of letters from foreign scholars.

2. Memorial Address by Prof. Charles R. Lanman, Harvard University.

3. Whitney's influence on the study of modern languages and on lexicography, by Prof. Francis A. March, Lafayette College.

4. Whitney's influence on students of classical philology, by Prof. Bernadotte Perrin, Yale University.
5. Address by Prof. J. Irving Manatt, Brown University.
6. Address by Rev. Dr. William Hayes Ward, New York.
7. Concluding address by President Daniel Coit Gilman.

FIRST SESSION.

The first regular session of the Association was held *Thursday, December* 27, beginning at 3 o'clock. President A. Marshall Elliott was in the chair.

The Secretary, James W. Bright, submitted, in published form, the *Proceedings* of the last annual meeting of the Association. This report of the Secretary was adopted.

The Treasurer of the Association, M. D. Learned, presented the following report:

RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand December 23, 1893,		$227 07
Annual Dues from Members—		
For the year 1891,	$ 3 00	
" " " 1892,	24 00	
" " " 1893,	69 00	
" " " 1894,	976 20	
" " " 1895,	3 00	
For *Publications* sold,	71 95	
For partial cost of publication of articles and for reprints of the same—		
J. D. Bruce (ix, 1),	120 00	
T. R. Price (ix, 2),	12 00	
Hugo A. Rennert (ix, 2),	95 00	
A. B. Faust (ix, 3),	50 00	
E. D. Hanscom (ix, 3),	35 00	
J. D. Bruner (ix, 4),	96 35	
J. B. Henneman (viii, *Proc.*),	4 75	
Balance from the Account of Advertisements,	95 89	
Total receipts for the year,		$1,656 14
		$1,883 21

EXPENDITURES.

Publication of Vol. IX, 1,	$297 79	
Reprints,	54 18	
Publication of Vol. IX, 2,	306 27	
Reprints,	60 30	
Publication of Vol. IX, 3,	234 88	
Reprints,	22 00	
Publication of Vol. IX, 4,	278 94	
Reprints,	46 35	
Job Printing,	26 00	
Expenditures of the Secretary,	45 11	
" " " Treasurer,	18 10	
Stenographer,	50 00	
Janitor,	6 00	
Total expenditures for the year,		$1,445 92
Balance on hand December 23, 1894,		437 29
		$1,883 21
Balance on hand December 23, 1894,	$437 29	

The President appointed the following Committees:

(1) To audit the Treasurer's accounts: Professors O. F. Emerson and C. F. Brédé.

(2) To nominate officers: Professors H. E. Greene, F. B. Gummere, H. C. G. von Jagemann, Gustav Gruener, T. P. Harrison.

(3) To recommend place for the next Annual Meeting: Professors J. M. Hart, Albert S. Cook, J. T. Hatfield, Charles Harris, J. M. Garnett.

The reading of papers was then begun.

1. "Matthias de Vries and his contributions to Netherland Philology." By Professor W. T. Hewett, of Cornell University.

It is seldom that a nation pays homage to a single scholar as the founder of its philology and of the critical study of its literature, as does the Kingdom of the Netherlands in the person of Professor Matthias de Vries. Not only his native land, but the larger country where his language is spoken, embracing Belgium, recognizes its debt to him. For a half century he was

the foremost scholar and leader in the study of his native language. The impress of his remarkable powers has been felt not only in his contributions to philology, but in fashioning the form and determining the future of his country's speech. In this memorial gathering I shall seek to recognize briefly his place in the history of Germanic philology, and our indebtedness to him.

His birth, his environment and his gifts fitted him preëminently for the work which he was destined to do. His father was a Remonstrant preacher of Haarlem, and, like many of the clergy of the Netherlands, of unusual learning, whose home was a centre for the association of scholars, and whose classical attainments were so great as to cause his name to be proposed for professorships both at Groningen and Leiden, but whose permanent fame is due to his learned investigations in the history of the invention of printing. His uncle, Jeronimo de Vries, was an eminent official of the city of Amsterdam, honored alike for patriotism and for his contributions to the history of his country. Bilderdijk often visited in the family of de Vries, and his keen and fruitful intellect may have inspired the boy with his first enthusiasm for the literature of his native land. In a circle so patriotic, where fostering the national language was a favorite subject of conversation, it would have been strange if the young scholar had not received unconsciously the direction of his future work. From 1838–43 he was a student at Leiden under the famous professors Peerlkamp, Bake and Geel. Leiden was especially distinguished at that time for the critical direction of its scholarship, which it had retained from Wyttenbach and the great classical scholars of the past. His first distinction was won in classical scholarship. Before receiving a degree at the University of Leiden, he wrote a work upon *De Polybii pragmatica* (1842), which was crowned by the University of Groningen.

The change in the national government of 1795, by which the Princes of Orange were driven from the stadtholdership, and the Batavian Republic constituted, wrought a tremendous and vital change in popular thought. It produced a revolt against a stiff ecclesiasticism in the state, and against the dominance of classical models in education. Though the nation was under a foreign conqueror, there was the feeling of a new life in the present, and with it the growth of a national spirit and the cultivation of the national language and literature, and the abolition of foreign standards of speech. The first chairs for the study of the national language were established at this time, and Siegenbeek, an eloquent preacher who used the Netherland language with a purity and beauty, and spoke with an eloquence hitherto unknown in the Dutch pulpit, was appointed the first professor in this department at Leiden. In 1815, instruction in the history of the Netherlands was added to that of the language. Neither the study of the language or the literature had previously been absolutely neglected. There was no unity in the speech of the people; the strong individualism of the different provinces had fostered dialects; the language of the court

was French, and the higher classes deigned to address inferiors alone in the popular tongue. An absurd official language had grown up and invaded the beaurocratic classes, both provincial and municipal, of which the country was so full. Bastard and foreign words disfigured the speech of all classes, save perhaps the lowest. The language rioted in needless letters and capricious forms. Classicism had dominated all learning. Hooft regarded it as better to understand Latin than to write Dutch. A Latin poet, Barlaeus, and not Vondel was regarded as the chief poet of the seventeenth century. But voices had been raised in the previous century against the neglect of the national language. The purists were not unheard, though their influence was limited. The chambers of rhetoric had exerted a salutary but pedantic influence in behalf of the regulation of the popular speech. With the definite establishment of royal power and the union of the states of the North and South Netherlands in 1815, the government created chairs of the national language and rhetoric in all the universities at present included in the kingdom of the Netherlands and Belgium. The father of Matthias de Vries was then proposed for the professorship in Groningen, which was afterward filled by his more distinguished son.

We cannot characterize this early effort at instruction as puerile; there was enthusiasm and pride in the national literature, though its study was unscientific and often merely stilistic. The forms of the national speech were studied in place of the forms of the classical tongues. We must not absolutely undervalue this work. It was rescued from utter meaninglessness by the advance in linguistic study in Germany. The study of Sanscrit led to the comparative study of language, and Bopp's earliest work appeared about this time (1816) upon the *System of Conjugation in Sanscrit compared with that of Greek, Latin, Persian and Germanic.* The activity of A. W. Schlegel in Oriental studies at Bonn began in 1818, and of Bopp in Berlin in 1821. The study of popular literature had been stimulated in Germany by the publication of Herder's *Volkslieder* (1778–9) and *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* (1806). The first critical writings upon the mediæval epics of Germany date from the first decade of this century and were followed by Lachmann's powerful influence in text criticism by which an attempt was made not merely to distinguish separate songs which compose the *Nibelungenlied*, but the same searching method was applied to *Parzival* and to other works of the German past. It was this influence which affected the young scholar in Leiden. The philology of the Netherlands is especially indebted to Hoffmann von Fallersleben. This young scholar had intended to go to Italy, thence to Greece, in order to study the monuments of classic art. when he met accidentally Jacob Grimm, who said "Should not your own land stand nearer to you?" The entire direction of his studies was changed. He went to Holland in 1821, and with unwearied industry he began, almost alone, a search through all the libraries and archives of the kingdom for manuscripts of Netherland literature, in which he discovered treasures of priceless value. He was the first great explorer in this important field,

and what he accomplished in forty years is preserved in the *Horae Belgicae*. It was thus the influence proceeding from Germany, from the comparative study of language and from the new study of the popular and mediæval literature which stimulated the young scholar of the Netherlands. There was first a sharp contest with the old school. The most spirited and remorseless critic representing the new school was Jonckbloet, afterward the literary historian of the Netherlands. An era of destruction had to precede that of construction. In 1843, through the influence of de Vries, aided by Jonckbloet, Tideman and others, the important society for the promotion of Middle Netherlandic literature and philology was formed to which we owe the publication of the monumental editions of the Dutch writers of that period.

In the same year de Vries received his doctorate for an edition of Hooft's *Warenar*, a translation and revision of his prize thesis of the previous year. Hooft's drama was based on Plautus' *Aulularia*, as was Molière's *Avare*, and de Vries' thesis was a comparison of the Netherland, Latin and French dramas. He was, however, obliged to wait three years for an academic position, when he received the appointment of Second Preceptor in the history and language of the Netherlands in the gymnasium of Leiden. In the interval which elapsed before he received an independent chair he published a contribution to the literature of the cycle of Charlemagne, *Karel de Groote en zijne XII pairs* (1845), and an address upon '*Netherland philology, viewed in its former history, present condition, and the demands for the future*,' (1849). Later, when appointed a professor in Groningen (1849) and in Leiden (1853), it was his duty to represent the two departments of history and language. He never regretted this double direction of his powers. History, besides being the handmaid of literary study, furnished him with the lessons of patriotism and national spirit which characterized all his instruction. His inaugural in Groningen, delivered November 28, 1849, was upon '*The Mastery of Language, the Beginning of Eloquence*.' This inaugural address of the young scholar illustrates the quality of his mind. Never did a youth conceive more clearly or maintain more consistently one grand purpose. The lives of few men are clear to them from the beginning. Here was one who had a definite mission from the first: that mission was not sought for the office which it brought, but his purpose determined his career. Had any position been offered to him which would have required him to sacrifice his chosen purpose, it would have been, I believe, unhesitatingly declined. He said, "I feel that this solemn hour is not to be wasted in empty ceremonies or in the idle resonance of words, but that I must fulfill in connection with a venerated custom, a higher duty. At the entrance of the way which I am to tread you may properly demand to know the direction which I have prescribed to myself and purpose to commend to others; you wish to know what principle shall guide me on my way, what conceptions I shall seek to realize." In the words that follow both the scholar and the eloquent orator were revealed. Herder's

conception of language as embodying the thoughts and feelings, indeed the inner history of humanity had entered into the young scholar. "Language, he said, is individual as well as general; it includes a clear conception of the original meaning of every word, the force of every form and the nature of every change. The determination of the laws which shape the forms of speech and the phenomena of human expression in other languages are all alike to be studied. Every trace of the thought and feeling which former generations and races have impressed upon language must be investigated, as well as every ray illustrating the history of humanity. Language, originally the picturesque expression of the sensuous world, received within it, has taken up the supersensuous; every emotion in the realm of thought, every experience in the realm of feeling has been poured into the great flood of human speech, to afford in turn the foundation of a new development. Language is the faithful mirror in which the soul and spirit, not of one man but of the human race is reflected. In a word, language is a picture of man. The picture of the nation is its language." De Vries recognized clearly the important principle that all the influences which had affected language in the past were equally at work at the present time. To save the philologist from dealing in dry forms, with mere grammatical correspondences, the living languages were to be studied. Thus the student will be saved from that parched learning which recognizes no life in language but only dead words and forms, in which so many linguists have wrecked the finest powers. The living language must be studied as it springs from the heart of the people, but we cannot rest in the study of the present, but we must seek its explanation in the past. Thus we come to the historical study of language. This alone is the fountain from which all higher linguistic study must proceed.

In these views, expressed nearly fifty years ago, one of the most fruitful methods of modern linguistic study was emphasized, whose importance has only recently been fully recognized. Linguistic study must enrich language, make men eloquent with new and finer conceptions, must touch life, this was the conception of the speaker. He closed his inaugural with an eloquent apostrophy to the great men of the University of Leiden—the city of Minerva, to Boerhave and Hemsterhuis, whose spirits hovered over it, to whom he and they were indebted, and in whose spirit they must labor.

But the time had come when he was to enter upon the great work of his life. The union of the North and South Netherlands had been severed by the revolution in 1830. The bonds which bound the two kingdoms together were those of past history and the treasure of a common language and literature. To unite them again in common sympathy must be the work of patriotic scholars. The first philological congress of the two sections was held at Ghent in 1849. The great need of a historical dictionary of their common language was there presented, and a committee was appointed to draw up a plan for it. In the following year when the congress met in Amsterdam no union of views had been attained. The

importance of the great work was still recognized, and a new commission was appointed to outline the features of the proposed work. Three members from both the North and the South Netherlands were appointed, but the work devolved upon the secretary, the leading spirit in the movement, Professor de Vries. His report was presented in Brussels at the third congress in 1851. It was in January of the following year that Jacob Grimm received the first proofs of his great German lexicon. The basis of the dictionary was to be the entire language of the North and the South Netherlands, as at present constituted, in its general and established use. The dictionary was to include the language from the year 1637, the date of the translation of the Bible authorized by the States-General. No antiquated words or meanings were to be admitted. Words from the writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were to be received only as they retained in some respect a present value. Peculiar words were to be admitted only as far as they illustrated an idea for which the general language had no suitable term.

With the above exception of obsolete and provincial words, all words and meanings usual in any variety of written speech and not confined to literature, were to be included to the widest extent.

Especial attention was to be paid to the spoken language, and an attempt was to be made to collect all words in use within proper limits and rather too many than too few.

In treating South Netherlandic, special care was to be taken to guard against the numerous French words that had come into the language and were struggling for supremacy in it. Characteristic technical terms, native in origin, were to be carefully noted and retained, among these was the large class of words relating to navigation and fishing which have passed into English, German and Russian. Fixed forms existing in proverbs and familiar expressions were to be preserved. Foreign words, naturalized or capable of being so, after the analogy of Netherlandic forms, were to be retained. The proposed etymological arrangement was abandoned and the alphabetical substituted, as experience and the advice of Jacob Grimm and others suggested. A concise etymology was to be given when it could be determined in a trustworthy way. Definitions were to proceed from the generic in their historic development. All meanings were to be illustrated by careful quotations from Netherland classics. Synonyms were to be distinguished. The spelling of the North then in vogue was to be adopted, not, however, excluding a revised spelling which the editors in time might determine to be necessary. A practical aim was to prevail throughout this dictionary: it was not to be a historical dictionary save within certain definite limits. The proposed scheme was unanimously adopted and a commission of six, three from the North and three from the South Netherlands, appointed to carry into effect the conclusions of the congress. The method originally proposed of assigning specific parts in the definition of every word to a separate editor, as the collection, arrangement of defini-

tions, synonyms, etymology, illustrative passages, etc., was abandoned as impracticable.

As a matter of fact the great Netherlandic Dictionary is the product of the North and not of the South. One by one the editors from Belgium failed, as also those from the North. L. A. te Winkel, a gifted and favorite pupil of de Vries, was his first co-worker, who died, however, in 1868. Successive reports upon the progress of the work were made in 1854 at Utrecht; in 1856 at Antwerp; in 1860 in Hertogenbosch; and in 1862 in Bruges.

The problem of how to execute this elaborate enterprise was a formidable one. It involved reading and making excerpts from the entire literature of the period from 1637, and in carefully studying the previous history of words; in forming collections of the spoken language of various sections of both kingdoms, and great lists of technical words relating to special crafts, as well as of foreign words which had been borrowed by the Netherlandic from the Indian colonies. The expense of the great undertaking was but partially provided for, but the entire enterprise would have failed if it had not been for the iron resolution, the tenacious, unshrinking purpose of de Vries. He labored at times single-handed, but undaunted in his great undertaking. Previous experience in lexicography had shown his marvelous gifts. One of his earlier and best known works was an edition of Boendale's *Lekenspiegel*, or '*Laymen's Mirror*.' In this work, the didactic school of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries had reached its highest point. It discusses the origin and education of the human race, the sources of ecclesiastical and temporal power, the essence of religious doctrine and symbolism and of Christian morality, and the glorious future of God's kingdom. This book mirrors as few do the spirit of the time; it was written with genuine poetic power and marked facility in illustration. With Maerlant's *Spiegel Historiael*, it influenced powerfully the popular element in education, government and religion. This work, published in 1844–49, contained a lexicon of Middle Netherlandic which was so skilfully planned, and executed with such thoroughness that it has never been supplanted, and it forms a model of a mediæval glossary. It was the ardent wish of Professor de Vries to publish a lexicon of Middle Netherlandic. For this he had made elaborate collections. In 1856 he published '*Specimens of Middle Netherlandic Textual Criticism, Preparatory Observations upon an intended Dictionary of Middle Netherlandic.*' In this de Vries shows a power possessed by but few editors in an equal degree, namely, in the criticism of manuscripts and in the emendation of corrupt texts. In this field he was conservative, but he had studied so profoundly the language of his country in its different epochs, and was so familiar with its spirit that he discerned the source of inadequate or erroneous expression and the origin of scribal mistakes.

He issued but two parts of his proposed dictionary of Middle Netherlandic, when the claims of his great work called him away from it. Two

of his pupils, Verdam and Verwijs, took up the plan which their master had so reluctantly dropped, and, embodying his ideas, have dedicated their new and important work to him.

One other great—probably Professor de Vries' greatest work as an editor—was his edition of Maerlant's *Spiegel Historiael* (in three parts, 1858–63). Maerlant—called by contemporaries the greatest of all German poets—certainly one of the most voluminous, wrote this, his most important work between 1284 and 1290. De Vries had a profound acquaintance, not only with classical but also with mediæval and later Latin. He was familiar with early Christian apocryphal, mystical, prophetical and symbolic literatures. He was thus able to point out the sources of the seventh and eighth books of Velthem's *Reimkroniek*, and the sources from which the Latin chroniclers had derived their material. He was thus able to explain obscure passages in mediæval poetry where the poet himself had misunderstood or changed the meaning of his original. He rediscovered in Boendale parts of a lost Pseudo-gospel of Matthew, *De Nativitate et Infantia Mariae* and showed that it was a continuation of *De Infantia Salvatoris*.

But the great task of editing a standard dictionary of the language, divided as it is into two great divisions of northern and southern, and in which not only the southern language had been colored by words and expressions from the French and Walloon, but where Frisian, Frankish and Saxon had exercised a common influence, imposed an additional task which had indeed been foreseen, viz., a revision of the spelling of the language. Kluit, in the seventeenth century (1763, 1777), had outlined with great sagacity a system of orthography for the Dutch people; Siegenbeek had prepared in 1805, by direction of the government, an official spelling, which had not, however, been universally adopted. Many writers proceeded upon a definite set of principles which they had themselves elaborated. Many points, however, had been left untouched. A scientific and philological basis was lacking. Many Flemings adhered to their old spelling, partly from habit, partly from jealousy of a foreign system. De Vries' co-laborer, te Winkel, prepared an outline of the proposed national orthography (1863), which was illustrated with word-lists prepared by de Vries. Upon the principles thus stated the new lexicon was prepared. By degrees all elementary text-books in schools were based upon it, as well as all literary works. Belgium adopted the reformed orthography as early as 1873, but the government of the Netherlands clung with native and official pertinacity to the old spelling. It was in vain that the Minister of Justice insisted that all reports and legal documents should be written in the revised orthography. Official obstinacy triumphed over light until 1883, when a formal approval and endorsement was received from the government, twenty years after the introduction of the new system and ten years after it had been introduced into a neighboring kingdom.

One by one Professor de Vries' co-laborers left him for other work. Te Winkel died in the service of the dictionary in 1868; Verwijs retired in

1880, and later Cosijn, and the veteran scholar struggled on alone. At last the government made a royal grant which secured the completion of the work and energetic and able young scholars trained by the master were won to its support, A. Kluyver, A. Beets, J. W. Muller, C. C. Uhlenbeek and W. L. Vreese. What are the characteristics which distinguish this great work? The first part of Grimm's *Lexicon* was published in 1852. This noble enterprise was always before de Vries, but his own dictionary was not modeled after it. In many things superiority must be conceded to the Netherland dictionary. De Vries aimed first at completeness, but it was a completeness in which conciseness and clearness should prevail; his greatest gift was in definition, in distinguishing subtle shades of meaning and the order of their development. He laid great stress upon discriminating the delicate force of particles, prefixes and suffixes in compound words, and in clearly defining synonyms. In all these particulars he has perhaps never been surpassed. He wished to live to finish certain letters such as S and others, to which he had devoted particular attention, one of which was rich in nautical terms of which the Dutch is so full. During the progress of this work de Vries carried on subordinate tasks which would have taxed the energy of less able scholars. He published in 1860 van der Bendsen's *North Frisian Language according to the Morunger Dialect*, the manuscript of which was in his hands for six years. He received from the venerable and industrious pastor a confused mass of facts which he reduced to scientific order. He was the editor of the publications of the Society for the Netherlandic Literature, and he published *Baarlam en Josaphat*, *Borchgrave van Couchi*, *Fergunt en Floris*, and *Alsegers en Griet*. He labored at the same time to develop the department with which he was entrusted in the University of Leiden. When but a student de Vries studied Sanscrit under Rutgers, who taught it from general interest in the subject, for there was at that time no chair of Sanscrit in the University. Later de Vries had voluntary classes in this subject, both in Groningen and Leiden. Many years later (1863) he was gratified by the appointment of Hendrik Kern, one of his own pupils, to this separate chair, who is to-day one of the most eminent of living scholars in the Oriental languages and who has himself lectured to Brahmins in Sanscrit.

Similarly, de Vries, as an undergraduate, studied the related Germanic languages. He constantly urged upon the Minister of Education the need of new departments in the University, but it was not until 1860 that his own chair was divided, and the work in history entrusted to R. Fruin, later deservedly famous for his accurate investigations in the history of the Netherlands.

De Vries has contributed little to the history of literature save by the critical texts which he has published. In 1850 he wrote a valuable essay upon the 'Causes of the Decline and Fall of Middle Netherlandic Literature.' He believed that the gifts of a literary historian were different from

those of a philologist, though brilliant exceptions occur. The second step in the development of his work was taken, when, in 1883 he succeeded in securing the appointment of his early coadjutor, Jonckbloet, the author of the History of the Netherlandic Literature, to this particular chair, and Cosijn was made Professor of General Germanic philology, including instruction in the Germanic languages, other than Netherlandic.

De Vries possessed in a high degree the gifts of a popular speaker. His impassioned addresses upon the history of his native land made him the favorite orator of his country upon occasions of national interest. Thus he delivered at Damme the address upon the erection of a memorial to Maerlant (1860); at the Hague, when Bilderdijk's memory was similarly honored (1867); at Briel, when the nation celebrated the victory of the famous "Beggars of the Sea" (1872), where Mr. Motley received in the presence of the king and court the highest honors of the University of Leiden; also when the monuments to Hooft in Amsterdam (1881) and to William of Orange at Delft (1884) were dedicated. When the nation celebrated the seventieth birthday of Beets, its most loved poet and author (1884), the address of de Vries won the admiration of the whole Dutch people. When the relief of Leiden was celebrated in 1884, and the monument to the sturdy burgo-master of the siege, van der Werf, was erected, he was again the orator, as also in 1874, when, in the famous Senate Chamber of the University, which Scaliger pronounced the most memorable room in Europe in the history of letters, he welcomed the assembled delegates from all the universities of Europe to celebrate the three hundredth anniversary of its foundation. His services received royal recognition from both the kingdoms of the Netherlands, which honored him with decorations conferring the rank of knighthood. He was made also an honorary member of the Berlin Academy of Science.

His public services were so great that it is difficult to conceive rightly of the time which he devoted to intercourse with his pupils. He was ready to sacrifice the urgent demands of his great work if he could assist a single student. It is not strange that with one accord the most eminent scholars of his country in all universities do him homage as the greatest of their teachers—Verwijs, Kern, Moltzer, Huet, te Winkel, Verdam, van Helten, Gallée, Wilson, Nolen, Cosijn, Muller, Stoett, Kalff, Northier and Kluyver. Even students in other branches who were taught by him in his early professorship, when he lectured upon rhetoric, and interpreted his country's greatest writers as masters of style, were inspired by the eloquence with which he influenced all who listened to his words.

His personal qualities and his generous enthusiasm for his beloved studies caused him to recognize generously all who labored in them. The Grimms, Hoffmann, Bopp, Hildebrand and many of the great scholars of Germany sought his advice and rejoiced in his friendship, and, in your presence, I do but faint justice to this illustrious scholar in this rapid review of his services to those studies to which our own lives are dedicated.

The discussion of this paper was opened by Dr. B. J. Vos:

It seems peculiarly fitting that at this memorial meeting a tribute should also have been paid to the memory of Matthias de Vries, who in many ways occupied in Holland a position as commanding as that held by Whitney in our land. Nor does it matter that this homage comes somewhat late—rather more than two years after death; there was nothing of the ephemeral in either the man or his work.

It might be difficult to add much important detail to the appreciative study Prof. Hewett has just given us, and so I shall chiefly confine myself to some more general points of view that naturally present themselves to one who is not a foreigner to Holland.

As Prof. Hewett has pointed out, de Vries was chiefly known as the Lexicographer. Carrying this out a little further, we may say that to the wider circle of the educated in Holland he was known as the author, with te Winkel, of the *Woordenlijst der Nederlandsche Taal*. This work is of great importance in the history of Dutch orthography. It has become authoritative in matters of spelling and determination of gender. As such it was to prepare the way for the larger work, and no attempt was made at definition.

To the narrower circle, though not so narrow after all, he was the editor-in-chief of the *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*, and to this he devoted the greater part of his life. Of the fascicles that have appeared—some sixty—de Vries prepared about one-half, either alone or in conjunction with others. It should be added that the dictionary is somewhat more comprehensive than was stated by the reviewer. It was the original intention, to be sure, only to include words existing in 1637, but this was afterwards extended to reach back as far as 1580.[1]

As a student of language de Vries' interests lay mainly in the direction of semasiology, not so much in that of etymology proper. This may be seen very well from his *Verspreide taalkundige Opstellen*, edited by his son and published a few months ago. His point of departure in almost every instance is agreement or difference in meaning, and by this he is led to etymological identification or differentiation: essentially the point of view of the lexicographer, the student of language from within. Many of these word-studies were, in fact, the outcome of work on the dictionary.

One more familiar with German methods would, on looking over the philological work of de Vries, at once be struck with a certain discursiveness of style, what Germans might call 'behagliche Breite.' A note that a German scholar would compress into one or two pages is spun out over four or five. Every detail is worked out and the author takes an evident pleasure in the telling. While this is perhaps in part a national characteristic, it is also partly intentional. That scholarly work in Holland may find a public, it is necessary to interest wider circles, and so the author

[1] See *Inleiding* to *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*, p. xl.

addresses himself to the average schoolmaster rather than to the technical scholar. The good side of it is that such a wider public is reached, witness the enormous list of subscribers to the *Woordenboek*, numbering over 8,000 at the last report. For a country as small as Holland this is truly remarkable.

One word more concerning the study of Dutch, a question that the reading of this paper naturally brings up. It has been quite neglected in this country. Aside from one or two institutions, which need not be named here, it has not been pursued at all. Now I would not urge the desirability of studying Dutch independently of German: we are hardly ready for that at present. But for the student of German, the University-student of German, a study of Dutch is indispensable. That it is so for the student of Comparative German Grammar, should hardly need pointing out; still, even there, it has again and again been overlooked by German scholars, as de Vries took occasion to point out gently now and then.

But in matters of literature as well, the history of 17th Century German literature cannot be adequately understood without a constant reference to the Dutch influence. Nor is the intrinsic value of the literature to be lightly thought of. It has the merit of being intensely individual, national. To one ignorant of German this may be a hindrance to true appreciation, but to the student of German it reveals a new side of Germanic life and thought. The 'Blüteperiode' has perhaps been passed, the language no longer bears the stamp that it did in the hands of a Vondel, but it has always retained a marvelous poetic power. In certain spheres, as in that of the pastoral idyl, Dutch to my mind stands unrivaled, though this may be due to special causes, founded in the relation of the spoken to the written language.

Mr. F. De Haan:

It is a pleasant duty for a Hollander, and for one who once was a student of Professor de Vries, who has just been commemorated here, to state in a session of the Modern Language Association of America that he is greatly gratified by the very fact that a man like de Vries should be mentioned here at all. This is one more proof of the generous spirit of American scholars, because, as everybody must be aware, in Germany they do not usually acknowledge that a Hollander has done good linguistic work; in France they never concern themselves about the matter, except in regard to other fields of study; in England—well, England is England.

The work of Prof. de Vries has been outlined here, and the importance of the Dutch language for Germanic scholars has also been shown; let me add a few words in commemoration of de Vries as a professor and as a man.

It is among Holland students an old, if an antiquated custom, to call upon the Professor once in a few weeks, smoke a long churchwarden, drink a cup of tea, and afterwards, with a sigh of relief, adjourn to a club-house and be glad that the meeting will not be repeated in the next few weeks. All of

which is not conducive to enjoyment or to study; the duty of the call fulfilled, the day's work is done, and the rest of the evening is dedicated to pleasure instead of work. But it is considered of importance that the students should be thus socially brought together with their Professor, and they cannot afford to stay away, for a professor in Holland is but human: it may be different in other countries.

Everybody considers these meetings a great bore, more a task than a pleasure. But at de Vries' house it was different. Here everything went on informally; everybody felt at home at his first appearance, which never was his last. For de Vries' conversation was listened to with pleasure; as homely as he looked, so brilliant was every word he spoke. Thus did one learn to appreciate the power of one's native language, its wealth of expression and its importance for linguistic study. As Dr. Vos has stated, it was once from Dutch, not from Latin and Greek literature, that Germany derived its outside influence, and every student of English is aware of the important relations between the Dutch and the English languages. About this subject de Vries would be eloquent, and his words made a deep impression, for many, especially younger people, in Holland are inclined to consider their native tongue as unfit for literary purposes and their literature as offering no interest. Even such listeners would be inspired by de Vries' enthusiasm and beautiful choice of phrase, and they would enter with greater ardor upon a study they had undertaken because it was prescribed.

This being a session of a Modern Language Association, and Dutch being a modern language that has been considered of sufficient importance to be the subject of the opening paper of our meetings, a few personal reminiscences of de Vries did not seem to me to be out of place.

2. "The relation of early German Romanticism to the classic ideal."[1] By Professor Kuno Francke, of Harvard University.

Professor Henry Wood:

While listening to Professor Francke's criticism of Novalis' *Hymns to Night*, I asked myself, why is it that we smile at the description, and why is it that when Rossetti's *House of Life* is read, one does not smile? The situation is the same: the dead loved one and the living lover. With Rossetti it is the 'eternal womanly,' but Novalis has the further figure of the tear dropping from the heavenly one's eye, and forming a crystal chain which unites the lovers. This inconsistency of attitude towards the two poets may be partly explained by reference to the nature and scope of the

[1] This paper is now published, in this volume (p. 83 f.), under the title: "The social aspect of early German Romanticism."

Pre-Raphaelite movement in England. Whether we think much of Pre-Raphaelitism as a form of art, or not, we must recognize that in English literature it is a living issue. But when a German writer in a German book treats of Romanticism, he is apt to treat it as a dead issue. This is the point of view from which it seems to me the discussion of this paper can best be opened.

Modern literature has again arrived at the gates of Romanticism. Indeed, of French Impressionalism we may say that it is already within those gates; and English literature, whatever it may be held to represent at the present time, is, in many of its phases, not far from the same goal. The Germans, on the contrary, still pause delightedly, to exercise the intermediate office of criticism,—of negative and destructive criticism of romanticism;—if, indeed, one may destructively criticize anything so destructive as we have to-day learned romanticism in German literature to be. It is particularly in view of these larger issues of romanticism that I must take issue with the paper under discussion.

Professor Francke says:—'German romanticism is chiefly valuable as having founded patriotism in literature.' I think that the school of literature which produced French and English romanticism, and which has been found to be profoundly interesting for the study of modern literature, in Germany and out of it, is something that must be studied by itself and for itself. True historical criticism in literature differs from *a priori* criticism, in that the former emphasizes whatever permanent elements any period of literature—even a sentimental period—has contributed; it appropriates positive results. But of positive criticism there are few traces in this paper. I find the criticism mostly negative;—that is, in this way negative, that the particular works chosen for discussion are under all circumstances the weakest works to be had, instead of the strongest.

To begin with *William Lovell:* Professor Francke terms romanticism a caricature of classicism; but we may speak of a caricature of romanticism, and I think *William Lovell* is such a caricature. Furthermore, it does not represent Tieck; I have always been dissatisfied with Brandes' criticism of Tieck in that he unduly emphasizes this novel. In this particular instance, why would not *Franz Sternbald's Wanderungen* have furnished a more positive and more fruitful point of view, if our eyes are to be directed towards what is permanent in literature? But from the point of view now proposed, *William Lovell* illustrates a fact I should like to present. In the histories of German literature, romanticism is usually squeezed into the smallest possible space. First, *Sturm und Drang* is separated; then the patriotic poetry is classed by itself, as it should be, on the whole; and what remains, having been reduced to the smallest possible bulk and to the most trivial elements possible, is criticized without mercy. But there is a point of view according to which romanticism and *Sturm und Drang* are not to be separated at all—according to which romanticism is shown to be an organic development from the earlier impetuous phase of literature. I think it can be proved

that Goethe took this view, as I shall illustrate in a moment. *William Lovell*, for instance, has a most remarkable affiliation with a group of works with which it has not to my knowledge been compared,—with the philosophical romances of Klinger. I need only remind you that these ten romances all centre in a series of Faust problems, and that Hauff's *Memoiren des Satans* is the last of a series, each member of which points back to that peculiar form of *Sturm und Drang* romance which is Klinger's own domain. But there is a most remarkable similarity between *William Lovell* and Klinger's *Faust Romances;* the same problems are handled, in much the same way, all the way through them. I call *William Lovell* a *Sturm und Drang* production, and if it represents romanticism, this is true only in so far as *Sturm und Drang* and romanticism may be classed together. William Lovell is a Faust figure, exactly as the characters in Klinger's romances are Faust figures. This, I think, will illustrate the point of view sufficiently. To return now to what I said a moment ago about Goethe: it is at least interesting to know what Goethe thought about romanticism. His judgment is not to be sought in such expressions as 'Romanticism is sickness,' which Goethe said also; it is to be looked for in such a production as the *Maskenzug von 1810*. This dramatic sketch I should call a most important implement for any workman in this period of literature who undertakes to determine either the tendencies or the results of romanticism. The whole production is retrospective. Goethe has here drawn conclusions of the most positive character, but not in any *a priori* way. After having sketched the history of romanticism, as it presents itself to him, he proceeds to call up certain figures from the past, and among these is one presently to be mentioned, which exactly corresponds with the view taken of romanticism in the *Walpurgisnachtstraum*, in the First Part of *Faust*. Professor Francke said that he was giving us a chapter out of the book he is finishing; I will take the liberty of giving a paragraph from a book not yet finished, and beg to direct your attention to certain considerations in regard to Goethe's notions of the connection between *Sturm und Drang* and romanticism.

The second title of the *Maskenzug* is, *Die romantische Poesie*. The author, after having called up a few living types of romantic poetry, ends by presenting a figure he calls Oberon. Goethe says that Oberon incorporates his notion of romantic poetry, and I make a connection between this figure and the Oberon of the *Walpurgisnachtstraum*. It can be proved, I think, that *Oberon's und Titania's goldne Hochzeit* represents the marriage of Titanism with Oberon, that is, of *Sturm und Drang* with romantic poetry. Goethe wrote the *Walpurgisnachtstraum* during the very years when romanticism was winning its first successes and promising greater; or, in other words, during the very period of romanticism which Professor Francke has characterized as so very poor and so very destructive. The words of the Herold:

> Dass die Hochzeit golden sei,
> Soll'n fünfzig Jahr' sein vorüber;

Aber ist der Streit vorbei,
Das golden ist mir lieber,

give utterance to Goethe's own opinion of the possibility of uniting the new period of romanticism and the old period of *Sturm und Drang* in a harmonious union of literary activities. It is true that the subsequent development of German romanticism did not satisfy Goethe, and even his *Walpurgisnachtstraum* is in part polemical; but his *Maskenzug von 1810* shows us anew, in the figure of Oberon, that Goethe's eye was fixed upon what was permanent and lasting in the new movement. This is what I miss in the paper under discussion. It is easy, for instance, to criticize Friedrich Schlegel's *Lucinde*, but why has Professor Francke said nothing of Schlegel's splendid prose essays, all written before 1800, in which he attempted to interpret romantic poetry according to a new and brilliant, though faulty, theory of classicism?

The point of view, then, which I would submit is this, that if we are to give the element of proportion its due, especially in a book designed to teach literature; if we are to gain all that is positive out of a literary movement which we feel to be recurrent and, in some form or other, permanent;—then I would plead with Professor Francke to give romanticism a larger scope, and to win certain constructive aspects from it, which shall at least explain why we like some things in one literature, which are found to be exactly identical with things in another literature, which we disdain.

Professor Francke:

I am glad that Prof. Wood has called attention to the self imposed limitations of my paper. This paper deals with *early* Romanticism; it does *not* deal with those phases of Romanticism which Prof. Wood has mentioned. When Goethe, in 1810, wrote his 'Maskenzug,' *Die Romantische Poesie*, the aspect of Romanticism was totally different from what it was when Novalis wrote his *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*. Tieck and the Schlegels had entered upon an entirely new course, the former had published his *Minnelieder aus dem Schwäbischen Zeitalter*, the latter had revived Shakespere, the *Nibelungenlied*, Calderon, and the ancient Hindu literature. Arnim and Brentano had published *Des Knaben Wunderhorn;* Görres had written his *Die deutschen Volksbücher*. Fichte had delivered his *Reden an die deutsche Nation;* Heinrich von Kleist and Uhland had brought about the return of Romanticism to the classic ideal. All this did not lie within the scope of my paper. As to *early* Romanticism, I must maintain my view of it as essentially correct. I cannot help seeing in it primarily a symptom of the disintegration of Classicism.

3. "The Friar's Lantern." By Professor George Lyman Kittredge, of Harvard University.

4. "The new method in Modern Language Study." By Professor Edward H. Magill, of Swarthmore College.

Thirty-five years ago the past autumn, in the year 1859, I taught my first class in French in the Boston Public Latin School. During most of the years since then I have given more or less instruction to classes in French. But let me say in the beginning that I do not presume upon my long experience to set up any methods which I may have reached as the only true methods, nor have I one word of condemnation to utter of those who feel that with other methods they have produced satisfactory results. Far from it. If I have learned one lesson by experience it is that detailed methods are of a very secondary importance, and that far more depends upon the ability of the teacher, and the spirit in which he enters into his work, than upon any peculiar methods which he may employ. What I propose in this brief paper is a simple statement of my present position reached after these many years, without urging upon others the conclusions which I have adopted, or promising that my present views will be those of even a few years hence, as I have never felt bound to follow a settled line of procedure, stereotyped for convenient use from year to year.

As in all other pursuits, the subject of primary importance is *the object aimed at* in the study of Modern Languages by our American youth. For the great body of college students, whatever knowledge they may obtain of a foreign modern language must be acquired without going abroad, and while they are, at the same time, pursuing other studies in the schools and colleges of our own country. Ability to *read the language*, and as much *familiarity with its literature* as the limited time will allow, would seem to be clearly the first object, and toward this our most earnest efforts should be at first directed. *Speaking* the language, which is important in a practical point of view when going abroad, should be only attempted near *the end* instead of at *the beginning* of the course. The result of beginning by attempting to speak is that, even under the best instruction, it fritters away much valuable time, and prevents the early acquisition of a rapid and fluent reading of the language as though it were the mother tongue, and consequently becomes a fatal bar to the acquisition of any extensive knowledge of the literature. It will be understood that I am speaking of students of a suitable age to enter college under the approaching changed conditions of the college course, and not of the teaching of the language to kindergarten or primary school children, where such instruction is very properly, under existing conditions in our country, rarely attempted.

Having now stated the *aim* in view in studying a modern foreign language, let us consider the steps to be taken to secure the desired results. And permit me to say, at this point, that the general theory of the plan here presented has been gradually maturing in my mind for many years, and that it is with me now no longer a mere theory, but that much as it is here described, it has been applied to my classes for about four years, and the

class to which it was first fully applied will complete their college course at the coming Annual Commencement.

Let us suppose an ideal and desirable condition of our educational system, in which the college course is begun about two years earlier than the present average age, as has been recently urged by Professor Remsen of Johns Hopkins University, President De Garmo of Swarthmore College, and other leading educators. It will be seen that this change would place the two years of modern language study provided for the high school course, in the excellent report of the Committee of Ten, in the first two years of the college course instead. Suppose then that students enter college with no knowledge of any foreign modern language, the properly increased requirements in the *mother tongue*, and the reduced length of the preparatory course making this a necessity. And suppose that the course in a given modern language is begun in the Freshman year, and continued, four lessons per week, through the four years of the college course.

A Freshman class is now before us, having no knowledge of French. Let us follow, in rapid outline, the course to be pursued.

Begin by a plain and simple talk about the pronunciation, the sounds of the letters of the French alphabet, the consonants, vowels, nasal vowels and diphthongs, avoiding all technical terms, and comparing sounds with those of our own language, thus proceeding carefully from the known to the unknown. Take up as examples the simple forms of the regular verbs at once, in the first lesson. Teach their pronunciation, and have the class repeat after the teacher the proper pronunciation of the words. As soon as the regular simple forms of the three conjugations are learned (not the auxiliaries, with their irregular forms, which come later), and when the proper spelling and pronunciation of these forms is well impressed upon the mind, take up an easy first reader, with a good and full vocabulary and carefully prepared notes, and in this reader, as in the grammar, teach the pronunciation by *imitation* rather than by *rule*, and with an intelligent class, who have been well trained in *English*, the reader may be thus begun after the first week, or, at latest, at the end of the second week. I have had a class make a successful beginning at the end of *three days*. Continue the lessons in the grammar for two of the four days of each week for three months, and let two of the lessons of each week continue to be in the reader. When forms or parts of speech occur in the reader not yet explained in the grammar, give on the black-board the simple direct explanations necessary. Here, as elsewhere, add no unnecessary words. In the recitations from the reader the *translation* should always *precede* the reading of the French. A monotonous pronunciation of mere words is thus early avoided, and the French is read intelligently in phrases according to the sense. Have *no rules of the grammar committed to memory*, but require the student to perform, in his grammar lesson, and explain what the rules require. You are thus teaching him *ideas* and not, to him, *meaningless words*. No lesson, at this early stage, in either grammar or reader, should be assigned without the

careful pronunciation of every French word *and phrase* being given by the teacher, and repeated in concert or separately by the class. All grammar lessons should, from the beginning, be both recited orally and written by the student on the black-board. (These recitations will never include, of course, a verbal repetition of the rules.) As soon as illustrative sentences in the grammar occur, these should always be reproduced from the English. A convenient method of doing this is to have the English sentences written on cards, to be handed to the student on going to the black-board. These English illustrative sentences will, through the first year, or at least for some months, according to the ability of the class, be the same as those given in the grammar. It is exceedingly important that all *corrections* of such exercises should be promptly made by the teacher, giving the *reasons* for the same, the entire class following the correction of each exercise. This saves much valuable time too often wasted by the teacher in correcting exercises out of class, and is a far more thorough and impressive method of giving instruction in the principles of the language. This should be kept up on "grammar days" through the entire course. After the first three months these "grammar days" may be reduced from two to one per week, but they should never be entirely omitted. Of course the remaining three days in the week would then be given to the lessons in the text. Proceeding thus, by the end of the first year the student will have completed about half of a good reading French grammar, and have read the ordinary first reader, and at least another complete work of some modern French author. More than this can be accomplished, but if the translation is required to be given in the best English at the students command (which is exceedingly important) and the French afterwards intelligently pronounced, this amount will be found sufficient for the work of the first year. But besides the class work students should also be encouraged to read other French books out of class, for which they should have access to a small library of carefully selected works. I have had some students read in this way several volumes before the close of the first year.

During the second year the grammar should be continued as described, and several Modern French authors, including especially comedies and good tales and romances, may be read. The subject-matter should be attractive to the student, and thus increase his interest in the work. In the three lessons per week in the text, and in the outside reading, which should continue to be encouraged, a good vocabulary and general knowledge of construction will thus be almost unconsciously acquired. Of course, upon "grammar days" the language as such will be the direct object of inquiry, and the illustrative sentences on the cards should now be gradually modified, being based upon the models in the grammar, but involving different forms of expression. This will be found a delightful method of introducing the student to the independent expression of his own ideas in French, and the public examination of this original work, before the entire class, will be a subject of great interest, and the corrections thus publicly made

and explained will produce a lasting impression upon all. The reading in this second year will be confined to authors of the present century, both in prose and verse, and when verse is read the simple principles of the rhyme and metre, and construction of the verse in hand will be explained on the blackboard. Much of the translation, during this second year, should be made without *seeing* the text, the student translating the lesson, orally, as read by the teacher or by another student, thus training the *ear* as well as the *eye*, both forms of translation being constantly kept up. Sight translation should also be encouraged in this and the following year, the recitation being continued as much beyond each daily lesson assigned as the time will permit. For this reason, as well as for various others, *rapid* recitation should be encouraged. An occasional example given by the teacher of making a *good* translation of a few pages *on time* will be of service in this respect.

In the third year the Reading French Grammar should be completed and reviewed, the lessons being conducted as previously explained, on one day of each week. By continuing to modify more and more the illustrative sentences the power of independent expression of original thought in French will be constantly increased. The reading this year should include complete works of several of the leading authors of the classical period. Translations by *eye* and *ear*, as well as sight translations, should be continued throughout the year. Conversation should also be begun, by carefully constructed *questions* at first, to be answered in French, the answer being modelled upon the form of the question, and including its principal words, and never answered by yes or no. Students trained as thus far described will have read many hundreds (perhaps thousands) of pages in French, have a very considerable stock of words and phrases at command, be quite familiar with the pronunciation, and will, by careful handling, rapidly acquire a considerable familiarity in answering questions at first, and afterwards in constructing them for themselves. They may also now be encouraged to form associations for carrying on conversations in French outside of their class-work.

We now enter upon the fourth or senior year, and one which may be so conducted as to be of great service in *fixing* and rendering available and practical the knowledge of the language thus far acquired. Translation should now be entirely omitted, except to explain more clearly, in English, an occasional difficult or involved construction. A volume to read in class, and to serve as a basis for conversation, should be kept constantly in hand. This, for a portion of the year at least, may very properly be a good summary of the history of French Literature. Démogeot or Petit de Julleville, although excellent, may be found too voluminous, but Mme. Duval's synopsis I have found admirable. All questions upon the lesson, both grammatical and as to the subject-matter, should be asked and, so far as possible, answered in French. The students should be expected to read on out of class in the volume in hand and report as soon as they have finished it.

This should generally be by the time one-fourth or one-third of the volume has been read and commented upon in class. It may then be made the subject of a general examination, and another volume may be taken, and another, and another, and each used in class and read out of class as the first, until the close of the year. These books of the fourth year should be, perhaps, largely works of living or modern authors; but this would depend upon circumstances, and the character and condition of the class. This final class of the college should not be expected to occupy much of their time in the study of ancient French, and the early history of the language, this being one of the studies under the new régime of a lower college standard relegated to university work. But when our educational system has reached that more perfect organization to which we aspire, no teachers should be entrusted with the instruction in our colleges described in this paper until they had received the added training of a good university course, or its full equivalent.

Lectures on general French Literature should be given during this last year, and the writing of French should receive especial attention. This writing may be begun by requiring brief letters of the class, written in French, at as frequent intervals as the teacher's time will permit, he himself writing in reply a separate personal letter in French to each member of the class. It is unfortunate to have classes so large that this should be found impracticable. In my class of twenty-two, of fourth year students, I find it possible to do this once each month. It consumes time, but it is time most profitably spent, and the interest of the class in the work is thereby greatly increased. Later in the year formal essays or criticisms of books read, or of lectures heard, may well be substituted for the French letters; and by the close of the year a class trained through the four years, as here briefly described, will be able to write in French upon subjects with which they are well acquainted, with comparatively few errors, and they will be in a condition to understand what they hear in lectures or conversation abroad, and to make a very pleasant beginning of that familiarity with a foreign tongue, which is neither the work of a single year nor even of a college or a university course, but which is only acquired by the experience of a lifetime.

The discussion of this paper was deferred until the next meeting.

SECOND SESSION.

The second regular session of the Association was held *Friday, December* 28. The President called the meeting to order at 3 o'clock.

5. "On the reform of methods in teaching the Modern Languages, together with an experiment in the teaching of German." By Professor Frederic Spencer, of the University of North Wales, Bangor, Wales. [Read by the Secretary.]

The communications of Professors Magill and Spencer were discussed by Professors J. M. Hart, E. H. Babbitt, W. Willner, O. B. Super, R. E. Blackwell and A. M. Elliott.

6. "Note on Syllabic Consonants." By Professor Alexander Melville Bell, of Washington, D. C.

Professor Bell, after reading his communication, kindly distributed copies of it in published form. [Printed for the author and published by The Volta Bureau, Washington, D. C.]

This paper was discussed by Professors Benj. Ide Wheeler and Edward H. Magill.

Professor John Hitz, Superintendent of the *Volta Bureau, for the increase and diffusion of knowledge relating to the deaf*, Washington, D. C., in response to a special request, gave a brief account of the function of the *Volta Bureau*.

7. "The metres employed by the earliest Portuguese lyric school." By Professor Henry R. Lang, of Yale University.

Remarks upon this paper were made by Mr. F. De Haan.

8. "Indirect discourse in Anglo-Saxon." By Dr. J. Hendren Gorrell, of Wake Forest College, N. C.

Remarks upon this paper were made by Dr. Frank J. Mather, Jr.

9. "A parallel between the Middle English poem *Patience* and one of the pseudo-Tertullian poems." By Professor O. F. Emerson, of Cornell University.

Remarks upon this paper were made by Professor James W. Bright.

THIRD SESSION.

The third regular session of the Association was convened December 29, at 10 o'clock a. m. President A. Marshall Elliott presided.

10. "Elizabeth Elstob: an Anglo-Saxon scholar nearly two centuries ago, with her *Plea for Learning in Women.*" By Mr. W. Henry Schofield, of Harvard University.

11. "The Spanish dialect of Mexico City." By Dr. C. C. Marden, of the Johns Hopkins University.

Remarks upon this paper were made by Professors Hugo A. Rennert, Thomas R. Price and Samuel Garner.

12. "Henry Timrod and his poetry." By Professor Charles H. Ross, of Agricultural and Mechanical College, Auburn, Ala.

The poems of Timrod, gathered together after his death by his intimate friend and poetical associate, Paul H. Hayne, have long since been out of print, and Timrod himself is almost forgotten. His work is known only, perhaps, to the scholarly and appreciative few. This neglect of such a true poet as Timrod is due to several causes. An enormous quantity of verse has been produced in America, and this has tended to hide the work of some chance inspired singer. Again, we care only for the writer of some specially stirring poem, and we have come to think that what is not worth elocution is not worth preservation. Timrod wrote nothing really popular. Finally, the neglect of Timrod is due to the indifference of the Southern people in general to matters of poetry.

Timrod's life was short and almost uneventful. The story of it is one of great aspirations, of unsatisfied longings, of unfulfilled ambitions—one of a bitter struggle with poverty, disease and uncongenial surroundings. Timrod was *in* his section, but not *of* it. Though a poet by descent, he was reared in an atmosphere that totally lacked the oxygen of a great poetic purpose. Can we wonder that in such an atmosphere his delicate muse, that needed all the freedom of a larger air and a broader sky, should have sickened and died?

Timrod's father, in whom German and Scotch-Irish blood were evenly mixed, was a poet himself and a man of versatile powers and brilliant gifts. Though a bookbinder, he was esteemed as "a provincial Coleridge" in aristocratic Charleston, where the son was born on December 8, 1829. At sixteen the latter entered the University of Georgia, but did not graduate.

He studied law, but finding this distasteful, he gave it up to become a private tutor. For ten years he acted as such for the families of wealthy planters in South Carolina, writing in the meantime many poems for the *Southern Literary Messenger*.

In 1860 Timrod's first volume of poems appeared. It contained several lyrics of merit, some of which showed a marked influence of Tennyson. Among these were "Florabel," "The Problem," and "The Lily Confidante," the last being noted for its delicacy of fancy, sureness of touch and beauty of conception.

The war was the great destroyer of Timrod's ambitious schemes. It produced many war poems, but these are the least notable proofs of his genius. Late in the war he became a war correspondent, but gave that up in a short while to become editor of a daily paper published at Columbia. In 1864 he married Miss Kate Goodwin, an English girl, who was the inspiration of one of his best poems—"Katie." But Sherman's sack of Columbia destroyed all Timrod had, and from that time on his life was a struggle with want and disease. After great suffering, he died in Columbia, October 7, 1867. His swan song was his "Decoration Ode," which, E. P. Whipple has said, "is, in its simple grandeur, the noblest poem ever written by a Southern poet."

As a poet Timrod's range was not wide, but within it he showed a bright fancy, the feeling of a true artist, and "a singular intensity" of imagination. He is at his best in his love poems, though he was not an apostle of sentimentality. Among the notable qualities of his verse are simplicity and purity. There was nothing morbid, diseased, Byronic about his mind, and, though living in so much wretchedness and suffering, he kept it on a serene and elevated plane. Other qualities to be noted are humor, playfulness of fancy and absence of florid language. His humor was light and graceful, but more akin to the pathos of Hood than to the lightness of Chaucer. Unlike some of his poetical contemporaries, he was not "forever gushing." Timrod's vein of poetry was rich only in pockets, and there is a noticeable absence of a clearly defined seam of ore. He was distinctively a poet of purple patches. We can afford to lose much of his work, but the little that remains is almost priceless. In the words of another, "I cannot but believe that a day will come when his work will be more generally known than it is at present."

Remarks upon this paper were made by Professors Fred. Tupper, Jr., James M. Garnett, Thomas R. Price and James W. Bright.

On motion of the Secretary the report of the committee appointed to recommend place for the next annual meeting of the Association was now received.

The Committee recommended the acceptance of the invitation of Modern Language Club of Yale University to hold the next annual meeting of the Association at New Haven, Conn.

This report was accepted, and a motion passed to accept the invitation to meet at New Haven, Conn.

13. "The Poetry of Wilhelm Mueller." By Professor James T. Hatfield, of Northwestern University.

This paper was discussed by Professors H. Wood, H. E. Greene and Mr. W. Willner.

14. "Early Romanticists in Italy." By Dr. L. E. Menger, of the Johns Hopkins University.

This paper was discussed by Professor Adolphe Cohn.

FOURTH SESSION.

The fourth regular session of the Association was called to order by President Elliott at 2 o'clock p. m. (December 29).

Report of Committees:

Professor Adolphe Cohn, as Chairman of the Committee appointed to consider the extension of the list of the Honorary Members of the Association, recommended the election to honorary membership of the following distinguished scholars:

Graziado I. Ascoli, Milan, Italy.
Sophus Bugge, Christiania, Norway.
Konrad Burdach, Halle, Germany.
Richard Heinzel, Vienna, Austria.
W. Meyer-Lübke, Vienna, Austria.
Erich Schmidt, Berlin, Germany.
Karl Weinhold, Berlin, Germany.

By a unanimous vote these European scholars were elected Honorary Members of the Association.

In accordance with the recommendation of the Committee to nominate officers, the Association elected the following officers for the year 1895:

President: James Morgan Hart, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.

Secretary: James W. Bright, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

Treasurer: Marion D. Learned, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

Executive Council.

Kuno Francke, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

Albert S. Cook, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

Hugo A. Rennert, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

Albert H. Tolman, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

George A. Hench, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.

John E. Matzke, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Leland Stanford, Cal.

Alcée Fortier, Tulane University, New Orleans, La.

J. B. Henneman, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tenn.

Charles H. Ross, Agricultural and Mechanical College, Auburn, Ala.

Phonetic Section.

President: A. Melville Bell, Washington, D. C.

Secretary: George Hempl, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Pedagogical Section.

President: Charles H. Grandgent, Cambridge, Mass.

Secretary: James T. Hatfield, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.

Editorial Committee.

A. Marshall Elliott, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

Henry A. Todd, Columbia College, New York, N. Y.

The Committee appointed to audit the Treasurer's accounts reported that the accounts were found to be correct.

PHONETIC SECTION.

Secretary's Report for 1894.

Receipts.

Twenty-five membership fees for 1894	$25.00
Expenditures	00.00
On hand	$25.00

The results of the latest circular issued by the Section have been embodied in three articles: *Teat-yure*, published in *Modern Language Notes*, IX, 5; *Unaccented i*, in *Dialect Notes*, Part VII; and *Sense or Cents*, which is to appear in the *Diez Centenary Papers*.

At the last meeting of the Section, the Secretary suggested that the year 1894 be devoted to putting together and printing a systematic statement of all facts concerning American pronunciation that have come to the knowledge of the Section during the past five years. As this idea seemed to be favorably received, the Secretary has carried it out as well as he could, summing up all his work in a long article called *English in America*. It was expected that the cost of printing this paper would be borne by the Section; but, owing to the kindness of the editors of *Phonetische Studien*, the article will soon come out in that magazine without expense to us. Copies will be sent to all members for 1894. We still have on hand, therefore, all the membership fees for the past year, amounting to twenty-five dollars.

The Secretary would say, in conclusion, that as the series of investigations which he has been conducting for five years has come to an end, and as the treasury is now in an unusually flourishing condition, he believes the time has come for a change of Secretary, and begs his fellow-members to relieve him of his interesting but somewhat arduous duties.

List of Members.

J. L. Armstrong, Lynchburg, Va.
E. H. Babbitt, Columbia College, New York, N. Y.
A. M. Bell, 1535 35th St., N. W., Washington, D. C.

H. C. G. Brandt, Clinton, N. Y.
J. W. Bright, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md.
M. J. Drennan, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
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G. Hempl, Ann Arbor, Mich.
M. D. Learned, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md.
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J. M. Manly, 9 Arlington Avenue, Providence, R. I.
J. E. Matzke, Palo Alto, Cal.
L. E. Menger, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md.
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E. Spanhoofd, St. Paul's School, Concord, N. H.
H. A. Todd, Columbia College, New York, N. Y.
W. D. Toy, Chapel Hill, N. C.
E. L. Walter, Ann Arbor, Mich.
R. L. Weeks, Bourg la Reine, France.

C. H. Grandgent,
Secretary.

15. "On the development of inter-vocalic labials in the Romanic languages." By Dr. Edwin S. Lewis, of Princeton University.

Remarks upon this paper were made by Dr. L. E. Menger.

16. "Notes on Goethe's *Iphigenie*." By Dr. L. A. Rhoades, of Cornell University.

17. "On the Slavonic languages." By Mr. Alex. W. Herdler, of Princeton University.

This paper was discussed by Dr. P. S. Stollhofen and Professor H. Collitz.

18. "Old French equivalents of Latin substantives in *-cus, -gus, -vus*." By Dr. Thomas A. Jenkins.

This paper was discussed by Dr. L. E. Menger.

19. "Contributions to a bibliography of Racine." By Professor A. R. Hohlfeld, of Vanderbilt University. [Read by title.]

On motion of the Secretary, James W. Bright, the following vote of thanks passed at the second joint session of Philological Societies, December 28, was reaffirmed by a special vote of the Association:

The several societies here assembled in the CONGRESS OF AMERICAN PHILOLOGISTS, viz.:

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY,
AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION,
SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS,
MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA,
AMERICAN DIALECT SOCIETY,
SPELLING REFORM ASSOCIATION, and
ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF AMERICA

unite in expressing their hearty thanks to the Provost and Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania for their unstinted hospitality; to the Local Committee, with its efficient Chairman and Secretary, for the considerate provision made for the convenience of every guest; and also to Dr. Horace Howard Furness for his memorable words of welcome. They further desire to record their grateful recognition of the courtesies generously extended to them and their friends by the

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA,
THE PENN CLUB,
THE UNIVERSITY CLUB,
THE ART CLUB,
THE ACORN CLUB, and
THE NEW CENTURY CLUB.

The Association adjourned at 5 o'clock p. m.

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CONSTITUTION OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA.

I.

The name of this Society shall be *The Modern Language Association of America.*

II.

Any person approved by the Executive Council may become a member by the payment of three dollars, and may continue a member by the payment of the same amount each year.

III.

The object of this Association shall be the advancement of the study of the Modern Languages and their Literatures.

IV.

The officers of this Association shall be a President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and nine members, who shall together constitute the Executive Council, and these shall be elected annually by the Association.

V.

The Executive Council shall have charge of the general interests of the Association, such as the election of members, calling of meetings, selection of papers to be read, and the determination of what papers shall be published.

VI.

This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote at any annual meeting, provided the proposed amendment has received the approval of the Executive Council.

Amendment adopted by the Baltimore Convention, December 30, 1886:

1. The Executive Council shall annually elect from its own body three members who, with the President and Secretary, shall constitute the Executive Committee of the Association.

2. The three members thus elected shall be the Vice-Presidents of the Association.

3. To this Executive Committee shall be submitted, through the Secretary, at least one month in advance of meeting, all papers designed for the Association. The said Committee, or a majority thereof, shall have power to accept or reject such papers, and also of the papers thus accepted, to designate such as shall be read in full, and such as shall be read in brief, or by topics, for subsequent publication; and to prescribe a programme of proceedings, fixing the time to be allowed for each paper and for its discussion.

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